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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 12, August 1979

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No. 12, August 1979

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PERFECTING THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM AND THE TASKS OF PARTY AND STATE ORGANS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 3-4

[CC CPSU decree of 12 July 1979]

[Text] Under the conditions of developed socialism our country reached great successes in economic and social development and in improving the people's prosperity. In the 8th, 9th, and 10th Five-Year plans, the selfless toil of the Soviet people, guided by the CPSU, insured the dynamic growth of the economy and created a powerful industrial and scientific and technical potential. Thousands of big modern enterprises were built and equipped with the latest equipment. The material and technical base of agriculture was strengthened considerably and the level of construction industrialization was raised. Within that period the national income more than doubled.

All these achievements convincingly prove the advantages of the socialist planned economic system and the creative constructive forces of the Soviet society. They are the result of the party's scientific policy, elaborated and systematically implemented after the October 1964 CC CPSU Plenum.

Today our economy has reached a level of development at which further improvements in economic management become particularly topical. The expanded scale of output, more complex economic relations, and the contemporary scientific and technical revolution have faced management with ever stricter requirements. The 25th CPSU Congress defined the basic directions to be followed in improving the economic mechanism. Subsequent CC CPSU plenums and addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the importance of paying greater attention to management and planning problems.

In accordance with the stipulations of the 25th congress, the CC CPSU deems it necessary to direct even further all management and planning activities toward upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, reaching high national-economic end-results, and satisfying more fully rising social and individual requirements. It is important to insure the efficient utilization of everything at the disposal of the national economy, mainly relying on intensive growth factors, and more extensively applying in production scientific and technical achievements and progressive experience.

The CPSU Central Committee ascribes prime importance to further upgrading the role of the state plan, the five-year plan above all, as an important instrument for the implementation of the party's economic policy, and insuring the balancing of plans and their greater orientation toward the solution of social problems. Resources must be further concentrated toward the implementation of national target programs. The system of planned indicators must be improved so that they may comprehensively encourage the labor collectives to struggle for upgrading labor productivity, insuring the maximum utilization of productive capital, and economizing on material resources. The solution of long-term and current problems, and problems of sectorial and territorial development must be linked more closely to each other; the interests of consumers in the formulation of production assignments must be taken into consideration more fully.

The effectiveness of economic levers and incentives must be intensified considerably. Material incentives must be made directly dependent on work effectiveness and quality, the implementation of planned assignments, and the results of production activities.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have passed the decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Enhancing Production Efficiency and Work Quality."

Suggestions will be formulated for the further improvement of the organizational structure of management, stipulating measures aimed at surmounting departmental lack of coordination, perfecting sectorial and territorial management and the organizational methods for the implementation of target programs, and suggestions on enhancing the role of soviets of people's deputies in economic construction, and expanding the rights and initiatives of labor collectives.

The party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organizations are considering the implementation of the measures aimed at perfecting the economic mechanism, a major economic-political task. It is important to upgrade the level of organization and coordination of the work of all economic units, promote greater efficiency in ministries and other management organs, and operativeness in decision making. State, production, and labor discipline must be strengthened steadfastly; cadre responsibility for the implementation of plans and contractual obligations must be increased.

The party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and mass-information and propaganda media must extensively explain the nature of the decisions aimed at perfecting the economic mechanism. They must prove that improving management and planning, and upgrading public production efficiency and work quality are mandatory conditions for the further growth of the material prosperity of the Soviet people.

The CC CPSU expresses its firm conviction that party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and the collectives of working people will do everything necessary for the implementation of the planned measures, insure the new powerful upsurge of the national economy, and make a powerful contribution to strengthening the power of the socialist homeland and building the material and technical foundations for communism.

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 5-15

[CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Enhancing Production Efficiency and Work Quality"]

[Text] Proceeding from the decisions of the 25th party congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums and the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers deem necessary the implementation of a system of measures aimed at the further perfecting of the planned management of the economy, the development of democratic principles in production management, and the enhancement of the creative initiative of labor collectives.

The task is to raise the level of planning and economic management and make them consistent with the requirements of the present stage--the stage of developed socialism--achieve a considerable upgrading of public production efficiency, acceleration of scientific and technical progress and growth of labor productivity, improve the quality of output and, on this basis, insure the steady upsurge of the country's economy and the prosperity of the Soviet people.

I. On Measures to Enhance the Level of Planning in the National Economy. The decree notes that the most important directions to be followed in improving all planning work are the choice of the most effective means for reaching high national-economic end-results, the rational combination of sectorial with territorial development and of long-range with current plans, perfecting intersectorial and intrasectorial ratios, and insuring the balanced growth of the economy.

Elaborating plans for the economic and social development of the USSR, the USSR Gosplan, USSR ministries and departments, and councils of ministers of union republics must insure:

The comprehensive solution of economic and social problems and the concentration of forces and resources on the implementation of the most important national programs, preventing a narrow sectorial approach to the formulation of plans;

To accelerate the practical utilization of scientific and technical discoveries and developments aimed at upgrading the rates of growth of social labor productivity and quality of output;

To insure the rational utilization of productive capital and material, manpower, and financial resources, and to increase savings and eliminate losses in the national economy;

To accurately establish priorities in the development of sectors and economic rayons, thus securing progressive changes in national economic ratios, and upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments and of all public production;

To set up material and financial reserves needed for the proportional and balanced development of the economy.

The USSR Gosplan must raise to a qualitatively new level the content of planning based on the intensification of the role of long-term plans, the extensive application of the program-target method, and the application of systems of scientific technical-economic norms and standards.

The decree stipulates a procedure for the formulation of long-term and current plans for economic and social development.

A number of measures are stipulated aimed at enhancing the role of the five-year plan as the main method for planning the economic and social development of the country and as the base for the organization of economic activities of enterprises, associations, and ministries. In particular, the five-year plan will include annual balances of material and manpower resources, production capacities, a financial balance and a balance of the population's monetary income and expenditures; the plan will set economic standards; the fulfillment of the five-year plan will be assessed at all levels of economic management on a cumulative basis.

The USSR Gosplan has been instructed to draft, together with interested USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics, and approve before the beginning of the next five-year period, a list of target comprehensive scientific and technical, economic, and social programs, programs for the development of individual areas and territorial-production complexes, and the procedure and deadlines for their elaboration. The formulation of programs for fuel and metal economy, the construction of the Baykal-Amur Main Line and the development of industry in the areas crossed by the Main Line, reducing the use of manual labor, and increasing the production of new consumer goods shall be considered priorities for the immediate future.

The annual plans for the economic and social development of the USSR will be based on the assignments and economic norms of the five-year plan for the given year, stipulating the necessary concretizing of such assignments, the utilization of the latest scientific and technical achievements, and the implementation of economic and organizational measures insuring the fulfillment of the five-year plan.

The formulation of the annual plan shall begin from below--from the production associations (enterprises) and organizations. The collectives of production associations (enterprises) and organizations shall formulate their counterplans, exceeding the assignments of the five-year plan for the respective year, on the basis of the development of the socialist competition and the utilization of intra-economic resources. Counterplans adopted on the initiative of production associations (enterprises) and organizations, and correlated with material resources, shall be included in the annual plan.

Production associations (enterprises) and organizations shall formulate their five-year and annual plans on the basis of economic and engineering computations, preventing the formulation of plan assignments based exclusively on the existing dynamics of the respective indicators.

The party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and economic organs shall insure the active participation of labor collectives of production associations (enterprises) and organizations in the elaboration of five-year and annual plans and in controlling their implementation.

The decree stipulates a system of indicators and economic standards approved by industrial ministries, associations, and enterprises in their five-year plans (with annual breakdowns).

Specifically, the indicators include the following: growth of net output (normative) and, in some sectors, marketable output in comparable prices; production of basic types of commodities in physical terms; growth of labor productivity; norm of wages per ruble of output; limits in the number of workers and employees and reduction of the use of manual labor; overall revenue and, in some sectors, reduction of production costs; commissioning of capital assets, productive capital, and projects; ceilings for state capital investments and for construction and installation work; assignments related to the installation of new equipment and economic results from the implementation of scientific and technical measures; and volume of procurements of most important kinds of material and technical resources.

The conversion to the net production indicator will be accomplished in accordance with the readiness for such conversion on the part of the corresponding sectors.

The decree stipulates that, starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, the annual plans of industrial ministries, associations, and enterprises shall include indicators which concretize and, in some cases, refine assignments set for the respective year within the five-year plan. Ministries, associations, and enterprises shall independently include in their annual plans a number of indicators and norms based on assignments or the norms of the five-year plan for the corresponding year. A volume of goods marketed must be set in order to assess the implementation of obligations related to delivery of goods based on contracts concluded by associations and enterprises.

Together with the interested ministries and departments, in 1979-1980 the USSR Gosplan will introduce the necessary amendments to the system of physical

measurements of goods produced on the basis of the extensive application of scientific, technical and economic indicators, which will make it possible to take into consideration the effectiveness, quality and other consumer qualities of the output and convert to planning the production of equipment on the basis of an expanded nomenclature in terms of measurement units which will reflect more completely its productivity and other economic properties.

The decree stipulates that the state plans for economic and social development of the USSR, of union and autonomous republics, and of krais, oblasts, cities, rayons, ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, and organizations will contain composite sections covering the entire set of measures in the field of social development, including measures aimed at improving labor conditions, upgrading the skills and professional mastery of the workers and the general educational and cultural standards of the population, improving housing and cultural living conditions and medical services, and other measures in the field of social progress, in connection with assignments related to the development of production and capital construction, and of upgrading their effectiveness.

In order to insure the all-round consideration of the achievements of science and technology in the plans for economic and social development together with the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and USSR Gosstroy must draft programs for the solution of the most important scientific and technical problems and problems of the comprehensive utilization of natural resources, bearing in mind the utilization of the results of basic and applied research and define in them end objectives, technical and economic results, deadlines, and stage for the implementation of projects.

USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics shall draft and ratify plans for upgrading the technical standards of sectors, and plans for the protection of nature and the environment.

The USSR State Committee for Standards has been asked to review between 1979 and 1981 obsolete standards of machines and equipment; complete the elaboration of comprehensive standardization programs for the most important types of consumer goods, including in them coordinated requirements for raw materials, materials, complementing goods and finished products.

A procedure shall be established according to which USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics shall mandatorily design and construct new and expand and reconstruct existing enterprises on the basis of highly effective production technologies and utilization of most modern equipment, insuring for the newly commissioned capacities the production of commodities whose technical standards and quality will either match or exceed the best domestic and foreign models.

Together with the interested ministries and departments, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology must assess the technical standards of produced machines, equipment and other industrial equipment between 1979-1980.

It must formulate and implement measures for upgrading the technical and economic indicators of manufactured or newly mastered items and stop the production of obsolete goods. Subsequently, such assessments will be made on a periodic basis.

It has been deemed necessary to raise the responsibility of the USSR Gosplan and of USSR ministries and departments for balancing the assignments contained in the state plans for economic and social development. A procedure has been established for the drafting of material balances for 10, 5, and 1 year periods. Responsibility for the satisfaction of the needs of the national economy and the population for goods of the required variety and quality shall be assumed by the head ministries in charge of the production of a given item.

The decree stipulates that in 1980 the conversion of production associations (enterprises) to direct long-term economic relations must be completed in its essential lines. With direct long-term economic relations contracts among production associations (enterprises) in industry and between such associations (enterprises) and organs of the USSR Gosnab, transportation organizations and state and cooperative organizations shall be concluded for five-year periods.

The nomenclature (variety) of supplied goods shall be detailed and refined in the elaboration of annual plans.

With a view to improving the quality of consumer goods and increasing their variety, the network of firm stores selling consumer goods will be developed; the work of wholesale fairs will be improved; five-year agreements shall be concluded between trade organizations and industrial associations. The agreements shall call for the renovation of variety, improved finishing and presentation of goods, packaging and other obligations insuring the fuller satisfaction of population demand. On the basis of such agreements trade enterprises shall conclude annual contracts which shall concretize the volume, variety and delivery conditions of goods in accordance with population demand.

The decree stipulates measures related to the rational combination of territorial with sectorial planning. They include the obligations of USSR ministries and departments on the elaboration of draft plans on the territorial level and their joint consideration with the councils of ministers of union republics.

The councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies are instructed to draft and approve combined five-year and annual plans for production using local construction materials, the production of consumer goods, the formulation of plans for housing-communal and cultural construction, and control over the execution of said plans.

Taking into consideration the growing importance of Siberia and the Far East to the country's economy and the establishment in these areas of major

territorial-production complexes, the USSR Gosplan has been asked to elaborate, together with the RSFSR Council of Ministers and interested USSR ministries and departments, plans for the development and location of production forces in these areas and within their territorial-production complexes, as well as of basic indicators for the economic and social development of each complex, regardless of the departmental affiliation of the production associations (enterprises) and organizations, to ratify such indicators, and to control their implementation.

Ministries and departments must insure the stability of annual and quarterly plans approved by production associations (enterprises) and organizations and prevent amendments aimed at reducing the plan below the level of its factual implementation.

II. On Measures to Accelerate the Commissioning of Productive Capacities and Sites and Upgrading the Effectiveness of Capital Investment. The CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers have made it incumbent upon the USSR Gosplan, USSR ministries and departments, and councils of ministers of union republics to elaborate measures aimed at accelerating the commissioning of production capacities and projects at already initiated construction sites and to sharply reduce the number of newly initiated construction projects so that in the immediate future the volume of unfinished construction may be reduced to the stipulated norms.

Starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics will be issued a stable five-year capital construction plan (with annual breakdowns), balanced with available materials, technological and power equipment, labor and financial resources, and capacities of construction-installation organizations.

For purposes of planning the use of operating production facilities and new construction as a single entity, the draft five-year plans will stipulate capital investments for the development of material production sectors below the planned increase in the volume of output and services.

USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics must formulate within the draft five-year plans balances and computations for the utilization of available production capacities and productive capital, as well as combined plans for the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises, drawing on the production development fund as well. The plans will stipulate the priority allocation for such purposes of material resources and equipment to associations and enterprises, as well as the necessary limits of capital investments and construction-installation and contracting operations. Funds for the construction of new and the expansion of existing enterprises will be appropriated if the requirements of the national economy for certain products may not be insured through operating enterprises following their reconstruction and technical retooling.

The decree provides a list of indicators to be inserted in five-year and annual plans by construction ministries and construction-installation

organizations. They include the commissioning of productive capacities and projects, volume of marketable construction output with its breakdown by customer, growth of labor productivity, ceilings for the number of workers and employees, and profits, and in the case of individual organizations lowering the cost of construction-installation work.

The USSR Gosstroy was asked to implement in 1979-1980 measures aimed at formulating a cost-normative base for a gradual conversion in the 11th Five-Year Plan to planning labor productivity in construction-installation organizations on the basis of net (normative) output or any other indicator which would reflect more accurately changes in labor outlays and base the wage fund on the norm of ruble of output in accordance with the indicator used in planning labor productivity.

The economic activities of construction-installation organizations will be rated and their economic incentive will be based on the results of the implementation of their assignments for the commissioning of productive capacities and projects, marketable construction output, and growth of labor productivity and profits.

By 1981 the USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics shall complete the application of the system of account settling between customers and contractors based on fully completed construction projects and enterprises, priority complexes, sections, and projects delivered and ready to begin production and provide services, based on cost estimates of marketable construction output.

A number of specific measures are contemplated aimed at enhancing the responsibility of clients and contractors for the timely commissioning of productive capacities and projects. It is stipulated that the approved lists will be the fixed planning document covering the entire construction period, mandatorily applicable to customers, contractors, planning, financial, banking, and supply organs, and equipment and structure suppliers.

The USSR Sroybank and USSR Gosbank have been asked to finance state capital investments for industrial construction projects on a continuous basis and in accordance the lists drawn up for the entire construction period, within the limits of the funds approved in the estimate.

The amount of bonuses for the timely commissioning of productive capacities and projects has been raised.

The USSR construction ministries and councils of ministers of union republics have been asked to formulate and implement measures aimed at improving capital construction management so that between 1979 and 1981 they may convert to the two-three step management system.

III. On the Development of Cost Accounting and Intensifying the Role of Economic Levers and Incentives. The decree considers it necessary to insure the further development of cost accounting in production associations

(enterprises) and construction-installation organizations on the basis of the assignments of the five-year plan and of long-range economic norms, guaranteeing an increase in the amount of funds left at their disposal depending on improvements in end results of economic activities, while at the same time increasing the amount of funds paid to the state budget.

The results of the economic activities of production associations (enterprises) in industry will be assessed and their economic incentives will be based above all on the fulfillment of the plans for the delivery of goods for production-technical use and consumer goods based on a nomenclature (variety) and deadlines consistent with concluded contracts (orders), increased labor productivity, and improved quality of output and profits (in some sectors, lowering of production costs).

The decree calls for completing within the next two to three years the organization of production associations as the basic cost accounting unit in industry. Measures for the specialization and cooperation of output, centralization of auxiliary services, and for management functions of consolidated enterprises and organizations shall be implemented systematically.

In order to promote the economic initiative of labor collectives and expand the rights of production associations (enterprises) in the 11th Five-Year Plan economic incentive funds--material incentive, sociocultural measures, housing construction, and production development--shall be based on fixed norms established, on a differentiated basis, by individual year within the five-year plan. Production associations (enterprises) which considerably increase their output of new and highly effective goods and new consumer goods, will be awarded higher norms for the formation of said funds. Higher payments to economic incentive funds will also be established for production associations (enterprises) which pass and fulfill counterplans exceeding the assignments of the five-year plan for the current year. In the case of under-fulfillment of the assignments of the five-year plan for fund-forming indicators, withholdings for economic incentive funds will be based on lowered norms.

The assets of economic incentive funds will be used strictly according to purpose. Fund surpluses will be transferred to the following year and will not be confiscated. Labor collectives shall actively participate in the discussion and resolution of problems related the use of funds for the development of production, sociocultural measures, housing construction, and material incentive.

The material incentive fund will be formed from profits, based on the growth of labor productivity and production of superior quality goods, and the fulfillment of the plan for commodity deliveries to the consumer in accordance with concluded contracts (orders). Taking the characteristics of the individual sectors into consideration, this fund may be formed with the help of other quality indicators (savings of material resources, increased capital returns and a higher shift coefficient, higher profitability level, reduced production costs, and in the extracting sectors increased output in physical terms).

It shall be deemed necessary for production associations (enterprises) to allocate bonus funds from the material incentive and wage funds above all for stimulating improvements in quality indicators and the implementation of obligations for delivery of goods in accordance with concluded contracts (orders) and in accordance with the results of the socialist competition.

The sociocultural measures and housing construction fund will constitute 30 to 50% of the material incentive fund according to the availability of enterprise housing for the collective and the existence of sociocultural institutions. Some of the assets of the material incentive fund as well may be used for housing construction and sociocultural measures.

The production development fund shall be organized in accordance with norms and on the basis of withholdings from profits and amortization withholdings used for the complete restoration of capital assets. It shall also include revenues from sales of written-off surplus property (capital assets). Measures for the mechanization and automation, and replacement and modernization of equipment, measures for improving the organization of production and labor, and other measures related to the technical retooling of production facilities financed out of said fund, will be formulated and adopted independently by the production associations (enterprises). In accordance with the computations and proposals formulated by the production associations (enterprises) such outlays shall be included in full in the plans for capital construction of ministries and departments, and shall be supported, on a priority basis, with the necessary capital investments, material resources and volumes of contractual work.

With a view to increasing the interest of associations, enterprises and ministries in the effective utilization of material and financial resources, starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan and on the basis of assignments included in the five-year plan, the industrial ministries (to the extent of their level of readiness) shall be issued stable norms for withholdings from profits (differentiated on an annual basis) left at their disposal to finance planned outlays for the development of output, science and technology, and for financing economic incentive funds. Should their own funds for capital-investment financing prove to be insufficient, the decree stipulates the use of bank loans and state budget funds.

In order to accelerate scientific and technical progress and increase the production of new highly effective goods, in 1980 the conversion of the scientific research, design, planning-design and technological organizations, experimental organizations, scientific-production and production associations (enterprises) of industrial ministries to a cost accounting system of work for the development, mastering and utilization of new equipment, based on orders (contracts) will be completed in 1980.

Ministries and departments shall set up a single fund for the development of science and technology for the financing of scientific research, experimental design and technological operations, and for restoring outlays related to the development and mastering of new types of output and technological processes,

and the application of a scientific organization of the work; the fund will also be used to finance additional outlays for improving the quality of goods and the higher costs required in the first years of production of new commodity.

The decree stipulates that bonuses to workers in scientific-production and production associations (enterprises), and scientific research, planning-design, and technological organizations for the development and utilization of new equipment will be based on the overall economic results factually attained within the national economy as a result of the utilization of science and technology. Scientific-production and production associations (enterprises) and organizations in the machine-building industry shall award one-time bonuses for the development, mastering and mass production of particularly important and highly effective types of equipment and machines, and for the creation and mastering of essentially new technological processes. Such incentive bonuses shall be awarded to project managers and workers directly involved in the creation and mastering of such types of equipment and technological processes.

In order to intensify the role of economic levers in increasing the production of high-quality goods and insuring the systematic renovation of production variety, measures have been stipulated for the further development of the system for the certification and improvements in the quality of goods for industry. The size of the markup to the wholesale price for new, highly effective goods whose parameters match best domestic and foreign models will be increased, based on the annual economic results of the production and utilization of such items.

Higher markups will be added to the wholesale prices of new, highly effective goods and goods bearing the state Emblem of Quality, should the manufacturing of such goods be based on developments acknowledged as discoveries or inventions. Stricter requirements will apply to goods awarded the Emblem of Quality. The role of penalties for the production of morally obsolete goods will be intensified.

In cases of considerable improvements in the quality of consumer goods awarded the state Emblem of Quality, withholdings for economic incentive funds of production associations (enterprises) shall be greater in accordance with established norms.

With a view to enhancing the interest of labor collectives in accelerating the growth of labor productivity and reducing cadre turnover on the basis of the use of long-term wage norms per ruble of output, the correlation between the wages of individual workers and the entire labor collective and the growth of labor productivity and improved end results in the work of production associations (enterprises) will be increased. The determination of such norms shall be based on technically substantiated labor norms and will require a faster growth of labor productivity compared with wage increases.

The decree grants the production associations (enterprises) the right to allow wage supplements to wage rates and salaries of workers and engineering and technical personnel on the basis of savings of the wage fund compared with established norms or the planned wage fund. Such supplements will not be paid should work indicators worsen.

In order to stimulate initiative in the application of technically substantiated labor norms and their timely review, workers will be paid a one-time bonus based on savings obtained as a result of such norm reviews.

Ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations have been asked to formulate and implement measures for the extensive development of the brigade form of organization and incentive of labor, bearing in mind that in the 11th Five-Year Plan this method must become basic.

Production brigade collectives (councils) have been given the right, within the limits of their norms and allocated funds, to establish the amounts of bonuses and earnings paid as a result of the work of the entire brigade collective and in accordance with the factual contribution of individual brigade members to joint work results; brigade members will be recommended for wage supplements for professional mastery and combination of skills; it is recommended to administrations and trade union organizations to change in accordance with established procedure workers' grades in accordance with work quality; to name the winners of the socialist competition within the brigade and determine the size of their bonuses; to recommend brigade members as candidates for material and moral incentives based on the results of intra-plant socialist competition.

The decree stipulates measures aimed at upgrading the interest of associations (enterprises) in the better utilization of resources.

Mandatory penalties will be imposed for the violation of delivery contracts. In order to insure the prompt clearing of accounts for goods delivered in accordance with contracts and to increase the responsibility of purchasers in observing payments discipline, should payments come due and should customers lack the necessary funds as per endorsed payment documents, the funds shall be paid by the USSR Gosbank and USSR Stroybank from loans charged to the customer's account.

The measures aimed at improving planning and economic incentive stipulated in the decree will apply to all industrial and capital construction sectors. The features of their application by the individual industrial and construction sectors will be formulated by the USSR Gosplan together with the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and, in construction, the USSR Gosstroy as well.

With a view to insuring radical improvements in the organization of the haulage of national economic freight and passengers, and intensifying the influence of the economic mechanism on the end results of activities of transportation enterprises and organizations, the decree makes it incumbent

upon the Ministry of Railways, Ministry of Maritime Fleet, Ministry of Civil Aviation, the ministries of automotive transportation of union republics, and the RSFSR Ministry of the River Fleet to formulate proposals on this matter.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers consider that the implementation of the measures stipulated in the present decree is one of the most important tasks of the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosnab, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Gosstroy, USSR Ministry of Finance, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, USSR State Committee for Prices, USSR Gosbank, and USSR Sroybank, and other USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics.

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IMPORTANT STAGE IN PERFECTING PLANNED ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

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[Article by A. Kosygin, CC CPSU Politburo member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] The building of a developed socialist society in our country is the result of the selfless toil of the Soviet people and the triumph of Leninist ideas. The basic features and laws of developed socialism have been embodied in the new USSR Constitution.

Today our economy is characterized by its far broader scale, the active development of the scientific and technical revolution, and the systematic orientation of the entire social output toward upgrading the material and cultural standards of the people. The constructive forces and extremely great advantages offered by the socialist social system are becoming ever more apparent. To an ever greater extent the working people are benefiting from the results of their gains. The main thing today is the fullest and most efficient utilization of the tremendous economic potential created in our country and insuring the all-round enhancement of production effectiveness and work quality.

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and of subsequent party Central Committee plenums, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses defined the basic conditions for the solution of this problem: further perfecting of planned economic management, development of democratic principles in production management, and upgrading the creative initiative of labor collectives.

Perfecting planned economic management, the Communist Party and Soviet Government are invariably guided by the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, creatively developing and applying it in the conditions of the contemporary stage of the building of communism. Relying on the achievements of progressive science and the over 50 years of practical experience in formulating 5-year plans for the development of the national economy, the party is systematically pursuing a course toward strengthening centralized management and broadening its democratic base through the comprehensive galvanizing of the masses and their direct involvement in socialist production management.

The decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress and the March and September 1965 party Central Committee plenums marked the beginning of perfecting such management in terms of the new possibilities and requirements. A system of measures was elaborated and implemented to improve planning and economic incentive. Its application greatly contributed to strengthening organizational-economic relations, the further upsurge of the national economy, and the solution of a number major socioeconomic problems.

The appearance of the national economy has greatly changed in recent years. The national income has more than doubled. The volume of industrial output has risen by a 2.5 factor and agricultural output by a factor of 1.4. As a result of the implementation of an extensive capital construction program the country's productive capital has increased by a 2.8 factor. Its value exceeds one trillion rubles.

The steady increase in social production made it possible to insure a further substantial upsurge of the material and cultural standards of the people. Compared with 1965 the average wages of workers and employees rose 66%, while kolkhoz members' earnings from the public farm more than doubled. Within that period social consumption funds rose by a 2.5 factor and over 140 million people improved their housing conditions.

Today our country has a firm industrial base for the development of all national economic sectors and highly skilled cadres. Economic relations with foreign countries, with the members of the socialist comity above all, are being developed actively.

The considerably expanded scale of public production, the profound structural changes in the economy and the placement of production forces, and the new and even greater socioeconomic tasks formulated by the party require further improvements in planning and in the entire socialist economic management system. As was pointed out at the November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, we must take into consideration, in this respect, that along with major and unquestionable successes, a number of bottlenecks and unresolved problems remain in the national economy.

Implementing the decisions of the 25th party congress on improving national economic management, the CC CPSU passed a decree on further perfecting the economic mechanism and the tasks of party and state organs. A joint decree was also passed by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality." Both documents are aimed precisely at raising the level of planning and economic management, and making them consistent with the requirements of the present stage--the stage of developed socialism--achieve a substantial increase in public production effectiveness, accelerate scientific and technical progress and the growth of labor productivity, and improve the quality of output and, on this basis, insure the steady upsurge of the country's economy and the prosperity of the Soviet people.

The system of measures stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree is a most important means for improving planning and the entire economic mechanism. It was developed on the basis of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the stipulations of the Soviet Constitution, and in accordance with the results of a number of major experiments and measures aimed at improving planning and economic incentive, carried out in recent years both at individual enterprises as well as on the scale of the country's sectors and rayons.

In the immediate future the implementation of this system of measures will become the main direction of the activities of all planning, economic, and financial organs, both central and local. This project must be implemented by each production unit. High level of organization and timely implementation of all the measures included in the decree, and the finding and utilization of existing reserves are the guarantee for new successes in the development of the Soviet economy and the utilization of its advantages.

Improving Planning is the Main Link in Perfecting Economic Management

The plan is the main tool for the implementation of the party's economic policy. The plans embody the basic interests of the people, of all social strata and population groups, and of every Soviet person. The entire history of socialist planning, from Lenin's GOELRO Plan and the first five-year plans to the present, is a vivid demonstration of the advantages of the socialist system and the creative implementation of our party's programmatic objectives.

Today planning assumes an even greater role in the economic management system. ". . . The task," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "is to raise the level of planning and economic management, making it consistent with the requirements of the present stage--the stage of developed socialism." This calls for stricter requirements governing the scientific level of all planning. It is not simply a question of amending the procedure for the formulation of a plan and the solution of some organizational and methodological problems, but of substantially improving the content of the plan itself. This means, above all, to include in the plan the most effective means for achieving high national-economic end-results and the dynamic and proportional development of the economy.

The system of interrelated long-term and current plans is becoming ever more important for the successful solution of social and economic problems and for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The decision clearly defines this system and formulates a procedure for the elaboration of plans. This includes a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress covering a 20-year span (broken down into 5-year periods); basic directions of the economic and social development of the USSR over the next 10 years (in 5-year periods); a 5-year plan for the economic and social development of the USSR (with an annual breakdown), and an annual plan. Such an organization of the work insures the continuity of effect of long-term plans and their necessary stability. This is achieved, in particular, by introducing each five years the necessary refinements to the comprehensive

program for scientific and technical progress and basic trends of economic and social development of the USSR and, at the same time, include in them the assignments for the next five-year plan.

The central position within this system is held by the five-year plan with its annual breakdowns. It must become the base of economic activities of ministries, associations, enterprises, and organizations. It must become their working plan. Long-term economic relations will be organized and contracts will be signed among production associations, enterprises, and supply-marketing, trade, transportation, and scientific research organizations in accordance with the five-year plan assignments.

The formulation of the five-year plan must be based on progressive technical economic norms and standards, broken down in terms of types of work, labor, raw material, material, and fuel-energy outlays, and norms governing the utilization of production capacities and specific capital investments. The USSR Gosplan, and the ministries and departments must insure the timely elaboration of systems of such norms and standards with a view to their extensive application in the formulation of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The formulation of balances of material, manpower, financial, population income and expenditures, and productive capacity balances and the development of the necessary reserves and the retention of fixed wholesale prices for the entire five-year period are major prerequisites for upgrading the role of the five-year plan and insuring its stability. The implementation of the five-year plan will be assessed from its beginning on a cumulative basis.

The annual planning practice will be changed in accordance with the intensified role of the five-year plan. The annual plans for the economic and social development of the USSR will be elaborated on the basis of the economic norms and assignments of the five-year plan for the specific year. They will stipulate the required concretizing of the indicated assignments and the implementation of the necessary economic and organizational measures insuring its fulfillment.

With a view to the better substantiation of planned indicators, economic and engineering computations and enterprise capacity data must be extensively used, insuring the availability and level of utilization of productive capital, technical production standards, and other technical and economic indicators.

This procedure calls for the elaboration of five-year and annual plans from below--directly by the production associations (enterprises) and organizations.

The plan's influence on effectiveness and quality largely depends on its indicators. The role of quality indicators will be enhanced. The variety of goods planned in terms of physical units will be increased. Quality parameters and consumer features will be emphasized in the use of physical indicators. The responsibility of associations and enterprises for the implementation of obligations to supply goods within the stipulated variety and to improve their quality will be intensified.

The question of planning the overall volume of output in terms of cost will be resolved on an essentially new basis. A gradual transition will be made to the extensive application of the net-output (normative) indicator. Unlike the gross and marketable output, this indicator does not take into consideration the cost of raw materials, materials, and complementing goods. For this reason it can be used to determine most accurately the contribution of each enterprise, association, or sector to the growth of the country's national income. The growth of labor productivity and the wage fund will be planned on the basis of the net-output indicator.

The approach to assessing the implementation of the plan for commodity marketing by the enterprises and, correspondingly, the use of this indicator within the economic incentive system, will be changed. In the future this indicator will be used in assessing the implementation of plans and obligations on the supply of goods within the stipulated nomenclature (variety) in accordance with contracts and orders. The accounting procedure for goods supplied to the consumers will be improved substantially in this connection.

Along with indicators included in the five-year and annual plans, stable economic norms will be applied extensively. This should contribute to increasing the initiative of ministries, associations, and enterprises in the formulation of stressed plans and upgrading the responsibility for the utilization of resources.

The USSR Constitution stipulates that state plans are plans for economic and social development. More than ever before today the social aspect must be considered in the elaboration of problems of scientific and technical and economic progress.

The state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR, and of union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities, rayons, ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, and organizations must include a coordinated section covering the entire set of measures in the social area. This includes measures aimed at improving labor conditions, upgrading the skills and professional mastery of the workers and the general educational and cultural standards of the population, improvements in housing and cultural living conditions and medical services, and other measures related to the development of output and capital construction, and to upgrading their effectiveness.

The decree particularly singles out indicators related to labor and social development. One of them is the important indicator of reducing the use of manual labor. A corresponding program will be formulated as one of the comprehensive target programs which must be drafted on a priority basis in the immediate future.

The program-target method must be extensively applied in the formulation of national economic plans. Comprehensive target scientific-technical, economic, and social programs, as well as programs for the development of individual areas and territorial-production complexes, will become the most important

component of state long-term economic and social development plans. The sectorial five-year plans will contain programs for upgrading technical production standards, the creation of new machine systems for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes, etc.

The steady improvement of technical and economic production indicators is a major prerequisite for the growth of production effectiveness and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Industrial projects must be designed and built only on the basis of the latest highly effective equipment and technology. In terms of technical and economic parameters and consumer qualities, the output of the newly completed enterprises must match or surpass domestic and foreign production achievements.

Great attention has been paid to measures aimed at improving economic relations between industry and trade with a view to upgrading the quality and increasing the variety of consumer goods.

Frequently the retail trade system is supplied with goods not in demand by the population. Meanwhile, however, the plans of enterprises which have produced such unsalable goods are considered fulfilled and bonuses are awarded to the workers. In order to relate more closely production with trade and to increase the role of the consumer in the formulation of production plans for consumer goods, the decree calls for increasing the responsibility of the head ministries in organizing the production of consumer goods and meeting population demand, developing more extensively firm stores selling consumer goods, and improving the work of wholesale fairs. It has been stipulated that five-year agreements will be concluded between trade organs and industrial associations. They must stipulate variety renovations, improved finishing and presentation of goods, packaging, and other obligations to be assumed by the manufacturer, such as to insure the satisfaction of population demand. On the basis of such agreements trade and industrial enterprises will conclude annual contracts which will concretize in accordance with consumer demand the volume, variety, and conditions for the delivery of goods.

With the development of our economy, the increased number of sectors, and the creation of new major economic rayons, a number of complex problems arise in the fields of management and efficient combination of sectorial with territorial planning. It is a question of insuring the more coordinated participation of ministries, associations, and enterprises in the planned development of individual economic rayons, while retaining the sectorial industrial management principle. At the same time we must enhance the level of territorial planning and management in order to insure the more comprehensive development of the economy in each republic, oblast, and economic rayon. This calls for improving the coordination between USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics in the elaboration of plans for the development of sectors on the territorial level. We must also enhance the work standards of the planning organs of union republics in terms of insuring the comprehensive development of their economies.

The councils of ministers of union republics are being granted additional rights in economic management whose exercise will enable them to intensify their role in the development of production forces and the solution of social problems. In particular, the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of kray, oblast, and city soviets of people's deputies have been entrusted with the formulation and approval of coordinated five-year and annual plans for the production of local construction materials and consumer goods, plans for housing-communal and cultural-consumer construction, and control over their implementation.

Taking into consideration the rising importance of Siberia and the Far East for the country's economy and the development of major territorial-production complexes in those areas, greater attention should be paid to the comprehensive elaboration of problems of the development and location of production forces in them.

The new complex tasks of perfecting national economic planning face the planning organs, the USSR Gosplan above all, with major requirements.

The high scientific and technical and economic potential inherent in developed socialism, the tremendous experience acquired by economic managers, and the increased political and labor activeness of the Soviet people create new opportunities for achieving the necessary proportionality and balance in economic development.

In this case the national economic balance and the planned ratios must be based on the highly effective utilization of resources and proper choice of priorities, and on insuring the dynamic structural changes of the economy.

The sluggishness and attachment shown by some management units to the old ways and means of economic decision making, giving priority to the quantitative growth of output, can only restrain scientific and technical, economic, and social progress, and create unnecessary social labor outlays and losses of produced goods. The elimination of this approach is a mandatory prerequisite for the fuller utilization of the advantages of developed socialism.

The primary task of the USSR Gosplan is the adoption of perfected planning methods which will insure the unity and balancing of the national economic plan and of all its sections and parts, proceeding in the solution of economic problems from national interests, and firmly counteracting departmental and parochial trends. However, the USSR Gosplan must also take into consideration the characteristics and interests governing the development of union republics and economic rayons, and of the various areas and sectors of the public economy. In their activities the USSR Gosplan, the councils of ministers of union republics, and the ministries and departments must rely on local initiative and the initiative of labor collectives. They must take into consideration the instructions of the voters and organize planning work better, both from above and from below.

The rights and possibilities of labor collectives concerning production planning and organization are also being substantially broadened. This is

entirely consistent with the party's course toward the development of democratic principles in economic management and with the stipulations of the Soviet Constitution. At the same time, the responsibility of economic managers at all levels is enhanced regarding the quality and substantiation of plan decisions and the full and strict implementation of plan assignments.

Accelerating the Commissioning of Production Capacities and Enhancing the Effectiveness of Capital Investments

One of the main problems of economic development at the present stage is the radical improvement of all work in capital construction and in upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments.

Capital construction in our country is being conducted on a tremendous scale. In the first three years of the current five-year plan alone over 700 big industrial enterprises were commissioned. Within that time 6.3 million housing units, totaling 321 million square meters, were commissioned; the number of schools, kindergartens, nurseries, hospitals, polyclinics, and other facilities which were built exceeded the figures of the five-year plan.

The November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum noted that the situation in capital construction is improving too slowly. The splintering of capital investments among numerous construction projects and sites has not been terminated and neither has, consequently, the growth of unfinished construction.

Every year tremendous funds are spent for construction. This year alone the volume of capital investment will total 132 billion rubles. The Soviet people are interested in the funds appropriated for the development of the national economy being used expediently and in insuring the highest possible growth of output per invested ruble. We must put an end more rapidly to existing shortcomings in the construction industry and accelerate the commissioning of initiated projects. We must meet construction deadlines and bring into action the tremendous possibilities for upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments.

On the basis of the decisions of the 25th party congress and the CC CPSU plenums on improving matters in capital construction, the decree particularly singles out related problems of improving planning, financing, and economic incentive in this national economic sector.

One of the most important tasks facing planning and economic organs is insuring the formulation of a stable five-year capital construction plan with its annual breakdown, balanced on the basis of available material resources, technological and power equipment, labor and financial resources, and capacities of construction and installation organizations. The commissioning of industrial capacities and sites readied for commodity output and the providing of services will become the main indicator in planning and assessing the activities of construction organizations.

The indicator of marketable construction output, which is the cost of construction and installation work by enterprise, project, or priority complex,

ready to begin output and delivered to the customer, will be introduced in the system of planning and assessment indicators of activities of construction organizations. Unlike the current volume of approved construction-installation work, this indicator will encourage, above all, the commissioning of industrial capacities and projects.

The five-year plan will continue to set a ceiling for state capital investments and construction-installation projects. It will indicate the maximum outlays for the entire planned period for the commissioning of completed enterprises, capacities, and projects, to be observed by both plans and contractors. The purpose of this procedure is to change their attitude toward the formulation of capital construction plans and encourage the construction and installation organizations to save on resources and insure timely plan fulfillment.

The decree stipulates a conversion to the planning of capital construction and operating production facilities as a single unit. This means that both the state plans and the plans of USSR ministries and departments and union republics must, above all, take into consideration possibilities for increasing output at existing enterprises through the fullest possible and most intensive utilization of their production capacities and productive capital. On this basis, the resources needed for the technical retooling and reconstruction of standing enterprises will be appropriated on a priority basis. Funds for the construction of new and the expansion of existing enterprises will be appropriated only whenever the requirements of the national economy for a given type of output cannot be secured at operating enterprises through their reconstruction and technical retooling. The systematic implementation of this line will make it possible to limit new construction, reduce the time needed for the building of projects, and substantially decrease the volume of unfinished construction.

In the next few years capital construction must considerably increase the share of outlays for reconstruction and technical retooling. With a view to expanding technical retooling, the managers of production associations (enterprises) will be given the right to approve lists of such projects regardless of their overall cost estimate.

Insuring the stability of the five-year capital construction plans and intensifying the orientation of construction organizations toward the accelerated commissioning of production capacities and projects call for substantial changes to be made in the system of construction financing and accounting. The principle of continually financing of state capital investments by industrial project will be introduced, based on the list covering the entire period of construction, within the amounts stipulated in the estimate. Should the capital construction plans be overfulfilled, construction projects will be financed from loans. In the future accounts between contracting organizations and clients must be settled only for completed and delivered projects, priority complexes, and sequences and completed parts and entire enterprises without interim payments. The outlays of contracting organizations for unfinished construction will be met, essentially, through bank loans.

It has also been deemed expedient to gradually convert to the construction of enterprises in individual sectors financed out of loans granted to contracting construction organizations, covering the full amount of estimated costs. On this basis fully commissioned enterprises will be delivered to the client.

In order to insure the more accurate assessment of the work of construction organizations, preparatory work will be done for the purpose of converting in the 11th Five-Year Plan to planning labor productivity in construction-installation organizations on the basis of net output and, in the case of the wage fund, the norm per ruble of output. The use of this indicator will make it possible to accurately assess the factual contribution of the construction organization to the creation of productive capital.

Further Development of Cost Accounting

The USSR Constitution clearly stipulates that economic management will be based on a combination of centralized management with the economic autonomy and initiative of enterprises, associations, and other organizations, with the active utilization of cost accounting, profits, production costs, and other economic levers and incentives. The methods formulated by the party and the government aimed at perfecting planning offer new possibilities for upgrading their effectiveness.

The stipulation on the further development of cost accounting based on the five-year plan and long-term economic norms, guaranteeing an increase of resources remaining at the disposal of production associations (enterprises) and construction-installation organizations, based on improved end-results of their economic activities, is new and of essential importance. At the same time, the growth of withholdings of funds for the state budget is being secured.

The decree pays great attention to the consolidation and development of cost accounting in the main public production units. To an ever greater extent this applies to big production and scientific-production associations in industry and production construction-installation associations in construction. Cost accounting work methods in all-union (republic) associations will be perfected as well and gradually applied in the work of industrial and construction ministries.

Experience has indicated that reaching a new level in production socialization --the creation of associations in their various forms (production, scientific-production, agro-industrial, etc)--contributes to improving plant management, bringing science closer to production, and upgrading its effectiveness. In the next two to three years industrial associations will be established as a basic cost accounting unit in industry. Between 1979 and 1981 a conversion to a two-three step management system will be implemented in construction. Here the main cost accounting unit in construction output will be the production construction-installation association or, in individual cases, the trust. Completing the establishment of associations, ministries and departments must make a thorough study of the activities of existing associations, improve their structure, and upgrade their work effectiveness.

Also important is the fact that the criteria for assessing the economic activities of production associations (enterprises) are being revised so that they may reflect more accurately the factual contribution of the labor collective to the satisfaction of social requirements and upgrading work quality. This applies, above all, to the implementation of plans for the delivery of industrial and consumer goods in accordance with nomenclature (variety) and deadlines, based on concluded contracts (orders), increasing labor productivity and quality of output, and increasing profits (in some sectors, lowering production costs).

With a view to upgrading the material incentive and economic responsibility of production associations (enterprises), economic incentive funds will be set up based on firm norms as stipulated in the five-year plan, with annual breakdowns. These funds will be used strictly according to purpose. Surplus funds will be transferred to the following year and will not be appropriated.

The material incentive fund will be based on long-term economic norms established, as a rule, in terms of percentages of profits (estimated profits). The amount of the fund will depend on the growth of labor productivity, increased output of superior quality goods, and insuring deliveries to the consumer in accordance with concluded contracts and orders.

The sociocultural measures and housing construction fund will be based on securing the working people with housing and sociocultural services. Part of the material incentive fund may also be used for such purposes.

The establishment and utilization of the production development fund will be connected more closely with the acceleration of technical retooling of the enterprises. Measures financed out of this fund will be elaborated and approved independently by the production associations (enterprises). The corresponding outlays will be entirely included in the capital construction plans of ministries and departments, thus insuring, on a priority basis, the necessary material resources and volumes of contracted work.

Changes in the procedure governing the distribution of profits will play an important role in strengthening cost accounting in production associations (enterprises) and in extending to ministries the use of cost accounting work methods. The new feature here is the gradual conversion to the distribution of profits based on norms stipulated in the five-year plan with annual breakdowns. Firm norms for withholding profits at the disposal of ministries, associations, and enterprises, raise the latter's economic responsibility for the results of financial-economic activities and increase their interest in the effective utilization of material and financial resources. Ministries, associations, and enterprises use such profits to finance all outlays for the development of output, and science and technology, and for setting up economic incentive funds. In sectors with an inadequate profitability level, additional requirements for resources may be met through bank loans or, in individual cases, state budget funds.

In order to accelerate scientific and technical progress and insure the production of new highly effective goods, in 1980 the conversion of scientific

research, design, planning design and technological organizations, experimental organizations, scientific-production and production associations (enterprises), and industrial ministries to a cost accounting system of organization of the creation, mastering, and installation of new equipment will be completed. The system includes planning the creation and installation of new equipment based on orders, defining all stages of the work, ranging from scientific research to output on an industrial scale, the establishment, on the basis of fixed norms, of a single science and technology development fund in ministries, and granting the personnel bonuses based on the total factual results obtained within the national economy as a result of the utilization of scientific and technical achievements.

Let us note that over a number of years scientific and other organizations of some ministries have followed this system. Their practical experience indicates that with a proper organization of the work the extensive application of this system could yield considerable results.

Considering the present scales of public production, outlays for raw and other materials, fuel, and energy account for substantial funds. Reducing material outlays, replacing today's labor objects with less expensive ones, and the elimination of losses are among the important sources for upgrading production effectiveness. It has been stipulated that through the use of less expensive materials in production and retaining the previous level of the quality of output, wholesale prices will remain unchanged through the end of the five-year plan. Profitability in processing industrial sectors, based on types of output, will be computed not as the ratio of profits to total production costs but to production costs without the cost of used raw materials, materials, fuel, energy, semifinished goods, and complementing items.

The decree stipulates the adoption of a set of measures eliminating shortcomings in the economic mechanism through which, frequently, manufacturing enterprises find it more profitable to produce items of no interest to the consumers or society at large.

With a view to expanding the production of high-quality goods and insuring the systematic renovation of output, the system of certification of industrial goods and incentives to upgrade their quality will be developed further. Incentive wholesale price markups for new highly effective goods and goods awarded the state Emblem of Quality will be increased. Interest in upgrading the quality of consumer goods will be achieved by increasing withholdings for economic incentive funds. At the same time, material penalties for the production of low-quality goods will become stricter.

The efficient utilization of manpower resources and the accelerated pace in the growth of labor productivity will become particularly important in the immediate future. Along with scientific and technical progress the further improvement of the organization and norming of labor must become an important source for the growth of its productivity. Practical experience has proved the tremendous economic and social advantages of the brigade form of labor

organization and incentive. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the brigade form must become basic. The collective incentive and responsibility of the production brigades largely depend on the organization of the work within the brigade itself and the rights of brigade collectives (councils). Such rights are being substantially expanded in the areas of organization of labor and material and moral labor incentives.

The conversion to normative wage planning makes it possible also to expand the rights of associations and enterprises in utilizing wage-fund savings compared with the norm, thus providing additional incentives for the growth of labor productivity and for upgrading workers' skills and the retention of cadres.

The current state social insurance rates do not secure outlays for the reproduction of manpower and do not encourage the production associations (enterprises) to reduce the use of manual labor, heavy labor in particular. In the 11th Five-Year Plan these rates will be raised. This will help to insure the more efficient utilization of the manpower.

Measures aimed at increasing the stimulating role of earnings and broadening the rights of labor collectives in resolving problems of workers' material incentives also require the increased responsibility of ministries, councils of ministers of union republics, associations, enterprises, and organizations aimed at the efficient utilization of wage funds.

Let us emphasize that, despite their entire importance, in themselves economic levers and incentives cannot insure the reaching of such objectives. We must intensify organizational work at all management levels. The development and consolidation of cost accounting and of the entire system of economic levers and incentives greatly increases the requirements facing economic managers. Today economic managers at all levels must have an understanding of the meaning and purposes of economic policy, a profound party approach to the work, high-level organization and persistence in reaching objectives, and the ability to work with people and develop their initiative, and comprehensively to encourage and support everything new and progressive.

Actively applying progressive material incentive methods, we must comprehensively develop the moral incentives for labor activities, the creative energy of the masses, and socialist competition.

"The creative forces of the people must be mobilized even more fully. New reserves for economic growth must be found and applied. Today this is the very base of activities of all party organizations and party members." In the final account, the system of measures stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree is aimed at the solution of this most important problem formulated by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. This, precisely, represents its profound political significance.

Our country is nearing the end of the implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan and is on the threshold of the 11th. The measures for improving planning

and increasing the influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, will contribute to the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The 11th Five-Year Plan for economic and social development must be elaborated in accordance with the planned measures.

The reorganization of the economic mechanism is a complex matter requiring the high level of organization of the work of central economic organs, ministries, departments, councils of ministers of union republics, local organs, associations, and enterprises.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers consider the prompt and full implementation of the measures stipulated in the decree one of the most important tasks of the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosstroi, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Gosstroy, USSR Ministry of Finance, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, USSR State Committee for Prices, USSR Gosbank, and USSR Srobybank, and other USSR ministries and departments, and councils of ministers of union republics. Within a short time they must draft a number of normative and method documents in accordance with the basic stipulations of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree. We must bear in mind that some of its stipulations must be enacted as early as 1980.

This is creative work. Its implementation is a very important matter, for the quality of method materials considerably determines the full and systematic implementation of the principles of planning and organization of accounting included in the decree. The characteristics of the individual sectors must be taken into consideration in the elaboration of method documents. The systematic application of the basic stipulations of the decree in the activities of each individual sector must be secured.

The all-round discussion of the measures stipulated in the decree and the formulation of practical recommendations for their application must be paralleled by a search for reserves for the growth of output and possibilities for considerably improving effectiveness and quality indicators.

The collectives of production associations (enterprises) and construction organizations must become actively involved in such work. On the basis of the control figures they must insure the quality formulation of their five-year plans and comprehensively substantiate their economic and engineering computations. The formulation of a stressed yet realistic five-year plan will be an important prerequisite for the further development and consolidation of cost accounting, for upgrading the effectiveness of economic levers and incentives, and for the extensive development of the initiative of labor collectives aimed at achieving high indicators of economic activities.

We must bear in mind that the quality of five-year plans of production associations (enterprises) will largely depend on upgrading the level of planning-economic work by ministries and all-union (republic) industrial associations.

Ministries and associations are granted extensive rights in the planning and organization of economic activities. At the same time, however, their responsibility for the final results of the work of each enterprise and sector as a whole must be increased.

The science of economics plays a major role in the practical implementation of measures aimed at improving planning and intensifying the influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. Our economists must not only sum up the experience acquired in the application of the new methods of planning and economic incentive but contribute more actively through their recommendations to their subsequent practical utilization and to obtaining the highest possible results.

The measures to improve planning and economic incentive, stipulated in the decree, apply to all industrial and construction sectors. Applying the plan indicators, the characteristics of the individual sectors must be taken into consideration in formulating the criteria for assessing the work of enterprises.

Taking into consideration the major tasks facing the transportation system today, it was deemed necessary to elaborate measures to improve the planning and economic incentive of activities of enterprises and organizations in all types of transportation, in accordance with the principles to be applied in industry. The purpose of such measures is to radically improve the organization of the haulage of national economic freight and passengers and other operations. The transport ministries must critically analyze the existing planning and incentive system and formulate effective measures for the implementation of the assignment.

All party, soviet, economic, and trade union organizations face major and responsible assignments related to the organized implementation of the measures formulated by the party and the government. Extensive work must be done to explain the content of the new decision and to directly familiarize all labor collectives and individual working people with it.

The systematic implementation of such measures will be of great national economic importance. This implementation must contribute to the successful solution of the tasks set by the CPSU regarding the further growth of the country's economic power and insuring the steady growth of the prosperity of the Soviet people.

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SUPREME PRINCIPLE OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

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[Article by A. Vodolazskiy, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] One of the sources of wisdom of the CPSU and of its supreme authority among the masses and of its powerful, inspiring, mobilizing, uniting and guiding force is its collective leadership. As the nucleus of our society's political system, Lenin's party acts, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, has said, as the collective mind of the entire Soviet people.

Such a role, multiplied by the profoundly democratic nature of the internal daily life and activities of the party, enable it properly to implement its responsible mission as a political leader, express most fully the will of the people, take into consideration the interests and characteristics of the classes, social groups, nations, nationalities, and generations in our country, combine such interests in its policy, embody it through the actions of millions of people, and direct their energy, knowledge, and experience to the solution of communist construction problems.

The party has acquired tremendous experience in collective management. From the very first days of its history, it firmly and steadfastly followed K. Marx's instructions according to which "no one must act on behalf of the party without seeking the advice of others" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, p 517). Structuring the leadership of the Communist Alliance and the First International on a collective leadership principle, the founders of Marxism firmly rebuffed attempts on the part of individual figures to impose their undisputed authority on the workers' movement.

These ideas and traditions were further substantiated theoretically and creatively enriched in V. I. Lenin's works. In 1899, formulating a plan for the creation of a proletarian party of a new type, Vladimir Il'ich emphasized that such a party cannot wage a political struggle, organize the revolutionary forces, discipline them, and develop a revolutionary technique "without the collective elaboration of certain forms and rules of conduct, and without establishing . . . the responsibility of every party member to the entire party" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 191). Having

formulated this principle, Lenin observed it strictly, stating that, ". . . I personally cannot make decisions for the party or in its behalf" (ibid, vol 47, p 47). He sharply criticized Plekhanov's rejection of collectivism and his lordly way of giving party members lessons in a tone of voice usually used to servants, and his single-handed revision of the decisions of the Second RSDWP Congress, as well as the anarchic individualism displayed by Martov, Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinov'yev, and other factionalists, disorganizers, and dividers.

The conclusions of the Marxist-Leninist classics on the collective nature of party leadership are profoundly scientific. They reflect the sum total of laws governing the workers' movement and the communist movement based on it. At all the stages of the struggle for the liberation of society from exploitation and for a socialist and communist reorganization, by virtue of its position in social production, its mass concentration in big industrial production, and unity of basic interests and objectives, the working class is objectively the bearer of steadily intensifying and expanding collectivistic trends. According to N. K. Krupskaya, Lenin considered that the very labor conditions of the workers develop in them the ability and habits to act unitedly and collectively. Consequently, in order to be the vanguard of the working class and its leader, the communist party must imbue within itself such trends and raise them to a supreme level of concentration. It must make collectivism the strict rule of its functioning and leadership. It must daily apply it in the conscious revolutionary-transforming struggle waged by the toiling masses.

A natural offspring and mandatory requirement of democratic centralism and a basic principle in the organizational structure and activities of the CPSU is also the collective leadership provided by its leading organs, and the fact that the party organizations are headed not by individuals but by representative collegiums (committees, bureaus) elected by the party members.

Collective leadership is a reliable school for the upbringing and training of party leaders and all party members. It is the most important means in the party's struggle for the unity and purity of its ranks. It is only by the will of the majority of the members of its organizations and their leading organs that the party gets rid of those who do not justify but shame the high title of party member.

The principle of collective party leadership is comprehensive. It includes a wide variety of interrelated and interdependent principles whose implementation makes it possible to formulate a correct policy, successfully implement it, and avoid major errors, accidents, subjectivism, and one-sidedness. The Marxist-Leninist classics considered the most important among such principles the planned functioning of leading party collegiums at all levels; party principle-mindedness in free discussion and unanimity in the solution of problems and in relations between members of leading organs and all party members; absence of any individual dependence among them; the use of a scientific and class approach always, everywhere, and in everything; efficiency, operativeness, and most strict individual work responsibility; and links with party and all toiling masses; careful consideration of their

basic interests and aspirations; criticism and self-criticism; strict discipline and control of execution; subordination of the minority to the majority; and acknowledgment of the most important role of leaders and managers with the inadmissibility of their cult and autocracy.

Our party has always been guided by these principles. In the pre-October years, despite the fierce persecutions by the reaction, it held six congresses and seven conferences in which, in an atmosphere of free exchange of views and, frequently, sharp struggles, the general line was formulated, pointing the way to the victory of the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions, and at which other problems of party strategy, tactics, and organization were resolved. The Bolshevik Central Committee worked collectively. Following the sixth (Prague) party conference held in January 1912, and until the beginning of World War I alone, in addition to the well-known Krakow (December 1912) and Poronin (September 1913), there were no less than 14 conferences between the Central Committee and party workers, and Central Committee meetings and conferences, headed by Lenin, at which the most important problems of party policy of the times were resolved. In October 1917, following the completion of the preparations for and making of the socialist revolution, the Central Committee met on eight separate occasions. Subsequently, in the complex circumstances of the struggle for the consolidation of Soviet power and the civil war, the party convened three congresses and two conferences at which the ways for the building of socialism, the defense of the gains of the Great October Revolution from the armed invasion of interventionists and White Guards, and many other problems were defined and resolved. All Central Committee organs operated systematically.

Collective leadership became even more extensive and complete with the conversion to peaceful construction. Between 1921 and 1925 the party held annual congresses. Four party conferences were held at which the policy of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism was formulated and means for the solution of other problems were indicated. Between the 10th and 13th party congresses over 300 plenums and meetings of the Politburo and over 350 meetings of the Organizational Bureau and the Secretariat were held.

Such data alone defeat the fabrications of anti-communists and revisionists on the "horrors" of Bolshevik centralization, its "undemocratic nature," and the fact that, allegedly, Lenin was the "omnipotent dictator who issued orders," "singly resolving all problems," "rejecting free discussion as a method for the formulation of the party line," etc.

In the decisions passed at its congresses, conferences, and Central Committee plenums, the party scientifically defined the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state. It creatively developed Lenin's plan for the building of socialism. Its collective will paralyzed the aspirations of Trotskyites, Zinov'yevites, and right-wing opportunists to wreck the implementation of this plan, thus placing them outside of the party.

However, there were also periods in which, by virtue of objective and subjective reasons, intraparty democracy was restricted and collective

leadership was not observed always and in everything. The party decisively opposed this and steadfastly continued to fulfill its role as collective leader and organizer of the masses. Under its leadership the Soviet people built socialism, defeated the armed invasion launched by fascist Germany, and amazed the entire world with the unparalleled pace of the postwar restoration of the country's economy. In the course of all these military and labor battles the party showed no hesitations within its ranks. In the most difficult conditions of the Great Patriotic War, over 200 meetings of Politburo, Organizational Bureau, and Secretariat of the VKP(b) Central Committee were held. Many plans for combat operations were considered, as a rule, jointly by the members of the Central Committee Politburo and general headquarters. The bureaus of local party committees and party commissions of the formations of the active army were held jointly, even though, as a rule, they were attended by co-opted party members.

Extensive work was done after the Great Patriotic War to eliminate the restrictions in party life based on the immediate threat presented by imperialist aggression, wartime requirements, and various types of subjectivistic encrustations. In this connection the 20th party congress and the October 1964 and subsequent Central Committee plenums played an important role. Today the party is systematically promoting the strict observance and creative perfecting of Marxist-Leninist collective leadership in accordance with the ever-growing influence of the CPSU in the developed socialist society, the expansion and intensification of its social base, and the galvanizing of the creative energy and thinking of the party members and all Soviet people.

All-party congresses are convened regularly, in accordance with the requirements of the bylaws. Each of them represents a historical landmark in the life of the Soviet society. The 23rd, 24th, and 25th CPSU congresses were of outstanding significance. In the course of these congresses the laws and trends of the contemporary global revolutionary process were brought to light from Marxist-Leninist positions. Tasks of the party and the people were clearly defined in the struggle for laying the material and technical foundations for communism, improving socialist social relations, and educating the new man. The ways leading to upgrading further the party's leading role, strengthening its ranks, enriching its inner life, and intensifying its ties with the masses were indicated. The concept of developed socialism and the peace program were elaborated, and a number of other major theoretical and practical problems of our time were resolved through the collective mind of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Concern for the further development of Leninist collective leadership and for upgrading the activity of the party masses has imbued the stipulations of the congresses regarding the need to take more fully into consideration public opinion in resolving problems of the selection, promotion and retention of leading cadres; extending control rights over administrative activities to the primary party organizations of scientific research institutes, schools, cultural-educational, medical, and other institutions and establishments; indications of the need to extensively develop party democracy and strengthen discipline, etc.

The party congresses are held in an atmosphere governed by the free exchange of views, principle-mindedness, and efficiency, encouraged by the CC CPSU accountability reports. The delegates sum up the results of achievements and accomplishments, think of the present and the future of the party and the country, make valuable suggestions on many problems of economic, social, and cultural construction and party development, expose shortcomings, and self-critically assess their own activities. The congresses are addressed not only by noted party and government leaders but by rank-and-file party members as well--workers, kolkhoz members, and members of the toiling intelligentsia. The most valuable feature of the congresses is the Marxist-Leninist unanimity displayed in the discussion of problems and in decision making. In accordance with the Leninist tradition of presenting to the congress "tried, reworked, and summed up practical experience" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 40, p 144), and the idea that the processing of experience locally is no less important than the work done at the congress itself, the CPSU involves in the preliminary discussion of problems to be considered at its all-union forums all party members, the entire nation.

The Central Committee accountability reports and the speeches of the delegates are broadcast on the radio and television. They are heard by the entire country. This makes every party member and Soviet person a participant in the open and frank conversation between the CPSU combat headquarters not only with the delegates to the congress but the entire party, all working people. This, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, is deeply meaningful. The party has no secrets from the people. It is profoundly interested in informing all Soviet people of its activities and plans and have their views on them.

An extensive constructive discussion was held within the party and throughout the country on the draft "Basic Directions of the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980." The draft was discussed by all party organizations and labor collectives, in the press, on the television, and the radio. Many party and non-party members expressed their views on a broad range of vitally important problems of the building of communism. All views were thoroughly studied and the valuable and realistic ones were taken into consideration by the 25th congress, the Central Committee, and Soviet Government, and the other party and state organs, centrally and locally. Together with the entire nation the party actively discussed the draft of the new USSR Constitution. Following the suggestions submitted by the participants in this unparalleled discussion, which essentially developed into legislation by the whole people, the constitutional commission amended 110 articles in the draft and added a new one.

The party's Leninist Central Committee is providing an example of collective leadership to the entire party and the people. All its organs function on a regular, operative, and total basis, very intensively. In the period between the 24th and 25th congresses there were 11 CC CPSU plenums, 215 Politburo meetings, and 205 Secretariat meetings. The decisions passed by them following thorough discussions gave the party organizations efficient and clear orientations in their comprehensive work. The supreme party organ has acted similarly following the 25th congress as well. The past Central

Committee plenums have indicated the means for further intensification of public production, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, improvements in the quality of output, and steady improvements in the life of the Soviet people. They defined the ways and means for the organizational and ideological support of decisions related to these and other topical tasks.

Plenums are preceded by extensive work. Thus, preparations for the July 1978 Plenum, at which the further development of agriculture was discussed, were initiated several months before its opening. The Central Committee Politburo set up a commission which was instructed to develop the biggest and most essential problems related to agricultural production. A large group of CC CPSU members, representatives of the central and local party aktivs, scientists, specialists, and people directly involved in production participated in this work. Initially, the drafts prepared by the commission were thoroughly and profoundly discussed at Politburo sessions, after which they were submitted to the Plenum for consideration. Its participants were issued the prepared materials ahead of time, studied them thoroughly and knowledgeably participated in their discussion. This method made it possible to adopt scientifically substantiated decisions based on the opinions of specialists and practical workers. They were warmly approved by the rural workers and the entire Soviet people, and are already yielding results.

The Politburo is the leader of the CPSU Central Committee. As Comrade M. A. Suslov said, within its relations of creative collective leadership, high purposefulness, and reciprocal trust and exactingness in the work have reached their highest development. This has raised to an even higher level all Central Committee activities. The Politburo considers major and complex problems covering all aspects of life of the party and the country, and of domestic and foreign policy. It is in constant touch with the broad party-economic aktiv, specialists in all fields of science, production, and culture, and representatives of local organizations. Scientists and specialists in the national economy are invited to attend many of its sessions. They actively participate in the discussions and express their competent views.

The CC CPSU maintains profound and comprehensive ties with the masses. An important aspect of its work is the live contacts between the leaders of the party and the people. This makes it possible to avoid errors in the assessment of factual phenomena and of the views which the working people hold on them. It makes it possible to hear both criticism and specific suggestions on how to improve matters. In 1978 Comrade L. I. Brezhnev visited Siberia and the Far East, Minsk, Baku, and six big plants. He met and talked with the builders of the Baykal-Amur Main Line and with soldiers. His fruitful work was highly rated by the Politburo. Information obtained in the course of such encounters and the conclusions based on them became the foundations of a number of important decisions and were embodied in the specific instructions and recommendations issued party and economic organs. That same year other Politburo members and candidate members and Central Committee secretaries visited over 30 oblasts, krays, and republics. They too visited a number of enterprises and met with working people.

The fact that the Central Committee is continually studying and summing up the experience of the local party organizations plays an important role in broadening the framework of collective party leadership. Such work is conducted along a number of channels. It includes hearing reports submitted by central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations, critical analyses of accomplishments, and support and extensive dissemination of best experience. The local party organs are continually promoting valuable initiatives and submitting to the supreme party organs specific suggestions of all-party and national significance.

The CC CPSU does a tremendous amount of work on the basis of letters sent by the working people, considering them not only a source of information of the feelings and needs of the people, but one of the important forms of participation of the masses in the discussion and solution of the most important governmental and social problems, and the management of the country and of the production process. In 1978 alone the Central Committee received over 700,000 letters. Many of the most valuable suggestions, wishes, and critical remarks of their authors were taken into consideration and used in daily practical activities, and reflected in CC CPSU decrees on environmental protection, improvements in railroad transportation, problems pertaining to ideological and political-educational work, perfecting higher education and the economic mechanism, etc.

The Central Committee is comprehensively developing and encouraging the labor and political activeness of the masses and their creativity. It supports the valuable initiatives of individual party organizations, labor collectives, and leading production workers, making their experience available to millions of people. Here is a single outstanding example: As we know, in 1977 the working people of Ipatovskiy Rayon in Stavropol'skiy Kray applied a new comprehensive method in the organization of grain harvesting. Approved and supported by the party's Central Committee, within a short time it earned widespread recognition. It is being practiced and perfected in accordance with local conditions and the characteristics of the different crops and is being used ever more extensively in cotton, sugar beet, and fodder crop growing. The warm letters which the CC CPSU and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev sent the innovators have inspired them to new exploits and have contributed to the further dissemination of anything progressive.

The republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations and the committees heading them play an important role in party affairs. It would be no exaggeration to say, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th party congress, that they bear the main responsibility for the on-site implementation of party policy. Thousands of primary party organizations, constituting the reliable base of the party, are operating on the front lines of economic and cultural construction and with the very heart of the people. All these units are also building their work on the principles of collectivity, formulating means for the implementation of party directives in an atmosphere of free discussion.

A huge army of party members is working within the leading organs of the local and primary party organizations. In the last elections about 4.2 million people were elected secretaries, deputy secretaries, and members of party committees and bureaus of primary and shop organizations, and as party group organizers. Many thousands of party members were elected and are at work within rayon, city, okrug, oblast, and kray party committees, and central committees of communist parties of union republics.

The CC CPSU decree "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Krasnodarskiy Kray Party Committee for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" (1977) emphasizes that the strict observance of collective leadership--the supreme principle of party leadership--must be such as to insure the formulation of proper decisions and their successful implementation and be a reliable guarantee against subjectivism. An atmosphere leading to the profound and principled discussion of problems, open formulation of opinions, and exposure of shortcomings must exist at plenums, bureau sessions, and party meetings.

The party is also always concerned with the systematic intensification and expansion of collectivism in the life and activities of our entire society. Thus, in its recent decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," the CPSU Central Committee made it incumbent upon party committees and heads of mass-information and propaganda media to submit for discussion by the Soviet people ripe problems of economic and cultural construction and international life. It is necessary to insure the practical implementation of the Leninist principle of publicity in the work of party, state, and economic organs and public organizations, leaving no single question without an answer or explanation. The development of principle-minded, open, and constructive criticism and self-criticism must be promoted. The responsibility for a strict and objective approach to the interpretation of facts and the substantiation of positive and critical evaluations must be upgraded. The further development of the movement of workers' and village correspondents must be secured. An attentive attitude must be adopted toward all letters received by editors. The views of working people on domestic and international problems and reviews of letters must be published regularly. Party, soviet, and economic managers must be asked to study and comment on letters to the editor. The mandatory adoption and publication of practical measures based on critical reports and materials describing progressive experience, with a view to its comprehensive utilization, must be promoted.

The profound collectivism, democracy, and humanism of such stipulations are obvious. They express the nature of the developed socialist society and the radical difference between it and the capitalist society. They refute the fabrications of bourgeois hack writers on the alleged lack of rights and freedoms of the Soviet people. Numerous facts, our entire reality, also refute the stupidity of the blabberings of foreign falsifiers to the effect that over 99% of CPSU members have no say in the formulation of its policies and that citizens' opinions are ignored in the life of Soviet society.

In accordance with the stipulations of the party and its Central Committee, the local party committees are doing a great deal to improve collective

leadership. Enhancing the role of the elective aktiv, involving it more extensively in the formulation of decisions and in the daily activities of party committees and bureaus; establishing permanent and temporary commissions and councils on various matters of economic, organizational, and ideological work, and control of execution; involving specialists in the drafting of decrees and the formulation of plans for their implementation; submission of information reports by city and rayon party committees to primary party organizations; intensifying information from the top and from the bottom; day after day intensifying the study of suggestions, ideas, and feelings of rank-and-file party members, upgrading their activeness and responsibility, and promoting their feeling of being the masters of their party and their organization; and the unparalleled development of voluntary principles in party work are a very partial list of directions which have given collective leadership new impulses in recent years.

Methods for controlling the observance of this principle are being perfected. For example, the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee drafted and is using a special accountability form on meetings of primary party organizations. Naturally, without excluding the study of the organization of such work by the organizations themselves, and giving them specific assistance, it makes it possible not only to follow the regularity with which meetings are held but to study the content of the problems they consider, the nature of the critical addresses by party members, and the level of their activities, and draw from all this proper conclusions and adopt the necessary measures. Controlling or discussing the practices of subordinate organs, the superior party organs must assess the strictness with which they apply the principle of collective leadership in their work.

However, all this should not lead to complacency. To begin with, collective leadership is a creative matter needing constant attention, improvement, and enrichment. Secondly, unfortunately there still are cases of violation of this principle.

For example, we should not tolerate the fact that some secretaries of party committees engage in bureaucratic administration and ordering in party work, belittling the collegiums they head, bypassing them, and ignoring the views of their comrades. This occurs wherever party committee or bureau members are insufficiently firm or reciprocally demanding, and where Lenin's instructions that each party institution must be principle-minded and efficient, rather than a petit bourgeois collegium, and that good work is done if there is a "joint and principle-minded committee," are forgotten ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 47, p 66).

Principle-mindedness in everything, high exactingness, and intolerance toward the violators of party-mindedness, regardless of their position, are mandatory prerequisites for a Leninist approach to collective leadership. Otherwise errors in the work would be inevitable and it would not be excluded to witness the appearance of a type of sorry kind of leaders who, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, would suddenly decide that all the secrets of life have been opened to them and that they know everything. Such people would then begin to issue instructions on all matters and order people around instead of skillfully using their experience and knowledge.

As we know, some leading workers who surround themselves with flatterers and toadies were sharply condemned from the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress. It would be proper to remind such so-called leaders that Marx himself considered servility a most disgusting characteristic. Flattery, toadyism, and servility were inconceivable also in the circle around Lenin, who will remain to us forever an unfading light and model.

Militancy and principle-mindedness in the work of party organizations are directly dependent on the extent to which they use the tried weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Our party is always sharpening this weapon, guided by the stipulations of its congresses, the Central Committee decree "On the Condition of Criticism and Self-Criticism in the Tambovskaya Oblast Party Organization," and other party documents. As a whole, criticism has become more significant, efficient, and constructive. However, cases of its underestimation, including on the part of some collective party organs, have not been entirely surmounted. There are party committee and bureau secretaries who suppress criticism, particularly the one directed against them, persecute for it, seek revenge, consider it an encroachment on their authority, etc. Need we say that such views are inherent in the philistine who considers most significant the honor of his own uniform rather than the interests of the work or its improvement. Equally philistine is the view of those who assume that criticism allegedly weakens the collective and divides and promotes quarrels among its members. It is on this basis that some workers avoid rough edges, suppress criticism, and make it impersonal.

Lenin defined the significance and understanding of party discipline as unity of action and freedom of discussion and criticism (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 14, p 125). Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized that the more open and public the criticism is, the more successful the work becomes. The essence of collective work is precisely the fact that all its participants may freely express their views and contribute, correct, and clarify one another on a principled and comradely basis, regardless of party or other rank, jointly seeking proper solutions, and organizing their implementation.

Collective leadership without criticism and self-criticism means falsehood and sham.

As to those who persecute and seek revenge for criticism, they must think deeply and draw party-minded conclusions from the thought expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his book "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth]: "I have had the opportunity to hear different remarks and, however difficult it might have been occasionally, have tried to draw from them a grain of rationality and serious conclusions. In the final account, this has always benefited both me and the cause. . . ." Leonid Il'ich emphasizes that even after being subjected to sharp criticism he did not change his attitude toward the critic.

This is the only course of action of any leader or party member who has a clear conscience. His primary duty is not only properly to accept criticism but to organize, develop, and comprehensively encourage it.

In his books, "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye," and "Tselina" ["Virgin Land"], Comrade L. I. Brezhnev discusses extensively collective leadership and the most important features of the party tutor. He must be exacting, restrained, strong, and purposeful. At the same time, he must control unsuitable emotions, and display an attentive and sensitive attitude toward the people and their thoughts. Leonid Il'ich advises us that even if we differ with someone on a basic matter, we must try not to harm the person, not to punish him or denigrate him. Sharing his experience, he notes, that when he summoned people to a conference he truly sought their advice, giving everyone the chance to express his views and did not hasten to present his own. Yet, there are comrades who become aware of the "ruling" viewpoint and will never express a different opinion.

Equality among the members of the collegium must be observed. Frequently the following happens: A rayon party committee plenum is being held. Opening it, the first secretary will say: A motion has been made to let the bureau conduct the plenum proceedings. Usually the motion is passed, the bureau members take their places in the presidium, and the plenum goes on with its work. Yet, is this always proper? A circumstance develops in which the bureau--an organ subordinate to the plenum--is controlling it. Yet, any party committee member has the right to become a member of the plenum's presidium. The primacy of executive institutions or individuals over representatives, even though it may seem merely a formality, may conflict with Marxist-Leninist traditions. Also conflicting with such traditions is the practice of "regular" presidiums which frequently occur at meetings. There are also comrades who, whatever the meeting they may be attending, go straight to the presidium without being invited, thus putting themselves and those present in an awkward position.

Equally opposed to the statutory norms of intraparty democracy are the luckily infrequent cases in which delegates to, let us say, a rayon party conference are given a draft resolution in which long before debates on the accountability report submitted by the rayon party committee have ended, contain the printed statement of "acknowledging the work satisfactory. . . ." This is no petty matter justified by the error of some inexperienced worker but a symptom of the occasional shortage of collectivistic standards which are so very necessary under socialist conditions.

Adamant work must be continued in the following direction as well: As early as pre-revolutionary times Lenin insisted that "all principal leaders of the workers' movement, workers themselves, be members of party committees as much as possible ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 7, p 9). He stated that this is a political task and he sharply criticized those who claimed that, allegedly, there were no workers suitable to become committee members (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 10, p 174). In the final years of his life, in his famous "Letters to the Congress," Vladimir Il'ich insisted on the election of a considerable number of workers-party members to the Central Committee.

The party strictly observes these instructions. At the 24th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the party promotes talented and capable

leaders for all sectors of the building of communism precisely from the people, the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, or the toiling intelligentsia. At the time of the 25th congress workers and kolkhoz members accounted for 41% of members of party committees and party bureaus, or secretaries and deputy secretaries of shop party organizations; they accounted for 33% of such membership in the primary party organizations, 41.1% of the members and candidate members of party raykoms, gorkoms, and okruzhkoms and respective auditing commissions, and 32.2% members and candidate members of obkoms, kraykoms, and central committees of union republics and auditing commissions. Naturally it is important to not only elect but involve party members--workers and kolkhoz members--into even more active participation in the solution of the daily problems of party organs and, as Lenin taught, give work to one and all and train and promote rank-and-file working people to leading positions.

Lenin and the party have always ascribed great importance to the organic combination of collective discussions and solution of problems with individual responsibility. Let us not forget collective responsibility as well. Quite frequently the the superior party organ holds the first secretary responsible for errors, omissions, or unfinished work by the committee or bureau. Naturally the first secretary heads the committee and it is he, above all, who is responsible for its work. However, such responsibility must be borne not only by the secretary but by the entire committee. Everyone is familiar with Lenin's view that "every party members is responsible for the party and the party is responsible for every member" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 7, p 290). This is a mandatory concept applicable to leading organs as well. That is precisely as Lenin considered it. For example, there were cases in which he demanded that one or another collective institution be reprimanded for an erroneous decision or action. Occasionally making only the leading party member responsible for the work of the party committee (bureau) weakens this collective organ and promotes indifference and irresponsibility among the remaining members.

Some party committees and bureaus are inefficient in assigning obligations. Occasionally some collegium members are given a number of assignments while others are obviously underemployed. As early as the 9th Congress of the RSP(b), which operated under Lenin's guidance, it was emphasized that "the extent of suitability of each organization should be determined by the extent to which obligations, functions, and responsibilities within it have been strictly allocated." Vladimir Il'ich considered irresponsibility concealed behind references to collective leadership a most dangerous evil. We are reminded of this today by the CPSU and its Central Committee.

Furthermore we should not ignore the fact that frequently local party organs become carried away by various meetings and conferences. Furthermore, some people absolutize them, considering them as just about the main criterion of active and fruitful work. Lenin called for waging a decisive fight against excessive meetings. The party has always led us in this direction.

Strengthening collective leadership in the activities of local elective organs, the CPSU pays parti attention to its implementation and

enrichment in the primary party organizations. One of the vivid confirmations of this fact is the familiar Central Committee decree "On the Practice of Holding Party Meetings by the Yaroslavl' City Party Organization" (1969). The Central Committee called for making each meeting an important event in the party organization and the collective, and a school for the education of the party members. A meeting should have a positive influence on improving all work, contribute to the further development of intraparty democracy, to strengthening collective leadership, and upgrading the creative activeness of the party members and their responsibility. A great deal has been accomplished for the implementation of these and other stipulations. The role and significance of the meetings as the highest collective organ of the primary party organization to which the activities of every party member are subordinate have increased. Such meetings deal with problems and tasks which affect the collectives the most and are of prime importance to their economic and social development.

However, cases of violations of statutory periods for holding party meetings are still encountered. Here and there they take place formally, without enthusiasm. Many party members do not speak out at meetings and have no party assignments. Yet, party committees and bureaus do nothing to turn every party member into an active political fighter. We must implement more fully Lenin's idea that the primary party units "share experience while engaging in agitation, propaganda, and organization, . . . systematically educating . . . themselves, the party, the class, and the masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 191).

Also important is the following matter: The CPSU bylaws make it incumbent upon every party member to participate in cadre selection and to be irreconcilable whenever the Leninist principles governing this work are violated. This is a profoundly collectivistic concept. Unfortunately, in the local areas there are frequent cases in which the superior party committees resolve cadre problems without seeking the advice of the party members of the enterprise or organization where the person recommended for promotion works. The party members of such collectives are not offered the possibility to study the way the candidate has performed his old job and whether or not he enjoyed respect and prestige.

The party has always considered the strictest possible observance and creative perfecting of the principles of collective leadership and of teaching this art to leading cadres, the aktiv, and all party members, a reliable means for galvanizing party and non-party masses.

The effect of this law has reached an unparalleled scale under mature socialist conditions. Collective leadership in the USSR has long exceeded the limits of the party's internal life. It is the base of the management of soviets of people's deputies and all public organizations which are part of the political system of the developed socialist society, guided by the party. The CPSU and its Central Committee are following the firm course of all-round development of the activeness of state and public organizations, comprehensively encouraging their initiatives.

The party is engaged in tremendous and tireless work in the interest of the further creative galvanizing of the entire people. In his March meeting with the voters, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reemphasized the importance of the fact that "every Soviet person may feel his involvement in governmental matters and be confident of the fact that his views and voice will be heard and considered in the formulation of major and minor decisions."

Participation in governmental affairs, conscientious, creative, and highly productive toil for the good of society, and effective concern for its blossoming represent, precisely, the collectivism of the people building communism, a collectivism which has been and is being taught by the party to the Soviet people through its example.

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IMPROVING IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL UPBRINGING

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[Article by A. Kuz'min, Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee secretary]

[Text] I

The practical implementation of the programmatic objectives of the CPSU is of decisive importance in all realms of the life of the Soviet people and in its constructive activities for the sake of the triumph of communism. The comprehensive organizational and ideological activities of our party play a determining role in an important realm of the building of communism such as the molding of the new, comprehensively educated, politically knowledgeable, moral, spiritually rich, and harmoniously developed person.

The dynamic and comprehensive development of our society, the building of mature socialism, and the processes of the gradual growth of socialism into communism require the theoretical interpretation of all new phenomena in real life and making the content and forms of CPSU organizational and ideological-educational work fully consistent with changing circumstances and stricter requirements.

The main directions of ideological work at the present stage have been clearly defined in the decisions of the 25th party congress. Implementing these historical decisions, the CC CPSU in recent years has adopted a number of important and significant decrees on topical problems of ideological and moral upbringing. The works by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other party leaders are of tremendous importance to its improvement. All these programmatic documents give a powerful impulse to the creative development of the theory and practice of scientific communism. They became a real manual for action for the party organizations. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improvements in Ideological and Political-Educational Work" is the live confirmation of the party's tireless concern for molding the communist awareness of the people and of its comprehensive and purposeful activities among the masses.

Today the party committees and organizations and ideological workers have everything necessary to continue to enhance the quality of political and

educational work and, thus, its effectiveness as well. Our cadres have been called upon to utilize to the fullest extent the tremendous power of all previous educational practice and never to abandon the traditional and tried principles of the comprehensive and systematic approach to the solution of all educational tasks, including moral upbringing.

The problems of implementing the party's ideological objectives occupy a central position in the work of the Belorussian Republic Party organization. Proceeding from the principle of unity and interdependence among ideological-political, moral, and labor education as formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress, the republic's party committees and organizations have noticeably galvanized their activities aimed at the further perfecting of the system of raising the population in the spirit of the norms and principles of communist morality.

In Belorussia, as throughout the country, ideological and moral upbringing is conducted on the firm basis of the theory, policies, and historical experience of the CPSU and the Soviet way of life, and in the process of the implementation of socioeconomic tasks, for, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, "Communist morality is based on the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 313).

The most important link in this work is the shaping in our people of a communist outlook to serve as the ideological base for their moral elevation and spiritual enrichment. Through the party's efforts the virtually universal political education of the people has been insured. In Belorussia, for example, there are currently over 3.5 million people who are mastering Marxist-Leninist theory and political knowledge within the party and Komsomol political education system and economic training in general educational and vocational courses, technical schools and VUZ's and through various mass-propaganda methods.

The system of ideological and moral upbringing also includes the extensive dissemination of the foundations of Marxist-Leninist ethics among the masses, and the equipping of leading cadres and the ideological aktiv with knowledge of the very mechanism and ways and means for developing a highly moral consciousness and behavior.

Implementing the educational process, the party organizations are trying to insure a comprehensive unity of action among socioeconomic, economic-administrative, and cultural-ideological factors. The role and level of the party's guidance of moral upbringing are being enhanced. The coordination of plans and practical activities on the part of all ideological forces and facilities is being perfected, taking their specific functions into consideration.

The concretizing of the gradual objectives of upbringing, and insuring the coordination and continuity of educational work within the family, the school, labor collectives, and party, state, and ideological organizations have become the most important elements of the developing system. Today

ideological and moral upbringing is more specific, taking into consideration all the realities and trends in life as well as social maturity, and the educational and cultural standards of the various social, demographic, and professional population strata and groups. The struggle against the opposites of communist morality is becoming ever more purposeful.

The scientific and political exposure of bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois way of life has been intensified. Using the entire arsenal of propaganda and mass-information media, with the help of specific and numerous convincing facts we try to expose the anti-people's and anti-humane nature of contemporary capitalism, the predatory nature of the policy of neocolonialism, and the true features of the hypocritical defenders of "rights" and "freedoms." The party organizations have begun to involve more energetically the creative intelligentsia in this many-leveled work. Exposing bourgeois politics and ideology, we try to organically blend such exposures with the propaganda of the advantages of the socialist system and Soviet way of life, and the extensive depiction of the achievements of developed socialism.

II

Implementing the CC CPSU requirements on perfecting and upgrading the effectiveness of ideological and educational work, the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee Bureau has singled out for applied science development a number of topical problems of socio-moral practice. Work on each problem is being done by an ideological department of the republic committee or a party obkom, jointly with an academic institute or higher educational institution. Currently research is being conducted on nine topics, such as "Enriching the Ways and Means of Ideological and Moral Upbringing of the Working People at the Present Stage of the Building of Communism"; "Upgrading the Role of Labor Collectives in the Development of Production and Social Activities of the Working People"; "Molding in the Working People a Class Approach to Phenomena in Social Life at the Stage of Mature Socialism," etc.

The results of the first stage of these studies were summed up at practical science conferences in Minskaya, Brestskaya, Vitebskaya, Gomel'skaya, and Grodnenskaya oblasts, and many labor collectives. Specific recommendations were formulated on upgrading the effectiveness of ideological and moral upbringing.

In its practical activities the ideological aktiv extensively uses materials from the all-union practical science conferences and the works of noted Soviet social scientists. Problems related to the further perfecting of moral upbringing are being more specifically and profoundly discussed in monographs, collections, and pamphlets written by local authors. In recent years the republic's publishing houses have published over 180 different works and pamphlets on the subject, in editions totaling about 3 million copies.

No system could operate without well-trained cadres. The republic's party organization is guided in their selection, placement, and upbringing by the

stipulations of the CC (PSU) decree "On the Selection and Upbringing of Ideological Cadres in the Belorussian Party Organization." On the basis of this document of partywide significance we tried to equip the workers in the ideological area with a profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist science and methods of communist upbringing.

Problems of the theory and practice of ideological and moral upbringing of the working people, moral-psychological aspects of administration and economic management, and Leninist style of management are studied at seminars for leading cadres of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee and the party obkoms. The seminars are headed by members of the central committee and obkom bureaus. Such topics account for a great percentage of the curriculums of city and rayon courses for the party aktiv, Marxism-Leninism universities, and theoretical seminars for scientific workers, teachers in higher and secondary schools, and the creative intelligentsia. They are studied by journalists as well for whom specialized groups have been set up at the Belorussian State University and the Minsk Higher Party School. A republic full-time and correspondence two-year course for lecturers on problems of communist morality and a course for instructors in universities specializing in ethics are sponsored by the board of the Knowledge Society. About 70,000 political informants and agitators are studying problems of morality in permanent seminars and courses for the agitation aktiv.

Very interesting in this respect is the experience of the work of the people's universities for moral education set up at 23 big industrial enterprises in the republic. Their main feature is that, while engaged in the mass dissemination of knowledge related to ethics, they are also engaged in the training of activists for work on the moral upbringing of the working people. As a rule, such universities have several faculties attended by economic managers and specialists, youth tutors, and personnel engaged in consumer services. The Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee Bureau recently passed a special decree on the further development of public schools of this type.

Resolving on a combined basis problems of the meaning of moral upbringing and its organizational support, the republic's party committee ascribed great importance to teaching ethics to students. In the 1975-1976 school year the subject "Foundations of Communist Morality" was introduced in the secondary general educational schools with a 35-hour curriculum. The practice was approved by the USSR Ministry of Education. A course in the foundations of Marxist-Leninist ethics is read in all higher and secondary specialized schools and in vocational-technical schools. The necessary textbooks and method aids for all categories of working people have been written and published. The subject of ethics has been strengthened in the curriculums dealing with language and literature, history, social studies, and other subjects.

Lecturers are actively engaged in the dissemination of ethics knowledge. In order to conduct this work systematically and, above all, skillfully, the republic and oblast boards of the Knowledge Society set up method councils. Its city and rayon organizations set up sections, while its primary

organizations are promoting the specialization of lecturers. Last year one out of four lectures sponsored by the society dealt with moral problems.

The mass-information media are engaged in the extensive dissemination of the norms and principles of communist morality: All newspapers and periodicals have allocated proper sections to such problems. For the past three years the "Accents" television university program has enjoyed great popularity.

Let us emphasize that the implementation of a mass ethical educational program involves substantial difficulties. First of all, there is still a shortage of teaching cadres. Obviously, this is not a local problem only. In our efforts to resolve it we have the right to expect the help of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. The enrollment of students in VUZ's teaching subjects such as Marxist-Leninist philosophy and ethics, scientific communism, psychology and pedagogy must be increased.

Broadening the realms of action of the moral upbringing system in accordance with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions, the republic's party organs and organizations are adamantly struggling to promote in all areas of social life, at work, and at home, a respectful and concerned attitude toward people, honesty, exactingness toward oneself and others, and trust, combined with strict responsibility. Practical experience shows that the absence of such an atmosphere in the collective usually results in the development of a gap between measures of an educational nature and their influence on a person in the specific conditions of his life. As a rule this occurs whenever cases of bureaucracy, negligence, slackness, or a gross administrative behavior are allowed.

III

As the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasizes, educational work becomes considerably less effective wherever a gap develops between words and actions, and where unity among organizational, economic, and ideological work has not been secured. That is precisely why we try to saturate with a highly moral content all production-economic practice, labor activities, socialist competition, and work style and methods of party, state, and public organizations.

Today most party committees judge the level of work competence of a manager not only according to the results of his administrative and managerial-economic activities but also on the way he is able to organize relations among people, maintain a good and efficient mood in the collective, encourage the people to engage in shock labor and behave in a highly moral fashion, and is everywhere and at all times a model of moral purity, objectiveness, and decency. The regular reports submitted by economic cadres to party committee bureaus and party member meetings and collectives under their jurisdiction, dealing with topical problems of production, morality, and way of life, and the direct personal work of managers with the people contribute to the promotion of such qualities.

The party committees strictly condemn and unhesitatingly block even the smallest manifestations of a narrow departmental approach, any violation of state discipline, eyewashing, self-seeking attributions in particular, use of dishonest methods to earn bonuses, and false claims of success. Such cases are extensively publicized and the culprits are subjected to strict party, administrative, or public-influence measures.

These problems were especially considered on the basis of very exacting positions at the 5th Plenum of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee. The plenum's decisions helped to energize public opinion in the struggle against the opposites of communist morality and for the further strengthening of ideological and moral principles in the activities of all our cadres, including economic managers.

Open party and workers' meetings held in labor collectives on the subject of "Implementation of the Principles of the Moral Code of the Builder of Communism" have become an effective form of public control over the factual--specifically factual--observation of ethical norms. As a rule such meetings are preceded by extensive preparations involving the participation of the broad public. A study is made of the moral-psychological environment in the entire enterprise and its subdivisions, of official relations among workers, their participation in public activities and production management, and competition for a communist attitude toward labor. The specific results of the political-educational work of party, trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations are analyzed. The remarks and suggestions of virtually all members of the collective are heard and considered. Such an extensive and essentially exacting campaign is concluded with the adoption of specific measures aimed at the further perfecting of ideological and moral upbringing. Thus, over the past three years labor honor codes have been formulated and adopted by 3,700 production collectives.

The extensive participation of the workers in the discussion of socially significant economic and social problems, problems of interpersonal relations, and of behavior of fellow workers has made it possible to refine value orientations and individual ethical positions, and to insure results from the participation of individuals in the formulation of standards regulating the daily life and activities of collectives and molding a positive public opinion and a good labor environment.

The republic's party committees try to surmount the practice of considering economic achievements and production records separately from their ethical aspects and reasons on which the labor efforts of the worker are based. This entirely stems from the party's requirements of upgrading the work for effectiveness and quality as a general principle governing not only the development of the national economy but the upbringing of the Soviet people. It is precisely with such an approach that the constructive force of communist ideals and the inexhaustible resources of the human soul can be fully mobilized along with their social energy. It is precisely with such an approach that labor becomes the main realm and means for developing the high moral qualities of the individual.

The 11th Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee Plenum, held in May 1978, directed the attention of the party organizations to the fact that the climbing of the worker along the steps of professional and service growth must be mandatorily accompanied by the enrichment of his ideological and moral aspect. The Belorussian Council of Trade Unions, ministries, departments, and corresponding scientific research institutions were instructed to draft method recommendations on the procedure for the certification of engineering and technical workers and employees, and the grading of workers, reflecting ethical requirements as well.

The purpose of the comprehensive implementation of such recommendations is to contribute to converting the problem of the growing moral responsibility of man for his continuing development to an ever greater extent from a primarily individual realm to the realm of social concerns, attention, and control.

IV

One of the key directions of the moral education system is bequeathing to our young contemporaries the moral experience and great revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the senior generations. The party has tried many ways and means of such activities which have proved their usefulness. One of them shall be discussed in this article.

Training ever new generations for a career in life, we are always faced with the requirement of practically and continually using the entire system for exposing the young people to the social, political, and spiritual-moral values of our society. The organization and content of this work demands the repetition of previous actions but, naturally, on each occasion on a higher level, consistent with the requirements of the times.

Let us cite, for example, the "Red Pathfinders" movement which has a tremendous educational impact. In recent years, thanks to their tireless searches in our republic alone the heroic actions and names of many thousands of participants in the struggle against fascism have been resurrected. Now the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee has formulated the new task: recording the stories of all living veterans of the Great Patriotic War, and determining and preserving forever the names of all, yes, all, soldiers, partisans, or clandestine workers buried in Belorussian soil, of everyone who failed to return from the front, and of every woman and child who died in the hands of the cruel aggressor. The result will be a complete "People's Glory Chronicle." It will be created by secondary school and university students, and young workers. Teachers, VUZ and technical school instructors, writers, journalists, workers in culture and education, war and labor veterans, and the broadest possible public are participating in this work conducted under the guidance of party committees and organizations.

Sponsoring over 60,000 Great Patriotic War invalids, and tens of thousands of families of fallen soldiers and partisans, and maintaining daily contact with the makers, live witnesses, and testimonies of the heroic history of the

Soviet people, the boys and girls learn courage, goodness, and humanism. They learn to react to the fate of others and to hate fascism and warmongers, for no rich and morally mature individual can be developed without the sharp perception of all this.

However, we would like to point out that at the present stage the military-patriotic upbringing of young people requires more than a reference to the experience and traditions of the Great Patriotic War. Today the moral-psychological training of young people to defend the socialist homeland cannot be accomplished without consideration for the scale, nature, and specifics of the military preparations conducted by imperialist countries. In the course of such work we rely on the help of the political workers and the entire personnel of the units and subunits of the Belorussian Military District. Meetings, sponsorship relations, and joint measures implemented by labor and school collectives with the troops have become a good tradition and steady practice.

Our republic has formulated a comprehensive plan for the communist upbringing of young people. The plan was considered and adopted last year at a Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee Plenum. It calls for a joint program for action by party, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organs and all ideological organizations. The main objective of the earmarked and currently actively implemented measures is to mold in our young contemporaries a Marxist-Leninist outlook, firm ideological convictions, high civic and moral virtues, and clear class and socially active viewpoints.

Efforts to upgrade the educational role of the primary cell of the socialist society--the Soviet family--play an important role in the moral perfecting of the individual. In our days, as we know, material-property factors are the least important tie linking either spouses or parents with their grown-up children. Today priority is given to ideological-moral motives and interests, perhaps the strongest of all. However, it is precisely such real processes in the development of the Soviet family that are rarely considered in educational work.

The republic's party and public organizations are dealing purposefully with problems of the spiritual enrichment and moral perfecting of family relations, promoting and uplifting the interests of parents and children, and upgrading the civic responsibilities of each family and family member in society. The 17th Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee Plenum approved proper measures and recommendations aimed at strengthening this educational trend. Currently they are being implemented in their essential aspects. For example, efforts to upgrade the pedagogical competence of parents have been substantially improved. Universal pedagogical and legal training has been organized. A broad network has been set up of people's universities for family culture and consultation centers for young fathers and mothers.

Upgrading the individual responsibility of party and Komsomol members for the moral condition of their families and the education of children is of great importance. In our republic, the social aspects of family relations,

considered most important from the social viewpoint, are systematically discussed by party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations, in party meetings, and, in a number of cases, in party committee plenums. To an ever greater extent the party organizations of labor collectives are holding more strictly liable workers--fathers and mothers--for the upbringing of their children and the creation of normal conditions for their training and ethical and esthetic development. Naturally, we take here into consideration the fact that this area is complex and delicate and requires a sensitive and thoughtful approach.

Extensive work is being done in the republic with a view to the practical solution of problems of upgrading material and spiritual requirements. In 1976 the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee passed a special decree on this matter considered on the basis of the activities of party organizations in Gomel'skaya Oblast. We are trying to teach the people, young people in particular, how to be properly guided in terms of true and false values, and sensibly to handle the growing amount of material possessions. The party organizations are doing a great deal to create conditions which make it possible for one and all to benefit from the social, cultural, and spiritual-moral resources of the mature socialist society.

At the beginning of this year the particular aspects of the development of the contemporary village were considered at the regular republic seminar for leading party, soviet, and economic cadres. Using the example of a number of leading farms, the seminar students studied the ways for the reorganization of the countryside at the present stage and for the further improvement of the working and living conditions of the peasantry.

As throughout the country, we have set up a number of rural settlements which, in addition to good modern housing, have their commercial centers, cafeterias, services combine, a communal economy service, a school, an inter-scholar training-production combine, a boarding house, kindergartens, a club, a museum, sports equipment, i.e., everything necessary for the molding and satisfaction on a sensible basis of the various requirements of the citizens.

Basic prerequisites are being developed in the life of the contemporary countryside leading to the organic merger of the educational efforts of party organizations of economically interrelated farms. This weakens departmental barriers which, unfortunately, still artificially separate work from concern for the implementation of the education process. In practical terms this has been embodied in sociocultural complexes which have been set up in a number of Belorussian village soviets, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. Their activities are directed by the head party organization through inter-departmental coordination councils. The creation of such complexes makes it possible to make full use of the creative potential of all categories of rural intelligentsia and of all material and technical facilities for culture, public education, trade, and organization of life available in the area for purposes of organizing a truly mass, target oriented, and varied work with the people, the organization of their recreation, and the satisfaction of the various population requirements in accordance with the socio-spiritual

needs of the various population groups and categories. In areas where such complexes are in operation, four-fifths of the adult population are involved in various types of useful activities in accordance with their interests.

Today the creation of sociocultural complexes in small towns and urban micro-rayons is on the agenda, particularly where the material base for education remains weak.

In recent years information-propaganda centers set up in towns and villages have begun to play an ever more important role. They combine the previously independently operating political education offices, reference-information centers, offices for economic education and methods of propaganda through lectures, etc. In addition to such ideological services, the Minsk Automotive Plant information-propaganda center coordinates the work of the palace of culture, public library, plant newspaper, plant radio broadcasting, and motion picture laboratory. Such an organization makes it possible to surmount discoordination in the work. It enhances the cadre potential and intensifies the analytical and, consequently, directing activities in propaganda and agitation. This substantially improves the information and method support of ideological cadres.

V

Working for the further perfecting of ideological and moral upbringing, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee directs the party committees toward improving the practical organization of the work and developing the organizational mechanism for the comprehensive solution of ideological problems. In their practical application, these problems have been reflected in the materials of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee Plenum on further upgrading the effectiveness of ideological and political work, the central committee bureau decrees on some aspects of further improvements in the ideological and moral upbringing of the working people, and the work of the party organizations of Novopolotsk on the ideological and moral upbringing of the working people, and a number of other documents.

The recommendations strictly observe the principle of gradualness in reaching objectively based and practically possible levels of a given time segment in molding the ideological-moral qualities of our contemporaries. In recent years the party committees have consistently worked on the reorganization of long-term planning of the ideological-education process. In the past it represented a sum total of a variety of chronological measures. Today the definition of targets, very specific ideological tasks (expected results), and the choice of the best ways and means for their strict implementation have become the main aspects of planning.

We consider interesting the organizational-executive mechanism for the implementation of the principle of comprehensive approach to education, tried at hundreds of industrial, construction, trade, and service enterprises in the republic. Naturally, certain differences exist in the concrete application of this system under the specific circumstances of one or another

collective. As a rule, however, it includes several functional sectors: party-political and economic training, general educational and vocational training, mass-political work, cultural-educational and mass sports work, educational-preventive work, and development of public principles in production management.

The practical organization and coordination of the ideological-educational process and supervision of its content is provided by the ideological commissions of party committees. They insure the unity of action of the sectors, the organization of the training, and the instruction given the various categories of the ideological aktiv. The party-political information groups, sociological studies, ideological consultations, and the study and summation of the experience in ideological and educational activities take place under their direct control.

The commissions appoint officials in charge of the basic directions in education: ideological-political, labor, and moral. All these directions are followed, on a unified and interdependent basis, through each of these sectors.

Such an organization of the work makes it possible to better combine mass with individual methods of upbringing. For example, the sector dealing with educational-preventive work rallies the forces which influence, above all, those who violate labor and social discipline. Naturally, the number of such violators in the collectives is no longer so large. In the past, however, the party organizations dealt with them on an individual basis. Currently educational work in this direction is conducted systematically, through joint efforts and, most importantly, more concretely. The scales and level of individual work with the people have risen sharply. As viewed by our cadres, this means not simply "focusing on the individual" as a target of particular attention but, above all, individualizing the content, approach, methods, and means for exerting a positive influence.

The new structure in the management of ideological work on the level of the production collective makes it possible, as we have seen, to ascribe a truly comprehensive nature and a systematic approach to the entire educational process, including in it new forces and virtually all the services and organizations within the enterprise, and to coordinate their actions in resolving ideological problems. With such an approach we can implement the party's requirement of insuring close unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing. Direct participation in educational activities becomes an organic element of the administrative-management practice of economic cadres.

Recently the CC CPSU Propaganda Department considered the experience in operating the system for the organization of ideological and education work in the labor collectives of Minsk and Minskaya Oblast. The assessments, remarks, and suggestions expressed in the course of the discussion gave us a good foundation in our further search for effective means for improving the activities of the agitation-propaganda apparatus and the aktiv.

Improving the organization of the educational process in the labor collective, we clearly realize the need for the parallel improvement of this work beyond the collective, without which it would be impossible to create a single front for educational influence on the individual. In June 1978 our ideological cadres made a thorough study of the experience of working with people at their homes within the party organization of Pinsk. It was interesting above all because the people of Pinsk were able to abandon their customary formal concept of the home and extended ideological-educational work far beyond the limits of the home, the yard, or the microrayon. For example, colorful celebrations of friendship, labor, and the yards, mass songfests of young people, song competitions, and theater performances along the Pina River and parks, streets, and squares became very popular. Briefly stated, virtually the entire territory of the city became a site for a variety of cultural-mass projects. Participation in such projects develops in the working people a feeling of responsibility for city affairs and promotes their direct participation. Virtually all services and organizations, labor collectives, and public groups in the city became involved in the implementation of ideological-educational measures.

A republic practical science conference was held to study and disseminate the Pinsk experience. Based on its results, the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee passed a decision which gave the conference recommendations the status of a party directive. This document stipulates specific measures for galvanizing practical participation in the work at places of residence on the part of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, cultural institutions, ministries, departments, economic organs, and labor collectives.

Following the example of the CC CPSU, we named a number of party committees and organizations and labor collectives as basic in the development of new and more effective methods for the all-round testing of the best experience in resolving education problems. This practically tested experience is being studied comprehensively and is extensively disseminated afterwards. The effectiveness of the control over its application is based on the strict observance of the principle of concreteness: What should be accomplished where, by whom, and when.

The organizational and educational work of the Belorussian party organization aimed at implementing the party's policy in all realms of life and at training in the spirit of the requirements, stipulations, and recommendations of the CC CPSU, an ideologically convinced and socially and morally mature individual, is yielding positive results. This is clearly confirmed by the high political and production activeness of the people. The problems formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress are being successfully resolved. The plans and obligations of the 10th Five-Year Plan are being implemented. A favorable moral-psychological climate has been established in most collectives.

The negative processes and manifestations in the moral area, toward which a sharply negative and intolerant public opinion has been developed, are being surmounted gradually. In the past three years, for example, there has been

a systematic decline in the crime rate in one-third of the republic's cities and rayons. Within that time no single major delinquency has been registered in over half of the production collectives.

The positive changes are revealed also in the fact that the republic's public opinion has begun to impose stricter moral penalties and moral judgments for various violations of the rules of socialist community life and is becoming less tolerant of the culprits. This is confirmed, in particular, by the fact that the number of crimes detected with the help of the public has more than tripled since 1975.

Resolving the problem of improving the ideological and moral upbringing, we pay great attention to perfecting the management of the ideological process on the level of the party committees of rayons, cities, oblasts, and the republic at large. For example, the establishment in a number of areas of city and rayon councils for the coordination of educational work in labor collectives and at home, has confirmed its usefulness. Such councils are headed by the first secretaries of party committees.

The councils and commissions have sectors in charge of political-educational and cultural-educational work, mass sports and physical culture-recovery work, educational work with children and adolescents, delinquency prevention, urbanization and living standard, development of material and technical facilities and methods, and sociological studies.

All this, as practical experience indicates, makes it possible to improve the coordination of activities of all units and organizations involved in the educational process, providing such efforts with organizational efficiency, concreteness, and purposefulness, thus considerably upgrading their effectiveness.

One of the topical tasks is fully coordinating the essential aspects of our activities with the currently reached level of political preparedness and general and professional knowledge of the active population. It is also important to make full use of the increased powerful educational arsenal of agitation-propaganda means.

We realize that a number of substantial shortcomings still exist in the work of the party committees and organizations of the Communist Party of Belorussia and of our ideological subunits. Educational work is not conducted on the necessary level and at the same high effectiveness everywhere. A certain vagueness and looseness of the criteria used to evaluate its intensiveness is apparent. There are frequent cases in which, for example, one or another ideological measure becomes the main concern and end result of the efforts of party organizations and cadres. In this case the means and organizational forms of work are identified with its purpose. Concepts are substituted, leading to something similar to self-deception. Rarely is information related to facts and events, particularly in oral agitation and propaganda, accompanied by the description of cause and effect relations of phenomena and processes. Elements of formalism have not been entirely eliminated.

Our cadres see and understand these and other weaknesses and shortcomings. This means that they are capable of fighting and are fighting them. The molding of high moral qualities in man demands of the party committees and organizations and the ideological aktiv even greater efforts, the total utilization of all our reserves and possibilities, the ideological perfecting of ways and means for and the entire system of education, and the more operative adaptation of such work to the growing requirements of social practice and the demands of reality. It is precisely in this direction that we are guided by the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improvements in Ideological and Political-Educational Work." This exceptionally important document is a battle program for the activities of the party organizations not only for today but on a long-term basis.

Its successful implementation will help us to win new victories in the building of communism.

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CONCERN FOR MIDDLE-LEVEL CADRES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 54-61

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor N. Gusev, first secretary of the Rybnovskiy Rayon Party Committee, Ryazanskaya Oblast]

[Text] A ceremony in honor of the graduation of mechanizers was held at the Poshchupovo Vocational-Technical School. Hero of Socialist Labor and Laureate of USSR State Prize D. M. Garmash was among the guests of honor. It was to her that Soviet poet Den'yan Bednyy dedicated in the terrible 1943 the following lines:

Our amazing people give us one topic after another. I would
so much like to write a poem on the great kolkhoz member
Dasha Garmash!

Our former local resident has had a splendid life. As one of the first women tractor drivers in the Ryazan' area, she became famous during the Great Patriotic War as the head of a women's tractor brigade. The girls formulated the rule of fulfilling men's production norms. They worked heroically and selflessly! For five years running they retained the Red Challenge Banner of the Komsomol Central Committee, now permanently exhibited at Moscow's Museum of the Revolution.

To this day the example of Dar'ya Matveyevna Garmash inspires the rural youth to patriotic deeds. The heroine herself, who has been a mechanic, engineer, and machine-tractor station director, has remained loyal to her chosen career and is currently successfully working in the same national economic sector.

Our rayon has raised a number of talented leaders of labor collectives whose practical experience and unusual organizational qualities have helped to resolve most complex socioeconomic problems related to the development and upsurge of agricultural production. The contemporary stage of the building of communism, with its accelerated pace of scientific and technical progress, faces the party organizations with new requirements. In particular, as was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, we face some urgent problems such as upgrading the effectiveness of managerial labor, the efficient allocation of functions to specialists, and improving the quality structure of economic cadres, particularly the middle ones.

In fact, no additional material and financial investments would yield the desired returns if the farm is headed by a weak, initiative-lacking organizer. On the other hand, even an experienced manager would be unsuccessful if the production sectors are not strengthened by knowledgeable specialists. Now it is precisely a question of specialists, for the level of development of production forces in the villages requires of every worker profound knowledge, organizational capabilities and, finally, independent thinking. The choice and upbringing of such people are within the range of activities of the rayon party committee and all organizations directly or indirectly related to kolkhoz and sovkhos production.

The rayon has developed a system of working with higher and secondary level cadres which has yielded positive results. Thoroughly undertaking the restructuring and technical retooling of leading production sectors, we felt the weaknesses in the specialized training in many of our comrades. Workers with no more than primary education account for 80% of the middle-management level (brigade leaders, heads of livestock farms, section managers). Even with the most conscientious attitude toward their obligations, far from all of them could knowledgeably manage the contemporary production processes.

With a view to improving the quality structure of the leading secondary personnel, over the past decade about 100 graduates of VUZ's and technical schools have been assigned to the rayon's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. However, few of them remain, as cadre turnover among young specialists remains high. This is due to a number of reasons. The main one is that not all farm leaders or local authorities show party concern for the young reinforcements. Wage problems were not settled everywhere and housing difficulties still develop. Labor conflicts take place as well. In a word, a comprehensive approach must be adopted for a solution of the cadre problem.

We realized that the work to be done was exceptionally complex and delicate, demanding of the party, soviet, and economic organs extreme objectivity, principle-mindedness, and responsiveness, for any changes in the cadre structure affect the personal lives of a number of people. Even the smallest error could create complications within the collective and disturb relations among workers. The primary party organizations were instructed to make a thorough study of the circumstances at all production sectors and submit to the raykom specific proposals on the ways and means for the solution of the cadre problem related to improving the selection and placement and upgrading the work skills of leading workers of brigades, livestock farms, and sections. A number of substantive considerations and remarks were formulated and summed up, as a result of which the rayon adopted the following plan for action: Production sectors would be strengthened along two directions--the appointment of specialists to command positions and organizing the training of promising managers with practical experience through retraining courses.

Implementing this, we were guided by the familiar CC CPSU decrees on the work of Altayskiy Kray Party Committee on upgrading the role of specialists, and the Rostovskaya Oblast Party Committee on strengthening agriculture with secondary-level cadres. In the light of these documents, together with the

rayon organizations, the raykom departments began to resolve more specifically individual problems related to transfer of cadres in the production sphere and the holder appointment to administrative positions of specialists and capable practical workers, true masters of their work, creating for them favorable conditions for increasing their knowledge and broadening their outlook. The primary party organizations began paying particular attention to promising production workers who, following correspondence or full-time VUZ or technical training, could head important production sectors.

The public review of cadres on the secondary level revealed a number of typical shortcomings and contributed to the successful outcome of the project. Many such units lacked the necessary reserve of cadres for the promotion of secondary-level managers; some workers who had compromised themselves had been repeatedly "transferred" from one position to another, whereas young specialists were kept in the background.

Here is an example. Milker V. N. Kolin went to work at the Central Livestock Farm of Kostino Sovkhoz after graduating from vocational-technical school. Inquisitive, energetic, and persistent, he rapidly fell in step with the collective and proved to be a conscientious and skillful worker and active public worker, generously sharing his knowledge with his comrades, submitting several suggestions aimed at improving labor productivity and organization, and persistently striving to eliminate shortcomings. However, farm manager N. N. Zheltikova did not like this behavior, considering that her subordinate was obstinate and was encroaching on her authority. Things reached the level of an open clash requiring the intervention of rayon organizations. Having objectively studied the situation, the rayon party committee bureau defended the young worker and, at the same time, provided a principled assessment of this case which gained wide publicity and had a positive influence on public opinion. Currently V. N. Kolin, who graduated from an agricultural technical school by correspondence, heads the Central Livestock Farm of Kostino Sovkhoz. The outstanding qualities of the young specialist were manifested in full in the course of his independent work.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the quality structure of cadres has improved noticeably in all farms. Professionally knowledgeable young people have assumed the management of brigades and livestock farms. Some among them followed the example of their fellow country-woman D. M. Garmash: After becoming leading production workers, they enrolled in VUZ's and technical schools, returning to their own collectives in managerial positions. Such was the case of the milkmaid Nadya Rybakova who now heads the dairy complex at the Kolkhoz Imeni Kirov. The same path to management activities was followed by T. F. Yegorova, B. I. Kupryashin, V. Ye. Shustova, and others. Presently 47 specialists, graduates of agricultural schools, with practical experience, head brigades and livestock farms.

Any labor collective must develop favorable conditions for the growth of the workers, both in terms of professional skills and development of organizational talents. The regular rayon seminar dealt with the problem of improving work with cadres. In particular, it considered the experience of the party

committee and board of the kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev. Until recently this was a losing farm. Today it is enjoying a good reputation. The secret of its collective's success is organically linked with changes in the structure of the middle-management personnel. The kolkhoz did not limit itself to decisively replacing incapable and unskilled personnel. The kolkhoz's socioeconomic development plan calls for the further saturation of production sectors with specialists-organizers. The number of people to be sent to specific VUZ's and technical schools, or engage in correspondence training, and the specialists who should upgrade their skills have been determined for several years ahead. The kolkhoz appropriates the necessary funds for cadre training. Fourteen young kolkhoz members have been assigned by the kolkhoz to attend higher and secondary schools. The kolkhoz maintains close contacts with them. This develops in the future specialists a feeling of duty to their collective.

The seminar enabled a wide circle of economic managers, party workers, and production organizers to exchange views on topical aspects of work with cadres. For example, the problem of attitude toward practical workers was completely clarified. This applied to managers of brigades and livestock farms who had performed managerial functions for many years even though lacking in specialized training.

We care for the experience of the old cadres. The practical workers include a number of knowledgeable managers and the party organizations act entirely properly by promoting in such workers an inner need to master knowledge and by creating facilities for them to upgrade their skills. This could be supported by a number of examples. The name of hereditary grain grower Boris Ivanovich Sinyakov, who heads a complex brigade at the kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev, is well known in the rayon. His work has been acknowledged with several governmental awards. Recently, however, B. I. Sinyakov began to find it ever more difficult to manage production processes requiring extensive specialized knowledge. The work indicators worsened as well. The brigade leader reacted profoundly to such failures and was even ready to leave the brigade and transfer to a secondary sector. He would probably have carried out his plan had party committee secretary V. D. Gordeyev not intervened: A temporary replacement was found for B. I. Sinyakov and he was sent to attend rayon courses for upgrading skills sponsored by the All-Union Scientific Research Horse-Breeding Institute. Today the former leader is again on the job, energetic and self-confident.

The party committees closely study the work of officials, taking into consideration the capabilities and inclinations of the individuals and the opinion of the public organizations, formulating strict requirements toward them and encouraging them to work energetically. It has become a rule at party meetings, in discussing forthcoming farm measures and considering individual cases, to mandatorily assess the role of managers in such matters. Cases in which a worker has been discredited or a subjective evaluation of his activities has been given by managers are also subjected to principled party assessment. The fact that the secondary-level management cadres are included in the list kept by the CPSU rayon party committee also helps to upgrade their authority.

Extensive publicity and reliance on the democratic principles governing the life of labor collectives enabled the rayon institutions to avoid major errors and omissions in the choice and placement of middle-management cadres. The periodical certification of personnel, used in economic life, has the same purpose. Initially, some comrades feared that public "reexaminations" would be useless and could only traumatize and harm the dignity of managers and specialists who, allegedly due to a heavy work load, have not time to seriously dig into books and study science. However, the results exceeded even the highest expectations. The certification had a beneficial influence on the creative atmosphere in the collectives. It contributed to the molding of a good psychological climate and a spirit of competitiveness, inspiring the workers (with rare exceptions) to seek their own ways for increasing their knowledge and upgrading their vocational skills, and contributing to the growth of their individual responsibility for the implementation of the plans and obligations. The certification commissions assess the practical qualities of one or another worker on the basis of confirmed objective data and issue their recommendations on his most expedient use.

The comprehensive rayon plan for ideological and political work ascribes an important role to upgrading the level of communist idea-mindedness and morality of the managerial personnel, responsibility for assignments in one's sector, and the successful development of the farm at large. We try to rally efforts and make maximum use of the educational possibilities of various organizations, such as sovyets of people's deputies, trade unions, the Komsomol, and the local scientific institutions. The rayon's leading cadres, prestigious specialists, and scientists are actively participating in lecture propaganda sponsored by the Knowledge Society and work as instructors at agricultural studies universities.

The competence and high specialized training of the management, operating at the front lines of the production process, combined with economic factors, guarantee their effective activities. In the 10th Five-Year Plan, having strengthened the middle level with graduated specialists and upgraded the skills of a considerable percentage of organizers-practical workers, we were able to achieve substantial economic improvements: The gap between leading and lagging farms has been narrowed substantially, and labor productivity in crop growing has been equalized substantially. Animal husbandry as well has reached a higher level. Milk procurements by public farms (between 1975 and 1978) rose 27%, meat 16%, and eggs by a factor of over 3, compared with the previous 4-year period.

The rayon's kolхозes and sovkhoses are successfully developing specialization and concentration processes based on production cooperation. Methods for the management of individual sectors and production subunits are being perfected. All this, in turn, requires more highly skilled cadres. The rayon is taking the necessary measures in this respect. A plan for strengthening the farm through cadres, including managers and specialists for sectors, brigades, livestock farms, and sections, was adopted in the course of the discussion of the comprehensive program for the development of labor collectives in the light of the familiar party and government decree on the Nonchernozem. On the

basis of development possibilities, by 1981 90% of the middle-management level will be staffed by graduate specialists. This will require 145 people with a secondary technical or higher agricultural training.

Let us point out that the fulfillment of the plan for strengthening the middle level with cadres is greatly assisted by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the adoption of additional measures to stimulate the transfer of specialists to work in sections, brigades, and livestock farms. Today specialists who have proved to be good organizers more willingly agree to head collectives. In the course of time a number of engineers, agronomists, zootechnicians, and economists had found work at industrial enterprises and establishments of the rayon center. Explanatory work on the need for their return to production work was conducted through personnel departments and public organizations. A number of specialists are already at work in kolkozhes and sovkhoses, heading important economic sectors. They include N. P. Ivanova, agronomist at the All-Union Scientific Research Horse-Breeding Institute, agronomist A. S. Kabanov, specialist Ye. Yu. Sukhovvanov, laboratory technician N. P. Klimenko, associate at the apiculture institute Y. A. Babayev, and others. Proper wage supplements were allocated and wage rates raised for all those who went to work in farm-material output. Certain benefits were granted as well, including the right to priority housing and the purchasing of cars, motorcycles, or other items in greater demand.

However, mere reliance on material incentives means a one-sided solution of the problem. Highly rating the role of specialists in production, the rayon party organization is comprehensively trying to strengthen their authority, promote efficiency, initiative, and interest in new and progressive developments, and developing a taste for educational activities. In order to lead the collective, the manager must be professionally competent in technological, organizational, political, and social problems, on the level of contemporary requirements. Unfortunately, there still are specialists who boast of past successes and live with obsolete knowledge, refusing to learn. It is important to energize public opinion against such feelings and to use the power of the press and of oral propaganda and agitation. This yields positive results.

We are adamantly seeking and using various means for the professional advancement of middle-level cadres. For example, progressive experience courses organized in the leading farms have become widespread. They are attended by heads of brigades, livestock farms, sectors, and teams. A rayon seminar for the party-economic aktiv and a university for agricultural knowledge are successfully operating.

The cadre problem is most closely related to the school. One of the sections of the long-term plan for the rayon's socioeconomic development reads: "We must develop in the children love for agricultural work and give schools and children's institutions all-round material support and methodical aid." The process of cadre training for the countryside has become an integral system. In the basis of its own development prospects, each farm could insure itself against undesired happenstances. Last year 186 graduates of secondary or eighth-grade schools were qualified as tractor and motor-vehicle drivers.

Currently nearly 600 children are studying tractors and motor vehicles. Unquestionably, many of them will become excellent production workers, continue their education in agricultural schools, and, subsequently, head secondary-level units or become agronomists, engineers, zootechnicians, or veterinarians. Ever more frequently kolkhozes and sovkhoses are assigning young workers to training. In recent years VUZ's and technical schools have trained 140 specialists in all sectors through farm funds. Yet, practical experience indicates that many VUZ graduates, unfortunately, lack basic organizational skills. Talks with young specialists prove that the curriculums of VUZ's and technical schools do not take into consideration the entire set of contemporary organizational-technical and social changes occurring in the villages.

Something else is noteworthy as well. Occasionally, the kolkhoz boards are insufficiently familiar with the organizational capabilities of their scholarship students, since, as a rule, students go for practical training to other farms. Returning to their own collectives after graduation, the young specialists must begin everything all over again, losing time in becoming accustomed to their environment. Therefore, it would be expedient to send the scholarship students for production training to the places of their future work.

The rayon committee is bringing up party cadres and rayon institution personnel and kolkhoz and sovkhos managers in a spirit of attentive attitude toward specialists. The process of molding the personality of the production organizer is complex and continual. As a rule, it is the result of a mass of minor failures. Indifference, disrespect, and the tartlessness of some hot-tempered specialists can, if liked, could insult a conscientious worker who has made an error, cause great harm. Rudeness and shouts are totally unacceptable in displaying true exactingness toward cadres. The political maturity of a manager may be judged by his attitude toward the young specialists.

In the course of our research and activities we feel the factual support of the rayon party committee, which strictly controls the course of the implementation of the CPSU line on work with middle-level cadres. Oblast level, rayon party committees, individual managers, and secretaries of party organizations submit regular reports at meetings of the oblast party committee bureaus and pay special attention to the implementation of long-term and operational plans aimed at systematically improving the selection, placement, professional training, and ideological upbringing of production organizers. The Krasnodar Oblast Party Committee Bureau studied the experience of our farms. Attention was drawn to everything that is necessary for applying the above strategy in the organization of the work at all kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The level of middle-grade skills offers favorable possibilities for the implementation of this experiment.

Technical schools with practical experience is very useful. Thus, the Regional Agricultural Institute has repeatedly sponsored seminars and practical affairs conferences related to production intensification and upgrading the

effectiveness of output. On every occasion problems of the economic and organization of management activities have been considered, one may say, through the lens of the cadre problem.

We learned a great deal of useful and instructive facts from our competition friends--the party members of Kitmanskiy Rayon, Chernovitskaya Oblast. On their example we began to sponsor specialists' days. This is something like a training method for management personnel. Once a month heads of departments, brigade leaders, and managers of livestock farms are invited to visit one of the best rayon farms with a view to studying production conditions and modern technology and labor organization. A detailed study is made of the activities of leading workers in the socialist competition. Failures are studied as well. Scientists and specialists-innovators speak on problems of agrarian economics and production. This leads to reciprocal enrichment of knowledge, experience, and information.

The recent CC CPSU and Council of Ministers decree "On Additional Measures for Consolidating Cadres in Agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR," stipulating a number of new measures aimed at improving socioeconomic conditions in rural areas, was another confirmation of the attention paid to agricultural production specialists and organizers in the vast area of the Russian Federation.

With every passing year an ever-growing number of young specialists are assuming command positions. Their great energy, enthusiasm, and fresh knowledge, multiplied by the great practical experience and wisdom of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production veterans, enable the rayon to successfully surmount difficulties in the struggle for further economic upsurge and the social development of labor collectives. Incidentally, presently the kolkhozes and sovkhozes employ about 500 young production technologists and scientists. This is a tremendous force which requires great attention and fatherly concern. The CPSU raykom supported the initiative of the leading specialists at the Kolkhoz imeni Kitov who proclaimed their readiness to instruct VUZ and technical school graduates who have come to work at the farm. The kolkhoz chairmen V. A. Goryushkin, N. P. Selovoy, V. A. Romanov, and other comrades generously share with them their knowledge, experience, and skill to work with people.

The rayon Komsomol committee set up a council whose purpose is to energize the creative activities of young leading workers and production innovators, specialists, and scientists. Its main task is to contribute to the expansion of experimentation, invention, and rationalization, encourage the development of the movement of young naturalists, sponsor secondary-school production brigades, and participate in the dissemination of agricultural knowledge. The council of young specialists and scientists helps the party raykom and the other rayon organizations in controlling the implementation of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on encouraging the transfer of specialists to direct work in material production and supervises the proper utilization of graduate cadres in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and rayon enterprises.

Guided by the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," the rayon party committee directs the primary party organizations and economic managers to adopt a comprehensive approach to the solution of the vital problems related to the labor and moral upbringing of the rural youth. The effectiveness of this approach may be judged by the following fact: This year over half of the 584 rural school graduates have decided to engage in farm work. Many of them have enrolled in higher and secondary agricultural schools.

Leninist responsiveness and a careful attitude toward every working person are among the most important principles of party cadre policy. As before, work with cadres, thanks to which production forces in the countryside develop systematically, remains the key problem of the party's guidance of agriculture. However, the big problem of cadres includes one aspect permanently placed on the agenda: "We are particularly concerned with the problem of middle-level managers--managers of sections, brigade leaders, and heads of livestock farms," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his reports to the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum. ". . . Currently there are many educated people in the villages and we must constantly seek, find, and develop from them good production organizers."

Seek and find! . . . This is the tremendous purpose of organizational work. In the final account, the ability to inspire people to engage in the quality implementation of daily matters determines the solution of the most important strategic task--converting agriculture into a highly developed sector of the socialist economy.

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POLITICAL SYSTEM OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

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[Article by F. Burlatskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] About two years have passed since the historical time of the acceptance of the new USSR Constitution. It marked a major step in the development of the Soviet state and of our entire political system, and made a substantial contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific communism, formulated the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and defined the most essential tasks of the state at the initial stage of the revolution, when the bourgeoisie is being expropriated and the foundations of the socialist system are being laid. Developing their doctrine, V. I. Lenin discovered the soviet system as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat, defined the basic directions followed in the development of socialist statehood, and substantiated the principles governing relations between the USSR and the bourgeois states. The Leninist ideas were embodied in the 1918 RSFSR Constitution, and the USSR constitutions of 1924 and 1936. They are the base of the new Soviet Constitution as well.

In the course of over six decades of existence of the Soviet state and three decades of the development of most other members of the socialist comity, tremendous and truly invaluable practical experience in real socialism has been acquired. It is the experience of implementing the ideas and predictions of the first teachers of scientific communism. At the same time, it is the experience of the enrichment, the development, and concretizing of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Completing the transitional period and the stage of building developed socialism, the CPSU faced new tasks. Based on the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and analyzing the new practical experience, at its 24th and 25th congresses the party formulated a strategy for the further perfecting of socialism and transition to communism. Focusing within it the most important theoretical summations of the CPSU and of the other Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries, the USSR Constitution became a document of permanent historical significance--the Fundamental Law of the developed socialist society.

The theory and experience in governmental construction in the socialist countries are developing under the conditions of a sharp ideological struggle against the concepts and practices of the contemporary bourgeois state. As we know, in recent years problems of democracy and human rights, and of the role of the party and other institutions in the political system of the new society have assumed a major role in the attacks mounted against real socialism by the ruling circles and ideologues of the bourgeois West. It has already become clear that the campaign promoted on the initiative of the political leaders of the United States under the slogan of the "defense" of human rights is not an accidental event but a strategic line in contemporary imperialist ideology and politics.

A sort of "inverting vessel" has been developed between the reactionary bourgeois and Maoist and right-wing opportunistic ideology, constantly "transferring" ideas of "authoritarian socialism," the "non-socialist nature of the Soviet state," "Soviet hegemonism," "superiority of bourgeois pluralism," "socialist statism," and "inapplicability" of the Leninist political theory to conditions in other countries. Socialism and the socialist alternative are knocking at all the doors of the modern world. The ruling circles of the capitalist West felt this and are launching feverish attempts to regain the initiative, capture the democratic public opinion, and turn it against the socialist comity and the international communist and workers' movements.

Under present-day circumstances the theory and experience in the development of the political system of developed socialism--the system of socialist democracy of the whole people--are of tremendous international significance and play an important role in the struggle of ideas.

Social Role of the Political System of Society

The concept of developed socialism, formulated in the documents party congresses and the addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, was comprehensively described in the clear political-legal norms of the USSR Constitution. The constitution reflects the solution of a number of important theoretical problems: on the nature, objectives, and tasks of the political system of the mature socialist society, the interaction among its basic institutions, the directions of its further development, based on the public ownership of productive capital, the development of socialist democracy and systematic implementation of the principles of the scientific management of society, the conversion to a social communist self-management, etc.

The political system of the developed socialist society insures the effective management of the constructive activities of the Soviet people. Along with the state of the whole people, this system includes social organizations and labor collectives. The CPSU is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system.

Particularly important in defining the political system is the socio-class characterization of the state system. It is found in articles one and two of

the constitution: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, and of the working people of all nations and nationalities in the country." "In the USSR all power belongs to the people. The people exercise the state power through the soviets of people's deputies which constitute the political foundation of the USSR. All other state organs are under the control of and accountable to the soviets of people's deputies."

The important characteristic of the political system is the fact that it is determined by the economic and social systems of the society. It is the superstructure whose nature is determined, in the final account, by the economic base of society and its social structure. The socialist ownership of productive capital is the base of the USSR economic system. State ownership is the common property of the entire Soviet people and the main form of socialist ownership.

The establishment of a new historical community--the Soviet people--became an essential characteristic of developed socialism in our country and an indicator of the growing social homogeneity of Soviet society and of the triumph of CPSU national policy.

Intrinsically consistent with the class nature of the economic, social, and political system of the USSR, the constitution stipulates the supreme objective of the Soviet state: the building of a classless communist society. Consistent with this are also the main tasks of the socialist state of the whole people: the creation of the material and technical base of communism, the perfecting of socialist social relations and their reorganization into communist relations, the upbringing of the new man, the upgrading of the material and cultural standards of the working people, insuring the security of the country, and contributing to the consolidation of the peace and development of international cooperation. This supreme objective and main tasks fully apply to the entire political system of the developed socialist society as well.

What is the basic role of the political system of developed socialism?

It consists, above all, of the management of social affairs. The CPSU provides the political leadership. The soviets of people's deputies focus their attention on management, organization, and control. The trade unions, the Leninist Komsomol, and other social organizations play a major role in the implementation of this task. The entire process of communist construction goes through certain historical stages each of which has its specific objectives and tasks. Armed with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the CPSU formulates the general plan for the development of society and the line of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. It guides the great constructive activities of the Soviet people and ascribes a planned and scientifically substantiated nature to its struggle for the victory of communism. Thus the socialist political system formulates the program for the development of socialism and organizes its implementation.

At the same time, it insures the sociopolitical and ideological unity of all classes, social groups, and nations and nationalities in the country. The CPSU, state organs, and social organizations play a tremendous role in the solution of this problem. The further economic, social, and cultural consolidation and integration of the entire society, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy expressing the interests of the working class and all working people, is an important function of the socialist political system.

Decisions mandatory for all citizens are made within the framework of the political system of developed socialism in the field of the distribution of material and spiritual goods. Measures are earmarked to upgrade the living standard of the people and to satisfy their material and spiritual needs and interests.

The formulation of overall policy and of its individual components--social, economic, scientific and technical, and foreign political--and the elaboration of long-term and short-term plans and programs for economic, social, and cultural development, and the decisions made on this basis and the organization of their execution and control play a primary role in the optimum utilization of the possibilities for all-round progress imbedded in the society. The formulation of policy is the main function in the party's leadership activities.

The historical advantage of the socialist political system compared with the bourgeois is that it expresses the interests of the toiling classes, whereas the bourgeois political system is a tool for the domination of big capital and the monopolies. The socialist political system performs organizational-economic functions. It mobilizes the resources of the society with a view to its progress, using the mechanism of a planned economy and relying on the social activeness and initiative of the citizens.

Socialist State of the Whole People

The 1958 Constitution is a substantial contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. It sums up the experience in the development of the first social state of the whole people in history--the main institution of the political system of developed socialism, and the main tool for the building of communism.

We find a study of the changes to which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be subjected following the transition from capitalism to socialism as early as Lenin's work "The State and Revolution."

Lenin directly linked the fate of the state after the socialist revolution with changes in the nature of social production. Like Marx, criticizing Lassallianism, which tried to deduce the concept of the proletarian state from abstract wishes, Lenin placed at the cornerstone the reorganization of the economic foundations of statehood. One of the sections of his book discussing the first phase of the communist society begins precisely with a

theoretical study of this question. Lenin emphasizes that, in itself, the abolition of capitalism does not as yet provide the economic prerequisites for a direct conversion to communism, for after productive capital has become public property, the need remains for a state "which, protecting the joint ownership of productive capital, would also safeguard the quality of labor and the even division of the product" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 95). Only thus could the exploitation of man by man be eliminated once and for all.

V. I. Lenin not only theoretically substantiated the need for a state following the victory of socialism but indicated the trend of the changes of its social base. Whereas he described the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the rule of the majority over the minority, in terms of the first stage of communism, he emphasized the idea that the state will stop being a tool for the suppression of one class by another, thus becoming a power organ for all working people, for the entire society. We find in Lenin (even though casually stated) the remark of the socialist state as a state of the whole people. In his work "The State and Revolution" he wrote that under socialism "all citizens become the employers and workers of a single state of the whole people, of a state 'syndicate'" (ibid, vol 33, p 101).

A profound continuity exists between the state of the whole people and the state of dictatorship of the proletariat. Historically, this is a single class type of state in which the working class plays the leading role. At the same time, from the very beginning, the socialist state carries the trend and features of the state of the whole people, for it is consistent with the interests of all working people.

At the same time, the statehood of the whole people has a number of characteristics.

First of all, in the course of the creation of developed socialism, the social foundation of the socialist system in our country broadened. The alliance between the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry was developed in the firm political and ideological unity between these classes and between them and the people's intelligentsia, and in the alliance between workers engaged in physical and mental labor.

Secondly, whereas the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat resolved the problem of building and strengthening socialism, the state of the whole people has as its immediate task the perfecting of the developed socialist society and the building of communism.

Thirdly, the state of the whole people marks a new stage in the development of socialist democracy. This is manifested in the structure and functioning of our entire political system which insures the ever more active participation of the working people in governmental life, the management of social affairs, and the combination of real human rights and freedoms with the responsibility of every citizen to society.

Fourthly, the state of the whole people insures a higher level of scientific organization and management based on combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system on the basis of the work of educated, technically literate, and politically mature workers in all realms and at all levels of the national economy.

At the present stage the unity of interests of all social strata, nations, and nationalities, and the new social needs and tasks of the state are reflected in the broadening and changing of its functions.

The constitution determines the role of the state in the field of economic relations. It protects socialist property and creates conditions for its multiplication. Combining material with moral incentives, and encouraging innovations and a creative attitude toward the work, it contributes to the transformation of labor into a prime vital need of every Soviet person. Relying on the creative activity of the working people, socialist competition, and achievements of scientific and technical progress, and improving the ways and means of economic management, it insures the growth of labor productivity, the increased effectiveness of production and work quality, and the dynamic, planned, and proportional development of the national economy.

Economic management is based on state plans for economic and social development, in accordance with sectorial and territorial principles, combining centralized management with the economic autonomy and initiative of enterprises, associations, and other organizations. Active use is made of economic levers and incentives.

As the constitution stipulates, in field of social relations the Soviet state contributes to the strengthening of the social homogeneousness of society--to the elimination of class differences, of the main disparities between town and country and between mental and physical labor, and to the all-round development and rapprochement among all nations and nationalities in the USSR. Its objective is to broaden the real possibilities enabling the citizens to apply their creative forces, talents, and gifts for the sake of the all-round development of the individual.

The Soviet state perfects the unified system of public education. It insures planned development of science and the training of scientific cadres. It organizes the utilization of results of scientific research in the national economy and other realms of life. It is concerned with the preservation, multiplication, and extensive utilization of spiritual values for moral and esthetic upbringing and for upgrading the cultural standard of the Soviet people.

In the realm of foreign policy the Soviet Union is steadfastly guided by the Leninist policy of peace. It favors strengthening the security of the peoples and extensive international cooperation. As the constitution emphasizes, the foreign policy of the USSR is aimed at insuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the country, protecting the state interests of the Soviet Union, strengthening the

positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing aggressive wars, achieving universal and total disarmament, and systematically implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

With the appearance of the world socialist system the development of fraternal cooperation among socialist countries and the strengthening of their power and unity assume prime significance. At the present stage the intensification and consolidation of various relations with the young national states assumes a major role in the activities of the socialist states.

The socialist state is concerned with the development of political, economic, and other relations with the capitalist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence. It fights against aggression and for peace among nations and detente.

One of the most important functions of the Soviet state is the defense of the socialist fatherland. The need for this function is based on the existence in the contemporary world of aggressive imperialist forces and the danger of a military attack on the socialist countries. The Soviet state and the entire world socialist system must maintain their defense power on a level that could insure the complete defeat of any aggressor.

The theory and experience of the first socialist state of the whole people are opposed by the voluntaristic stipulations of the Maoists who are trying to perpetuate a system of military-bureaucratic dictatorship which is presented as a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Maoists try to substantiate the inevitability of the "class struggle" within the people and among the ruling classes, as well as within the state and the party themselves. The true nature of the Maoist thesis of the "revolutionary intensification within the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat" was shown best of all by the "cultural revolution" in China which shook up Chinese society to its foundations, distorted the nature of the socialist state, and resulted in incalculable casualties among party members and the broad popular masses.

The theory and experience of our state of the whole people are the real answer to the factual requirements of the economic and social progress of a society building communism.

As we stated, the CPSU is the nucleus of our entire political system. At the developed socialist stage the concept of political leadership assumes particular importance in its activities. It is precisely the party that arms our people with a clear scientific program for progress. The increased complexity of the processes of social development, the development of the scientific and technical revolution, the enhancement of the role of the Soviet state in the international arena, its responsibility for the destinies of universal peace and security of the nations, the expansion and strengthening of economic, scientific and technical, and cultural relations with all countries on earth, and the tasks of the struggle against imperialism make the function of the formulation of political decisions exceptionally important.

The 24th CPSU Congress showed a truly creative approach to the elaboration of the most important problems of socioeconomic, cultural, and foreign policy. The 10th Five-Year Plan was formulated in accordance with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution, and the increased effectiveness of output and work quality. The program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples was made the base of major foreign political actions.

The formulation of the objectives and plans for the development of society in one or another realm of economic, social, and political life is of prime importance in the party's activities. The objective scientific approach to their formulation is the most important prerequisite for the effective functioning of our entire political system. Earmarking efficient guidelines and programmatic tasks, the party also formulates the expedient means for their implementation and the methods for the adoption of specific decisions and their practical implementation.

The ideological and moral upbringing of the working people, based on a comprehensive approach, plays a particular role in the party's political leadership. The recently passed CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" earmarked a clear program for perfecting this important direction of the building of communism.

Relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, the party is doing a tremendous amount of work aimed at upgrading the level of political consciousness or the system of concepts developing in the various social groups and individuals on subjects of political power, and political dynamics and management. In its most generalized aspect, political consciousness is reflected in political standards which are among the conditions influencing the development and functioning of the political system and all its institutions, and the understanding and proper observance by the citizens of political and legal norms.

Placed in the center of the entire management system, the CPSU influences society not only through the formulation of a general plan and domestic and foreign political lines, but through the organization of the practical implementation of such lines, promoting to one or another position in management its representatives, training them, and supervising activities. The state, public, or other organizations are in charge of the direct management of economic and other processes.

The leading role of the communist party and its democratic system and methods of activities themselves are the starting point for the democracy of the entire sociopolitical system of the Soviet society and for the successful functioning of all Soviet institutions.

Practical experience quite adequately proves the groundlessness of mixing party with governmental functions and belittling the leading role of the CPSU in our political system.

The concepts of "left-wing" opportunists to the effect that through its entire apparatus the party should directly manage all sectors of economic and

cultural construction, using administrative (and even military) methods, and, essentially, bypassing state organizations, have proved to be entirely wrong (quite refuted by life) -- the assertions of right-wing opportunists according to whom the party should merely play the role of an "ideological tutor," exercising an exclusively ideological influence on the development of society, without dealing the practical problems of managing the economy and other areas of activity.

Building the activities of the Soviets, without replacing them, the CPSU strictly demarcates between the functions of party and state organs. It promotes its line above all, through the party members working in such organs. The essence of this Leninist principle has been clearly expressed in the country's Fundamental Law, which stipulates that all party organizations act within the framework of the USSR Constitution. Like all Soviet people, the Soviet party members well realize that the constitutional codification of the leading role the CPSU in our state and society does not give the party any privileges. On the contrary, it increases its responsibility, for the party implements its guiding role thanks to its high political authority and ideological influence among the masses.

Development of Socialist Democracy

The main direction followed in the development of the Soviet political system under the conditions of building communism is the all-round development of socialist democracy.

The characteristics of our democracy of the whole people are that it takes into consideration the interests of all social strata, implements the democratic ideal of freedom and equality based on socialist principles and the increased prosperity and standards of the population, and creates conditions for the participation of all citizens in fruitful production activities and in the administration of society, and for the continual development of the individual and his initiatives and capabilities.

The USSR Constitution codifies the factually achieved level of socialist democracy. At the same time, it opens new possibilities for its further development.

The perfecting of socialist democracy is specifically embodied in the further expansion of the rights and freedoms of the individual, extended not only to the political but the economic and sociocultural realms of life. The 1936 USSR Constitution itself codified the fundamental rights of the citizens--the right to work and rest, education, and material security in old age. The new constitution has separate articles also codifying the right to health protection, housing, and the utilization of the achievements of culture, insuring freedom for scientific, technical, and artistic creativity. It is important to note that all these rights have not been simply solemnly proclaimed but are guaranteed to all citizens.

The constitution defines a broad system of obligations of the Soviet citizens which, like the course of their rights, covers economic, sociocultural, and

political relations. The citizen of the USSR must observe the constitution and the Soviet laws. He must respect the rules of socialist community life and honorably carry his high title of citizen. He must work conscientiously, observe labor discipline, protect and strengthen socialist property, fight against the theft and waste of state and public property, and handle the people's property thriftily. He must protect the interests of the Soviet state and help to strengthen its power and prestige. Defense of the socialist fatherland is a sacred duty of every USSR citizen.

Our constitution includes in its legal norms the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism: respect for the national dignity of all citizens, strengthening the friendship among all nations and nationalities within the Soviet multinational state, helping to promote friendship and cooperation with the peoples of other countries, and support and strengthen universal peace. The development of socialist democracy includes the ever more extensive participation of the citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs, the perfecting of the state apparatus, upgrading the activity of public organizations, strengthening people's control and the legal foundations of governmental and social life, and broadening the publicity and constant consideration of public opinion. Upgrading the role of labor collectives, as stipulated in a separate article in the constitution, is of particular importance.

The ideological and political struggle on human rights revealed two basically different approaches: socialist and bourgeois. Socialism embodies a truly democratic approach based, above all, on concern for the rights of the working people, of the nation. Socialist democracy insures the social rights of man, such as, for example, the right to work and rest, and education; it insures socioeconomic freedoms and, above all, freedom from exploitation. Meanwhile, the bourgeois approach focuses the attention on the narrowly understood freedom to express one's individual opinion, even though it is perfectly well known that all basic means guaranteeing such freedom--the press, radio, television, and publishing--in bourgeois society are in the hands of monopoly capital.

Socialism has replaced the hypocrisy and falsehood of bourgeois democracy with a clear, constitutionally defined measure of human rights and freedoms: it is based on combining the interests of the individual with those of the entire society whose comprehensive progress is a prerequisite for the progress of the individual.

One of the most important directions in the development of socialist democracy is upgrading the role of the soviets of people's deputies--the political foundation of our system.

In its program documents the communist party emphasizes the need for the fuller implementation by the soviets of their various functions in guiding social life, the more systematic implementation of the principle of accountability of executive to representative organs, and the more extensive involvement of the public in the work of the soviets and upgrading the role of every deputy.

organizations in the administration of governmental and social affairs. Such organizations, covering virtually the entire adult population of the country, are an important means for upgrading the social and political activeness of the working class, kolhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia.

The work of the trade unions, rallying in our country over 125 million working people, is becoming ever more significant. They must always be concerned with upgrading the conscientiousness of the masses and act as organizers of the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude labor. The trade unions help the working people to develop the skills of administering state and public affairs and to actively participate in controlling the extent of labor and consumption. They insure control over the utilization of public consumption funds. They work steadily to improve standards governing services and the recreation of the working people and the extensive development of physical culture and sports.

The role of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, rallying within its ranks tens of millions of young men and women, increases in the course of the building of communism. The Komsomol is the loyal assistant of the party. It helps to raise the young people in the spirit of communism, proletarian internationalism, and Soviet patriotism, and to involve the young people in the building of the new society. The Komsomol must display initiative in all fields of social life. It must develop the activeness and labor heroism of the youth and promote in them love for knowledge. It must help the young people to master the contemporary achievements of science, technology, and culture.

The increased role of the public organizations in the political system of socialism is confirmed by the right granted to them (represented by their all-union organs) to initiate legislation.

The importance of the cooperatives rises in the course of the progress toward communism. Along with the kolhozes--production cooperatives--consumer, housing construction, and other cooperative organizations are developing as methods for involving the masses in the building of communism and as a school for social self-management.

The press, television, and radio are an effective means for expressing public opinion and building communist idea-mindedness and morality.

One of the characteristics of the Soviet political system is the development of various forms of direct democracy. This makes it possible for the working people to actively participate in the management of the state not through representative organs alone. Forms of direct democracy include mass discussions of draft laws, national economic plans, and other important governmental documents, participation of the working people in controlling the activities of enterprise administration, and in the solution of problems of labor collective, etc.

Over two million working people are elected members of soviets. Over 30 million Soviet citizens are their active. Over nine million working people

work in the elective organs of people's control, closely supervising the activities of the various administrative units, and fighting cases of bureaucracy and unconsciousness. The enterprises have set up permanent production conferences with a two-thirds workers' membership. Every year up to 1.5 million suggestions on improving production and labor conditions are submitted at such conferences.

In accordance with the numerous suggestions expressed by the working people, the fundamental Law contains the extensive rights granted labor collectives in the field of discussing and resolving governmental and social affairs and problems of enterprise and establishment management. The article on the role of labor collectives itself is in the chapter of the political system of the USSR.

The revitalization of socialist democracy has become one of the motive forces in the country's economic progress. In turn, the increased production resources and national wealth have become important factors in the strengthening and development of the democratic principles of Soviet society.

Toward Communist Social Self-Management

Our party is introducing important new elements in the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state on the matter of the organization of communist social self-management and the withering away of the state.

The USSR Constitution stipulates that the transition to communist social self-management is the supreme objective in the development of the socialist state. This problem can be resolved not by artificially hastening the "withering away of the state," when the necessary conditions for this have not matured, or the formal transfer of the functions of state organs to public organizations. It lies in the comprehensive advancement of socialist democracy.

Pravda, the Moscow Tribune of the USSR Constitution who stated that, originally, its authors "did not consistently follow the Marxist doctrine of the withering away of the state under communism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev profoundly explained the dialectics of our state and social development. It consists of the fact that millions of citizens are participating ever more energetically in the work the state and people's control organs, in production and distribution management, in social and cultural policy, and in the national economy. This also means the gradual development of communist social self-management. "Naturally, this process is lengthy. However, it is progressing steadily," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized. "We are confident that the new Constitution of the Soviet Union will adequately help to realize this important objective in the building of communism."

It is possible to see, however, the groundlessness of the attempts to pit the Constitution of the state of the whole people against the practice of the development of self-management within the labor collectives. In fact, the self-management process does not affect labor collectives alone. It is

exercised through the entire political system of society and all its institutions, and to the entire population which is exercising, directly and indirectly, its right to administer social affairs.

The transition to communist social self-management will bring about the withering away of the state, i.e., it will replace the political state system (following the disappearance of class disparities) with a management system which will no longer have a political nature and will be implemented without a special coercion apparatus. The process of withering away of the state presumes the development of the necessary domestic and international conditions to this effect.

With the advent of total communism there will be no need for a state. "In one area after another, the intervention of the state system in social relations will become unnecessary and will disappear by itself. The management of individuals will become the management of objects and of production processes. The state will not be 'replaced,' but will wither away" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "S.-h." [Works], vol. 20, p. 297).

The development of democracy along all lines, the increased role of public organizations, the intensification of democratic principles in the work of the state apparatus, and the development of direct forms of management of production and of all social affairs are the ways for the transition to a communist social self-management.

This transition is not a one-time act but a gradual dialectical process. It presumes the strengthening of the socialist state of the whole people and, at the same time, the development and perfecting of the entire sociopolitical structure of the Soviet society and the ever greater development of socialist democracy.

The overall experience of the socialist countries is having an ever greater influence on political relations today. It is an example for the leading workers and the conscientious working people in the capitalist countries in their struggle for true democratization and social progress. This experience is extensively used in many countries recently freed from colonial and semi-colonial dependency. The domestic and foreign policy of the socialist states is having a growing influence on the global social progress, the processes of socialist economic integration and internationalization of social life, the solution of the basic problems of all mankind such as the prevention of a world thermonuclear war and the consolidation of universal peace, the use of the scientific and technical revolution exclusively in the interest of the progress of all people on earth, total salvation of mankind from poverty, hunger, and new diseases, environmental protection, etc. The further perfecting and development of the political system of our society, the increased effectiveness of scientific management, and the development of socialist democracy creates ever more favorable conditions for resolving the problems of the building of communism in the USSR, proving the incorruptible advantages of real socialism over capitalism.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 74-84

[Article by V. Kulyavtsev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, and Professor B. Topornin, doctor of juridical sciences]

[Text] The tremendous universal-historical significance of the 1977 USSR Constitution is predetermined, above all, by the fact that it is the first fundamental law of developed socialism in the history of mankind--of the new stage on the way of the people toward full communism. This is not only a juridical act but a political and theoretical document of exceptional importance in which the latest achievements of Marxist-Leninist social thought, the results of extensive work to sum up and analyze the experience and prospects of the development of Soviet society, and the collective experience of world socialism have been codified. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "The new constitution of our country makes a contribution to the theory and international practice of the building of socialism, enriching them with the experience of organizing the first socialist state of the whole people in history."

The new Soviet Constitution convincingly proves that as socialism develops its historical advantages over capitalism become ever more obvious. It triggers a feeling of legitimate pride in our friends the world over. Comrades I. Chivkov and S. Todorov have pointed out that in the socialist countries it is considered a triumph of socialist democracy and a new victory for Marxism-Leninism. The achievements of the Soviet people, codified in the constitutional articles, are accepted as a guideline for the future of the developing countries which have proclaimed as their general task the establishment of a socialist system. The progressive forces of the capitalist countries consider the 1977 USSR Constitution not only a new confirmation of the vital strength and dynamism of socialism, but an important prerequisite for the development of equal and mutually profitable cooperation and peaceful coexistence among countries belonging to different social systems.

The new Soviet Constitution could not be ignored by foreign ideologues specializing in problems of the USSR. The attempts on the part of our opponents to ignore the very fact of the adoption of the constitution or to belittle its significance by proclaiming it, for example, an "essentially

document, failed entirely. One after another, articles and books are being published in the West and conferences and meetings are held focused on the USSR Constitution. In 1978, with a Ford Foundation grant, U.S., Canadian, and Western European Sovietologists published in the Netherlands a separate volume in the series of "The Law in Eastern Europe," whose authors, as the book stipulates, were given the chance to consider the problem in detail. In the United States F. Sharlet published the book, "The New Soviet Constitution of 1977." A number of books on the subject were published in France, the FRG, Canada, and other countries.

Far from everything is equally important and valuable in the extensive works published in the West in connection with the new Soviet Constitution. Let us note that the desire to objectively understand the theoretical and practical aspects of this document and the factual processes of constitutional development of our country may be found in a number of works. Such positions are inherent, for example, in the book by the French jurist M. Lesage, even though one could object to a number of his views. At the same time, however, a substantial share of "Sovietologists" approach the study of the constitution from clearly predominant viewpoints, using the long-obsolete cliches of the ill-remembered cold war. This is confirmed, in particular, by the numerous yet essentially repetitive writings by H. Palmer (FRG).

The Chinese press as well reacted to the new USSR Constitution. Reflecting the concepts of the Marxist leadership, it published a number of materials distorting both its content and purposes.

It is noteworthy that the adoption of the constitution and the systematic implementation of its stipulations are triggering ever clearer concerns and fears in the anti-communist camp.

The ideological struggle on questions related to the 1977 USSR Constitution is a long-term campaign for which our opponents are appropriating many forces and funds. Today, however, we could point out some of its characteristic features. Above all, we clearly trace its ties and continuity with all preceding anti-communist campaigns, particularly the hullabaloo raised in the West on the so-called "civil rights" problem in the socialist countries. It is an accident that the already-familiar and threadbare pseudo arguments and slogans have been expressed on the subject of the new Soviet Constitution. Despite the seeming differences in the views of right-wing and "left-wing" critics of scientific socialism, we must point out that a kind of united front is developing for mounting attacks on the Soviet Constitution. It is noteworthy that the struggle around it is developing under the conditions of a general intensification of the ideological role and significance of the law in the western world, and the increased attention which bourgeois ideologues pay both to the formulation of their own legal views and the criticism of Soviet and all socialist law.

The main directions followed in this struggle are related to some focal problems. First, the evaluation of the historical stage corresponding to the new USSR Constitution--the stage of developed socialism. Second, the

characterization of the political system in the Soviet Union, including the correlation among the roles and functions of the communist party and the soviets in the political system of the socialist society. Third, the question of the status of the individual under socialism, and of the social and juridical guarantees of the rights and freedoms of the citizens.

With the very appearance of the draft of the 1977 USSR Fundamental Law, the political leaders and scientists of the fraternal socialist countries and the representatives of communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries paid particular attention to its unbreakable ties with the sociohistorical changes in the life of Soviet society. "The new Constitution of the Soviet state," noted the party and government leaders of the Hungarian People's Republic, "reflects profoundly and comprehensively the tremendous results achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU in the building of socialism and communism over six decades. . . ." The foreign communist press pointed out at length that the USSR Constitution has reflected and codified all the main features of the contemporary period of the building of communism.

It is precisely this circumstance that our ideological opponents try to conceal or distort. The wish to depict the constitution as a circumstantial political document, allegedly reflecting only the topical requirements of specific circumstances, has been, and remains, one such attempt.

What could we say on this subject? The CPSU document, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches, and Soviet scientific and political publications have substantiated quite properly the premises for the adoption of the new constitution. However, Western "Sovietologists" frequently complain of the "frequent renovation" of USSR constitutional legislation, ignoring the exceptional dynamism of the Soviet society, which reached the level of developed socialism within an extremely short historical time. It would be pertinent to add here that contemporary "Sovietology" presents, generally speaking, the nature of the current stage of our history and the theoretical and practical accomplishments of the Soviet people in an extremely primitive fashion.

The fact that, turning to the study of the concept of developed socialism elaborated at the CPSU and the other ruling fraternal parties in recent times, it is not without interest to point out that an American political scientist, A. Evans, was forced to note that, essentially, the "Sovietologists" saw the manifestation of this concept and, subsequently, clearly underestimated it. It is new but the "basic values covered by the new ideological developments are directly based on acquired experience" (SOVIET STUDIES, No 3, 1977, p 426).

The bourgeois ideologues essentially agree with the bourgeois authors in assessing the significance of the Soviet Constitution as a codification of the mature socialist stage. In an effort to belittle the prestige of the Soviet Union and the scale of its accomplishments, they do everything possible to discredit the very concept of the developed socialist society. Pseudo-theoretical tricks are being used, particularly Maoist dogmas to the effect

that, allegedly, the entire development of the socialist society can be conceived only as a "continuation of the revolution" under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Obviously, China is not in a hurry to part with the erroneous idea of the permanent nature of the notorious "Cultural Revolution." The Maoists reject the idea of the state of the whole people. As "proof" the Chinese "theoreticians" usually use a rather primitive logic according to which the state always represents the dictatorship of a given class. If it is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, it must be (!) the dictatorship of the capitalist classes.

Naturally, neither bourgeois nor Maoist ideologists would be able to refute the fact of the legitimate establishment of developed socialism. The big and essential changes which have affected all the aspects of life of Soviet society make it possible to mention this, comparing the present with the past, when socialism had been built only in its essential and main aspects, and when its forms and relations had not reached as yet a sufficiently high level of maturity. The growth of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the rule of the entire people is of essential significance. Naturally, the new constitution as well must be consistent with the new quality of the socialist society: but the possibilities of the 1936 Fundamental Law were exhausted and its framework outstripped.

Soviet experience teaches us that the socialist constitution must be closely linked with the specific stage of social development, reflect its basic features, and strengthen its political and economic foundations. On the one hand, this gives the constitution the necessary prestige and insures the realistic and effective nature of its stipulations. On the other, it ensures its "operative" nature and its integrational, organizational, and stimulating functions. The stability of the constitution is preserved within each historical stage. However, since the socialist society does not stand still but is rapidly progressing, rising along the steps of a communist civilization, its constitutional base as well is naturally renovated.

The 1978 constitution reflects the contemporary level of the theory of scientific socialism and the achievements of Soviet juridical science.

Assessing the meaning of the Soviet Constitution, the American jurist J. Shepard had to acknowledge that this document "represents a thought-out plan concerning the solutions which the Soviet leaders are ready to suggest, bearing in mind the problems which, in their view, face them" ("Soviet Law after Stalin," part II, Social Engineering Through Law, Alphen, 1978, p 1).

In the socialist society, basically--particularly under developed socialism--the state and the government pay prime attention to the strengthening of the legal foundations of state and all aspects of public life. The entire experience of constitutional development in the USSR refutes the claims of our ideological opponents according to which, allegedly, the communists have a nihilistic attitude toward the law and are hardly concerned with law and order. Despite well-known facts, familiar motifs are still found in Western "Sovietsology." For example, noting that the communists do not reject the use

of the normative functions of the constitution, G. Bruner (IFM) claims that they consider it, above all, an ideological-propaganda instrument.

Yes, the Marxists-Leninists emphasize the ideological, educational, and programmatic significance of the constitution. However, its main aspect is that it is the fundamental law of the state, regulating the most important social relations and possessing the highest legal power. As the noted German jurist G. Schaefer notes, the role of the law and its significance in the life of society rises steadily in the course of the building of developed socialism (VVAZ (Sov. Zhurn., No 9, 1977, pp 801-802). The constitution is the direct law whose articles contain juridical norms governing the Soviet legislative system.

The USSR neither has nor could have disparities between constitutional norms and current legislation, for under socialism the constitution is distinguished by the realistic nature of its stipulations. It is the base for the further development and perfecting of all Soviet legislation, which is its unquestionable merit. Despite such an obvious situation (E. Osakvet (the Netherlands) questions the universally binding importance of the Soviet Constitution on grounds that many of its stipulations are subsequently concretized through current legislation.

Yes, the other way is possible. Along with articles with direct action, the constitution has articles whose stipulations are interpreted in detail in other legislative acts. The mandatory nature of the adoption of such acts is directly indicated in a number of cases in the Soviet constitution itself. All this stems directly from its purpose as the fundamental law of the country.

Actually, the starting position of the bourgeois jurists can be easily understood. It is dictated by the fact that, obviously, in their study of the Soviet constitution they are guided by the practice of the drafting and application of bourgeois constitutions. Occasionally, under the pressure of the democratic movements of the masses, the latter include some stipulations in line with social justice, democracy, etc. However, a gap exists between such stipulations and reality. Whenever they deem it necessary to strengthen their positions, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries ignore the constitutional stipulations, relying on current legislation adopted with the clear purpose of weakening or, in general, ignoring that which has been solemnly stipulated in the constitution. It is no accident that even bourgeois jurists have alarmingly drawn the attention to the increased number of such legislative acts. For example, a number of capitalist countries practically violate the constitutional rights to privacy of correspondence and telephone communications. It is habitual to pass laws and even administrative regulations curtailing the security organs and the police rights which effectively violate the rights of the citizens.

The violation of democracy in the developed socialist society is comprehensively described in the chapters and articles of our constitution. Its essential requirement is that in the country the state power is exercised by the people through the Soviets of people's deputies which constitute the

political foundation of the USSR. The Soviet experience decisively refutes the technocratic concepts widespread in the West whose essence is that at the present time the concept of people's representation has become, allegedly, obsolete and can no longer be effective as an institution for the management of the state.

The soviets represent all population classes and strata. In over 60 years of Soviet history they have confirmed their high political usefulness. They remain the base of the entire governmental apparatus. It is precisely the soviets, rallying the Soviet people, that characterize the nature of our state as a profoundly people's state. Over two million deputies, representing all categories of working people, and nations and nationalities in our country, have been elected members of the soviets. Their immediate support is an active rallying over 30 million citizens--party and non-party members. All other state organs are created and operate under the decisive influence of the soviets and their control. The new USSR Constitution preserves and develops further the principle determining the leading role of the soviets in the state mechanism. The coordinating functions of the soviets have been broadened considerably. Their responsibility for the comprehensive development of republics, provinces, oblasts, cities, and rayons have been expanded considerably.

Also indicative of the critics of the Soviet Constitution is their tendency to ignore the obvious fact that along with the soviets which are the base of the rule by the people, the working people participate in the administration of the country also through the public organizations, labor collectives, and forms of direct democracy (nationwide discussions and voting). This is only incidentally mentioned in the new books and articles by bourgeois authors on the USSR Constitution.

Whenever Western "Sociologists" come across irrefutable facts proving the mass participation of the working people in the affairs of the Soviet state, they claim that this participation is almost a means for one-sided control exercised by the Soviet system over the execution of its directives. At best, "bourgeois" in Soviet affairs claim that they find it "difficult to determine" the real effect of the mass involvement of the Soviet people in the processes of political life. We would say that they find it rather unsuitable, for this would destroy their farfetched concept.

The stipulations in the USSR Constitution defining the role and place of the Communist Party in the life of Soviet society are of essential significance to the development of socialist democracy. Whereas the 1936 Constitution mentioned the party only in connection with the rights of the citizens to join public organizations, Article six in the chapter on the political system of the present constitution especially deals with the party. This makes even clearer the stipulation that the CPSU is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system and state and public organizations.

The meaning of these constitutional stipulations is clear. However, the enemies of socialism are particularly zealous to distort them, to pit the

party's leading and guiding role against the principles of democracy, and to question the historically determined nature of the party's purposes under the conditions of the socialist system. Again and again the hackneyed claims of the "primacy of the party over the state," "dangerous intertwining of party and state organs," and "dictatorship by the communist party" are reiterated. According to S. Malsiner (FRC) the idea of the growth of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, proclaimed in the constitution, allegedly offers nothing new, for that state has and remains "one-party dictatorship."

Yes, both essentially as well as officially the constitution rejects the idea of the merger of the party with the state. They represent different even though organically interlinked units of the political system of the socialist society. The party directs the activities of state organs and public organizations and gives them political leadership. However, it does not violate them or place the aims of their functions with its own, as well as unnecessary duplication in the work. This is what V. I. Lenin taught and his legacy is being successfully implemented.

It is universally known that the CPSU is the highest form of sociopolitical organization. It rallies the most politically mature members of the working class, kulshor peasantry, and intelligentsia. The party is directed by the party members themselves--by all its members. This is entirely consistent with the Leninist instructions according to which "all party affairs are conducted, directly or through representatives, by all party members, on an equal footing and with no exceptions whatever" ("Talks with Lenin" [Complete Collected Works], vol. 1, p. 212).

Nevertheless, in their intention to distort the meaning of the stipulations on the leading and guiding role of the CPSU in Soviet society, the bourgeois critics of the constitution are trying to depict the party itself as an elitist organization or a blind force obeying the instructions of its leadership. They deliberately ignore well-known factual data. Currently about 2.5 million party members are members of leading party organs, or almost one-quarter of the entire party membership. Party members--workers, peasants, and rank-and-file working people engaged in physical and mental labor, are also well-represented at all party leadership levels.

Finally, there is a very amazing in the attacks of our ideological opponents. These people would like to weaken the Leninist party by all possible means. They would like to see it divided into conflicting factions and groups. They are not pleased by the inevitable unity of CPSU ranks.

Characteristically, it is precisely the constitutional formula according to which our CPSU "exists for the sake of the people and serves the people" that has become the target of violent attacks on the part of the Marxists.

One of the most historically familiar concepts which stressed the loyalty of the party to the proletarian people and its selfless activities aimed at accomplishing the satisfaction of the basic needs of the toiling people. Our selfish anti-Soviets reached the absurd conclusion that

the CPSU represents no more, and no less than the interests . . . of the bourgeoisie (1).

No attacks on the CPSU mounted by the enemies of socialism—whatever their camp may be—could lower in the minds of the working people the world over the significance of the party under the conditions of a mature socialist society. The constitutional norms dealing with it establish a most important law. "The development of socialist statehood and socialist democracy," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is a process in which the communist party plays a key role. The victory of the October Revolution and the entire 60-year-old history of the Soviet state has assigned the CPSU the role of leading and guiding force of our society."

The USSR Constitution pays particular attention to insuring the social and legal prerequisites needed for the all-round free development of the individual. The humanistic and democratic nature of the Constitution is manifested, above all, in the fact that man, with his needs and interests, is defined within it as the purpose of existence of society itself, as a guideline for all comprehensive activities of the Soviet state. The supreme objective of public production under socialism is the fullest possible satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of the people.

At the time that the draft of the USSR Constitution was published the foreign press was forced to note the considerable increase of the rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens (THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR).

What could the bourgeois critics oppose to the Soviet constitutional stipulations on the status of the person and the citizen? Practically nothing. Ignoring open slanders and gross falsifications, let us note two directions of anti-communist propaganda aimed at belittling the democratic nature of our constitution: first, the use of the concept of so-called "natural rights" of man and, second, the pitting of the constitutional text against social realities.

The purpose of the former is to ascribe to the problem of human rights a non-class, or abstract nature, and to lower the role and significance of the socialist state in insuring and protecting the rights of the individual. The same B. Winter, for example, wrote that the basic rights in the USSR are considered not as "inherent human rights" but as "legal gifts" of the state and that they are restricted by the law and could be revoked at any time.

The concept of the "natural, inherent rights" under capitalist conditions reflects the irreconcilability between the interests of the bourgeois state and the struggle against its exploitation strata. Historically it played a progressive role, for it contributed to the struggle against feudal arbitrariness and the reactionism of the broad popular masses. However, it carries within it all the limitations of a non-class approach to understanding the freedom of the individual. It expresses the inability to realize the formal rights and freedoms possible under capitalism and under the

condition of a bourgeois democracy. Finally, the claim that "liberty rights" exist in one way or in a state of trying contradiction is a life-filler with the social and national repression of the working people and discrimination and repression against democrats.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of the status of the individual stems from the fact that the rights of the citizen in any state, including a socialist state, are of a class nature, stemming from the specific social conditions of the given society, and determined by its socioeconomic system and existing extent of freedom.

The fundamental law of developed socialism substantially broadened the constitutional status of the citizen. In it the number of articles on the rights, freedoms, and obligations of the Soviet people have been nearly doubled. However, it is not merely a question of quantitative indicators. The constitutional status itself has become considerably richer and more comprehensive in content, covering virtually all essential aspects of the development of the individual. Here it is a question of real categories: unlike capitalism, where the factual situation of the working man does not coincide with its juridical formulation, under socialism the constitutional stipulations are guaranteed in all respects.

The Stalin, 1954 edition of M. Maslarski writes that the rights of the Soviet person are considerably broader than those of the working people in the capitalist countries. Among the important social significance is the right to work, and equality among citizens, regardless of their nationality and race, he states that, "It is precisely these basic civil rights that may be the foundation for a comparison between the two different social systems, rather than those chosen by specialists in various types of subventions and provocations." He can only agree with this statement.

The extent and reality of the rights enjoyed by the Soviet citizens, codified in the 1936 Constitution, amply prove the groundlessness and falseness of the political-diplomatic campaign mounted recently in the West aimed, ostensibly, at the defense of civil rights in the socialist countries. Despite the substantial material and political support given this tendentious campaign on the part of the reactionary forces, it is falling along all lines. The practice of real socialism is stronger than the most refined arguments of the hypocrites of capitalist democracy.

The capitalist world is forced to acknowledge the fact that a wide range of socioeconomic and political rights are codified in our constitution. For example, S. Maslarski writes that these rights reflect the high level of productivity reached by the country. At the same time, however, in order to "help" the West, he points out that the obligation to work exists in the USSR. In the West the article on the right of the Soviet worker to work may be bypassed or ignored, for the question of the duty to work may be whipped up. This may be explained largely by the fact that, once and again, the capitalist world is proving its inability to guarantee the vital rights of the working people, including employment. Today

there are 50 million unemployed in the capitalist countries, most of whom are young people. Unemployment affects not only the working class but the intelligentsia as well.

Bourgeois propaganda tries to pit the ideas of the Soviet Constitution against the fiction of the harmony of class interests in the capitalist world. To this purpose the constitutional legislation is being somewhat renovated, including concepts of a social or economic nature. However, the aggravation of the class struggle and, particularly, the growth of the movement of strikes, confirm that the constitutional systems of the capitalist countries have not been created in the least for the sake of helping the working people to surmount unemployment, inflation, or other crisis phenomena of bourgeois society, but, in the final account, for the protection of the interests of monopoly capital.

Some of our critics, forced to acknowledge the development of the socio-economic and sociocultural rights of the Soviet citizens, hypocritically complain that, allegedly, political rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union "have no luck." This could be answered merely by the suggestion that the respective articles in our constitution be read carefully and that our social practice be studied better. The USSR Fundamental Law not only codified already familiar political rights and freedoms but stipulated the right to participate in administration, the right to submit to the state organs and public organizations suggestions on improving their activities, the right to criticize shortcomings, the right to appeal the actions of officials and state organs, etc.

Some bourgeois political experts attack the democratic stipulation that insuring the broad rights and freedoms of the citizens presumes the observance of the national, the state interests. For example, R. Sharlet claims that the constitution "restricts" fundamental civil rights with the stipulation that political freedoms are "guaranteed in accordance with the interests of the people and with a view to the strengthening and development of the socialist system" ("The New Soviet Constitution of 1977," Brunswick, Ohio, 1978, p. 16).

As an example of this our critics frequently refer to article 51 of the constitution which stipulates that social organizations are created in the interest of the building of communism. However, this merely codifies the obvious fact that in the USSR there are no longer classes and social strata which would pursue one or another end objective different from the objective of the entire people, or oppose the main-line progress of the Soviet society toward communism. All internal prerequisites for the appearance within our society of social courses and groups which would aspire a restoration of the capitalist system and engage in activities harming the interests of the working people have disappeared. On this matter our constitution reflects the factual state of things and codifies it as a political line adopted by the entire Soviet people.

Through the ruse of anti-communism, the critics of the Soviet Constitution try to create the impression that individual rights and freedoms are

underestimated in the USSR and that the authorities may even display an arbitrary behavior toward the individual (R. Sharlet, "The New Soviet Constitution of 1977," p 17). This is an obvious distortion of the theory and practice of constitutional rule in our country. As we know, the socialist system not only does not exclude but, on the contrary, presumes a necessary measure of individual independence and the relative separation of the individual from society. It establishes strict constitutional guarantees against outside intervention, including the state organs, in private life.

The 1977 Constitution has included the best features of previous constitutional legislation and of the entire legal development of our society. At the same, compared with the 1926 Constitution, it codifies new rights as well: the right to the honor and dignity of the individual (art 57), protection of the individual life of the citizen (art 56), and protection of the family (art 53). The stipulation of the privacy of correspondence has been expanded by a stipulation on the privacy of telephone conversations and telegraph communications. Freedom of conscience and the inviolability of the home are treated more extensively. The text of the articles on the inviolability of the individual has been refined.

One of the essential elements of the democratic status of the individual is the interrelationship of rights and freedoms with responsibility, and the mature and sensible approach of the citizens concerning their behavior and relations with other citizens and with the entire society. Hence the complete legitimacy of the stipulation of article 39 of the constitution according to which the exercise of rights and freedoms by the citizens should not harm the interests of society and the state or the rights of other citizens. Directly linked with this stipulation is another, codified in article 59: "The exercise of rights and freedoms is inseparable from the implementation of civic obligations." The obligations of the Soviet citizens are developed in close connection with their rights and freedoms. "Every Soviet person must clearly realize that the main guarantee for his rights is, in the final account, the power and prosperity of the homeland," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said. "To this effect, every citizen must feel his responsibility to society and conscientiously fulfill his duty to the state and the people."

Let us note that articles 39 and 59 of the constitution clearly "irritate" those interested in weakening the Soviet system. They consider such articles a "violation of democracy." Yet, they contain basic requirements which distinguish between freedom and anarchy, and democracy and arbitrariness. Let us remind such "fighters for democracy" that these requirements have been adopted by all peace-loving societies.

Thus, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) points out that in the exercise of his rights a person may be subject to restrictions stipulated by the law exclusively with a view to securing the necessary recognition of and respect for the rights and freedoms of others, and meeting the just requirements of morality, public order, and general prosperity in a democratic society (art 29). In turn, the International Pact on Civil and Political

Rights (1966) directly stipulates the right of each country to formulate in its laws restrictions of the rights of citizens required in a democratic society in the interest of the preservation of the security of the state and public order, the health, or the morality of the population, as well as the respect of the rights and freedoms of other individuals (arts 12 and 19).

Soviet society cannot tolerate attempts to undermine and weaken the great achievements of the October Revolution, the building of socialism and communism, and the socialist way of life. The propaganda of war, national hatred, or racial exclusivity are forbidden by law in the USSR. People engaged in agitation and propaganda with a view to undermining or weakening the Soviet system and in slandering the Soviet system may be criminally prosecuted. We ban pornography and punish the use of narcotics. Naturally, there is nothing anti-democratic in this. It is entirely consistent with the interests of the entire people, reflecting the concern of the state for the all-round and harmonious development of the individual, and the protection of his health, honor, and dignity.

The Soviet Union not only strictly observes the norms of international law but actively participates in the drafting of international-legal acts which help the democratization of the status of man in the contemporary world. The influence of Soviet experience is clearly felt in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and a number of international conventions and pacts. This fully applies to two pacts adopted by the United Nations in 1966: the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights.

The Soviet state was the first of the great powers to sign these documents on 18 March 1968 and ratify them on 18 September 1973. Let us note for the sake of comparison that so far the United States has not dared to take this step. However, it is not merely a matter of the official adoption of the pacts. With all its activities the USSR is proving its loyalty to its programmatic objectives and the ideas of socialist humanism. This is the principled position of the communist parties and all the members of the socialist comity. "The banner of human rights and freedoms is the banner of socialism," states the Declaration of Warsaw Pact Members, adopted at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee on 23 November 1978 in Moscow.

The influence of the example of the Soviet Constitution on the political awareness of the broadest popular masses in a great variety of countries is greatly increased in the course of the practical implementation of the stipulations of this historical document. The principles of socialist democracy are being implemented systematically as clearly confirmed by the 4 March 1979 elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet. A plan for legislative work has been drafted and is being strictly implemented, according to which new laws have already been passed on elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, the procedure governing the conclusion, ratification, and denunciation of international treaties and agreements, USSR citizenship, etc. The role of the soviets of people's deputies is being

enhanced. The activity of public organizations and of the masses is developing. Rallied around their political leader--the Leninist party--the Soviet people are successfully resolving the problems of the building of communism. The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet state, whose principles are comprehensively reflected and codified in the new Soviet Constitution, has been highly rated the world over.

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CSO: 1802

'I AM PLEASED BY THE SUCCESSES OF YOUR SOCIAL REVOLUTION'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 85-90

[Two unknown letters of the American labor leader Tom Mooney]

[Text] The name of Tom Mooney (1882-1942) is associated, above all, with the struggle waged by the American and international working class against the policy of class repressions, the terror of monopoly reaction, and lawlessness and arbitrariness in capitalist countries. His very life was a living accusation of immorality directed against the world of profits and the social system which, using the means of political violence and terrorist dictatorship, fraud, and bribery, keeps the people's masses in a state of submission to the exploiting minority, while raising the egotistical interests of imperialist groups of the monopoly bourgeoisie to the level of ruling foreign political principle. Unlike the case of many of his compatriots in America, Tom Mooney never considered fascism or methods of fascist arbitrariness as abstract concepts only remotely recalling the cruel reality known from the newsreels or the testimony of witnesses. His entire life was a constant battle against the appearance of the syndrome of fascist menace and its secret and obvious bearers and accomplices.

Son of an Indiana coal miner, from his early years Tom Mooney became familiar with need, drifting, unemployment, and the oppression of the exploiters. As a foundry worker, at the age of 14, Mooney joined the U.S. trade-union and socialist movement and gravitated to its left wing. Mooney was the victim of constant persecution for his participation in anti-war and anti-imperialist propaganda and for his uncompromising position in defending the interests of the workers. In 1916 he became the victim of a criminal conspiracy on the part of California reaction which staged an act of terrorism and murdered a number of people, subsequently accusing Tom Mooney of this on the basis of the testimony of false witnesses. In the spring of 1917 he was sentenced to death by a San Francisco court. As a result of the protests of workers in the United States and revolutionary Russia, the sentence was commuted to a life sentence at San Quentin, the San Francisco hard-labor prison. Thanks to the efforts of Mooney's friends, and the repentance of the false witnesses, soon nothing was left of the charge. However, bourgeois justice kept him in solitary confinement in California's Moabit Jail for over 22 years. The prison maimed Mooney physically without breaking his spirit. The struggle for releasing

the innocent man developed into a powerful international movement of proletarian solidarity. The U.S. Communist Party, the Comintern, the Trade Union International, and the MOPR [International Organization of Aid to Fighters for Revolution] played a tremendous role in the organization of this movement. In January 1939 the California authorities, yielding to the pressure of the labor movement and world progressive public, were forced to rehabilitate Mooney fully and unconditionally.

Communist writer Joseph North has properly pointed out the meaning of this victory: "Who could give back the life of a person who for the love of his class sacrifices his best years? However, Mooney's life was not wasted, for his struggle became an example to many. He also fought for those who remained inert and indifferent. He did not wait. He fought with all possible means, he fought behind bars for a rehabilitation which, to him, meant not only individual freedom but the victory of the just cause of the working class" (J. North and Robert Minor, "Artist and Crusader," New York, 1956, pp 244-245).

Mooney had the best features of the true leaders of the American labor movement, which raised within its ranks a number of courageous fighters, heroes, and martyrs. He had a highly developed feeling of duty, firmness, and faith in the future. He also believed in the international solidarity of the workers and in internationalism. He understood most profoundly the role and significance of the gains of the Soviet people and of real socialism in terms of defending all true values of human civilization and culture, and the progress and freedom of the peoples from attempts on the part their mortal enemies--fascism and various kinds of political werewolves. Tom Mooney was not a member of the communist party. However, he never speculated on "what camp to join and fight with."

In 1931, when the brown plague of fascism had spread on the political map of the bourgeois world, addressing himself to the Soviet workers, he wrote: "As world capitalism is sinking ever deeper into mire of the catastrophes it has created itself and into corruption and merciless exploitation of the working people, you, the winners over czarist tyranny, and builders of a better world, at the cost of incredible sacrifices and after enduring endless battles, made possible the great successes of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, successes which became the great and inspiring example for all workers. You strengthened the hopes of the worlds' proletariat. A tremendous distance separates us. However, distance cannot be an insurmountable obstacle, as our struggle is universal. I am with you, heart and soul. I am with you in all your battles. I am happy with the successes of your social revolution. I am with you unconditionally and unhesitatingly" (LABOR DEFENDER, vol VII, No 11, Nov 1931, p 207).

In another message from his exile, a letter to the Siberian workers, Mooney wrote: ". . . Go on with your construction! Know that even buried alive in a prison made of concrete and steel, we do not lose our ability to see. We follow each of your steps. We are proud of your accomplishments. We are always with you, realizing how difficult it is to build from nothing." (LABOR DEFENDER, vol VIII, No 4, Apr 1932, p 72).

The two letters by Tom Mooney, published for the first time here, show how highly he valued the principled and, at the same time, flexible foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the defense of universal peace and what an unquestionable decisive significance he ascribed to its armed struggle against the fascist hordes. The first of them (dated 12 October 1940) was written at a time when Western bourgeois and reformist propaganda had noisily mounted an anti-Soviet campaign deliberately distorting the objectives and motives of action of the Soviet state in the international arena on the eve of and in the first period of World War II. Addressed to the broad public, it cautioned all honest democrats and anti-fascists against the misinterpretation of the steps and measures taken by the USSR with a view to preventing the expansion of Hitlerite aggression under conditions in which the world was harvesting the fruits of the Munich treason, and the creation of the necessary prerequisites (diplomatic and military) for repelling it through the efforts of all peace-loving nations. The second (dated 28 February 1942) is filled with admiration at the exploit of the Soviet people and confidence in its final victory. It took the aspect of the testament of Tom Mooney bequeathed to his class brothers in the United States, and an instruction to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and its people for the sake of the future of mankind. The dramatic nature of Mooney's appeal is further emphasized by the fact that the 28 February 1942 letter was his last. He was unable to withstand a fourth operation and died on 6 March 1942.

G. Dimitrov was fully justified in saying that Tom Mooney's life and death call for the unification of the revolutionary and progressive forces and nations capable of opposing the tyranny of wealth and military-fascist despotism, whatever the messianic garb they may have donned. In a cable sent by him to the United States in connection with Mooney's death, carried by the DAILY WORKER, he stated: "We lost in Tom Mooney one of the best sons of the great American people, who dedicated his life to the lengthy struggle for freedom and justice for the working people, whose offspring he was. However, Tom Mooney does not belong to America alone. His inflexible spirit and courage and his fearlessness as a fighter have triggered a warm response in the hearts of all progressive people on earth."

Both of Mooney's letters are kept in his file in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

V. Malkov, doctor of historical sciences.

Mr. Paul A. Ritchie¹

4264 Menlow Avenue

San Diego, California

St. Lukes Hospital

San Francisco, California

12 October 1940

Dear Paul!

I have in front of me two of your letters, the first dated 3 April and the second 6 October. Attached to the latter is a clipping from the SAN DIEGO PRESS, dated 23 February, entitled "Paul Ritchie's Left Column."

I think that this article is simply superb with the exception, perhaps, of the conclusions drawn. I think that they are unsatisfactory. It would hardly be accurate to compare the history of the struggle for the defense of Mooney with Lindberg's flight across the Atlantic. In the former case we are dealing with a symbol of a social movement, actively fighting the old system which is in a state of rapid decline, and it is precisely because Tom Mooney had the courage to rise above philistinism and challenge the status quo that he was put behind bars. Millions of unsung and unknown fighters for progress in the course of the age-old history of mankind were swept off the face of the earth only because they dared to challenge the old regime.

What Ch. Lindberg accomplished 13 years ago is today the norm. At that time this was a truly tremendous step forward in the development of aviation. Socially, however, its significance was small. No one would undertake to give short shrift to a person who decided to advance a means of locomotion, whether on the ground, at sea, or in the air. The same would apply to industry, farming, art, and science. Yet, suffice it for anyone to suggest an improvement in the political or economic structure of our society for those who run the economy and control it, together with their servants, to immediately try to put him in jail.

The worth of a person and of his accomplishment is not necessarily gaged by the number of people who applaud him on the city square. What happened in Sacramento on 7 January 1939 and, the following day, at the main square of San Francisco² was merely the fruit of the seeds planted in the ground and took 22 years ago. Not all blossoms proved to be durable. The plant, however, is alive and entirely able to blossom out.

What I went through in jail, Paul, became part of my life. For the eight years preceding the day I found myself in 'ail I approached life consciously. I was also aware of what my contribution and the contribution of every worker should be in the daily struggle if we are willing to remain loyal to our class to the end. The historical mission of the working class has always been, and remains, a tireless struggle for total economic freedom; it is only when the worker becomes economically free that he will achieve freedom in the full meaning of the term. You could put on paper excellent laws, vote for them in parliaments, and compile them in codes. Such laws may proclaim the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and justice. Yet, what is their value to the worker who is hungry, unemployed, homeless, or dressed in rags? But enough of that, Paul

Yes, I read in the papers of Fred Reeve's death and I was greatly saddened. True, he was a worthy representative of the workers. I liked him very much.

I followed the CIO congress in California, listened to the evening CIO radio program, read the CIO newspaper, and the daily press. The participants to the congress found themselves in a rather delicate position. To the best of my knowledge, Lewis³ intends to make a statement on the presidential elections at any time preceding the elections, and is fully resolved to promote Roosevelt's defeat. Regardless of what he may do--whether support the anti-Roosevelt campaign or call for a vote for Wilkie,⁴ in any case this line of behavior would be the equivalent of supporting Wilkie; yet, I simply cannot get it through my head how he could prefer Wilkie to Roosevelt. True, the policy of the present Administration is imperialist in nature. Yet, even though we are not interested in the defense of dying capitalism, nevertheless, faced with a choice, we should choose the lesser of two evils. I believe that this is the only sensible choice for the workers as long as they have no political power sufficient to insure for themselves real chances for winning their own victory. Regardless of anything said and done, in practice all reforms of the "New Deal" will remain effective and Roosevelt himself has frequently proclaimed himself publically loyal to the obligation to defend and expand them even under the most complex of circumstances, preserving them as they are. He considers them a structural part of national defense.

What I decisively oppose in the politics of Roosevelt's Administration is its unworthy attacks on the communists and the USSR. It was precisely this line that official France followed and we know how this ended.

The Russians had an agreement with Czechoslovakia, according to which they assumed the obligation to help Czechoslovakia should Germany attack it and providing that France as well would help Czechoslovakia. France and England sold Czechoslovakia out, sinking it in Munich. Yet, even at the moment when Germany was ready to attack Poland, Russia announced its intention to conclude a pact with Poland according to which, together with France and England, it assumed the obligation to act on the side of Poland. The proposal was rejected by Poland, France, and England.

In the present world conflict Russia is the natural and logical ally of the United States. This is absolutely "natural." They have common enemies. This means Japan in the Pacific and Germany on Russia's western border and, in the case of the United States, in South America as well. It seems quite probable that the alliance among the United States, Russia, England, and France could have prevented a world war. However, it would hardly be sensible to expect of a country such as the USSR that it would agree without consideration to sign a pact with countries which are trying to strangle it politically, economically, and militarily. These countries have done everything within their power to destroy the Soviet Union. Let me give you one example: When the Germans landed in Norway they came across in one of the ports a supply ship loaded with American airplanes and military equipment destined for Finland while the war was on.⁵ However, it had docked after Finland and Russia had concluded a peace treaty. The Germans captured the entire cargo and used it for their own purposes the way they have done with hundreds of airplanes, trucks, and other war materiel made in the United States which fell into their hands when they invaded France.

Now, realizing that Russia could be of tremendous value to it as an ally in the struggle against the Axis Powers, the United States would like to make some kind of working agreement with Russia in areas in which Russia could be of real help to it. At the same time, however, in turn, it does not wish to recognize as Russia's that which is rightfully hers, thus revealing its hostility and unseemly plans toward the USSR. In the case of victory the Allies (England and the United States--the author) will try to recreate Poland and the Baltic states as they were before the war. You should remember that all these countries were part of the Russian Empire until World War I. The makers of the Versailles Peace Treaty turned them into buffer states whose purpose was to play the role of a "cordon sanitaire" to prevent the spreading of Bolshevism in European countries. These buffer states were always hostile to the Soviet Union. Their entire policy and program of action were dictated by England, France, and America. Should they be restored in their former aspect they would again assume a hostile position toward the USSR and constitute a bridgehead for mounting an attack against it should a conflict with this country break out in the future. The pursuit of this policy toward Russia was a real misfortune for these countries in the past. It excluded virtually any possibility for a future working agreement with a view to their joint defense against the common enemy.

No one should be misled as to the meaning of the non-aggression pact concluded between the USSR and Germany. You can be certain that when the time comes Hitler will throw his entire power at the Soviet Union in the hope of destroying it, seizing the bountiful graneries of the Ukraine and replacing the present Russian government with a puppet government serving the new order in Europe. Hitler can mislead no one but himself and the day he starts his campaign to the east will be his Waterloo, as happened to Napoleon.

So far, there has been no blitzkrieg against England. It has bogged down in the English Channel, at least for the present. In all likelihood it will be postponed for next year or, perhaps, it will never be resumed.

Now they (the Hitlerites--the author) intend to strike at the Balkans and, using Turkey as a bridgehead, take the Syrian oil. Petroleum is the lifeblood of modern warfare. No war is possible without it. Germany's greatest hope is to gain a victory through blitzkrieg as it did in France and all the small countries. All this is easier to accomplish on land compared with crossing water obstacles 20 to 300 miles wide.

I believe that the most important factor which will determine the outcome of this world war between the forces of capitalism (those who rushed ahead and those who stayed behind) will be General Hunger. I believe that at the final stage the results of the war will be summed up by a great revolution.

Now, let us go back to the struggle in your district. I would like you to know that I will be watching the vote count in your district more attentively than in any other district in the United States and I am confident of your victory. I send you my best wishes and, should I be able to do anything useful (not much under the present circumstances) do not hesitate to ring me up. I am at your disposal. . . .

Well, Paul, that is all.

My best fraternal wishes for your success and may you win on the 5 November elections.

Respectfully yours, Tom Mooney

Mr W. J. Heinz, president Local #4

United Mine Workers of America

Second National Bank Building

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

St. Lukes Hospital

San Francisco, California

28 February 1942

Dear Billy Heinz!

I hope that you will forgive me for this long delay in answering your wonderful letter dated 8 July and in expressing my gratitude for paying my hospital costs at such a critical time for me. I would also like to express to you my sincere condolences and sympathy in connection with the death of your brother and fellow worker K. K. Bowner.

I am quite sorry to admit that I could say nothing hopeful about my own condition. Precisely before receiving your wonderful letter I had to spend several days breathing oxygen and no one here at the hospital believed that I would survive. However, as my doctor said, I was able to trick them again, get out of the grave and resurrect. However, it took a great deal of time before I was able to regain, even though partially, my strength. It proved to be impossible to regain my condition of before the aggravation of the disease. I have been in this hospital for the past two years and after the last attack I have not been able to get out of bed.

The gradual worsening of my situation began some time around Christmas, when my health obviously took a turn for the worse. My doctor believes that now something must be done, for if we wait longer all chances will be lost. On Monday morning, 2 March, I shall be operated on for the fourth time in the three years following my release from jail. My doctor intends to bring me some relief by using a new method consisting of introducing stainless metal tubes directly into the liver duct, which will make it possible for the bile to drain freely, thus preventing the blocking of the bilious ducts which triggers my jaundice. It is quite possible that the moment the reporters find out all this they will immediately report that I was operated on. You will thus be able to learn about my operation even before you received this letter. I know that you wish me a successful outcome.

I highly value the contribution which you have made over the past few years to the leadership of the United Mine Workers. It is absolutely predetermined that John L. (Lewis--the author) will never be recognized by FDR (President F. Roosevelt--the author). However, I do not think that the miners, whether the union as a whole or its rank-and-file membership, should be concerned by Roosevelt's attitude toward them.

The old ship planet earth has found itself in quite a row, and it looks as though heavy trials await us. The immediate future looks quite dark. I hate the very idea of what could happen should the fascists and Nazi enslavers establish their power the world over. Today there is only one country with experience in the struggle and the will and readiness to wage it to block their way to their objective. However, in order to carry out this task which requires all possible forces and resources, it needs sufficient quantities of arms plus several types of important raw materials which it lacks, as well as a certain amount of food which it may not have. I am speaking of the USSR. The entire world should thank the Soviet Union for the fact that in its fight against Hitler and fascism in general it has prevented the destruction of free nations the world over. It is quite regrettable that Roosevelt and Churchill still cannot find in themselves sufficient courage, daring, and resolve to literally take the bull by the horns and give Russia all the necessary materials for waging the war over the next three or four months. Hitler intends to launch a final general offensive against the Soviet Union either in the late spring or the early summer of this year. He must be stopped at all cost. I firmly believe, as the Russians themselves do, that they will be able to accomplish this by themselves in 1942, providing that they receive military equipment. You should not doubt for a minute that our old world will not be the same after an end has been put to this cataclysm.

I was pleased to learn that the United Mine Workers were able to settle all their differences with the mine owners on the basis of the full satisfaction of all the miners' demands. I was even happier to learn that wage differences in the South have been eliminated.

I hope that you are well and that your organization is standing firmly on its feet under your able guidance. I would like to thank you, yet once again, with all my heart for the generous support you are giving me. Now I must save what is left of my strength for the fourth operation scheduled for Monday and I end this letter filled with gratitude and with my best fraternal wishes.

Sincerely yours, with faith in fraternal workers' solidarity.

Tom Mooney

FOOTNOTES

1. Member of California's legislature and representative of progressive groups advocating close ties with the trade unions.

2. On 7 January 1939 a ceremony was held in Sacramento's legislative building proclaiming the decision of Mooney's rehabilitation. On 8 January the labor unions organized in San Francisco's main square a solemn meeting with Mooney on the occasion of his release from jail.
3. President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).
4. Republican Party candidate for the 1940 elections.
5. The 1939-1940 war of Finland against the USSR.

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ABSURD BUT DANGEROUS MYTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 91-102

[Article by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] The Soviet-American summit meeting in Vienna and the conclusion of SALT II introduced in the international circumstances an exceptionally important normalizing and stabilizing element, so greatly necessary in the complex conditions of our time. The Vienna meeting between L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and U.S. President J. Carter marked a major step forward in normalizing not only Soviet-American relations but the entire political climate in the world. It offered new possibilities for restraining the growing arsenals of nuclear missiles and their limitation, as a stage along the difficult road to the total cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the elimination of its stockpiles.

At the same time, however, it is entirely obvious that the success of the Vienna meeting should not be considered yet as definitively established. A complex, tense struggle is being waged and will continue to be waged in the United States itself to implement this achievement. This means, above all, the ratification of SALT II by the U.S. Senate and its enactment. The opponents of the treaty and, consequently, of the overall course of strengthening detente and smoothing out Soviet-American relations, rallied in a militant coalition which enjoys the unlimited financial support of the military monopolies and which has at its disposal a well-organized propaganda apparatus, are dedicating all their efforts to reducing to naught the results of the Vienna talks.

The main "argument" of the opponents of SALT II as, in general, of detente and peaceful coexistence among countries, is well known. It is the myth of the "Soviet military threat," allegedly forcing the United States and the other leading capitalist powers to steadily arm themselves and to spend astronomical funds in the arms race. Writing in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, R. Barnet, former member of the U.S. Department of State, describes the propaganda line used today by circles opposing SALT II and the normalizing of Soviet-American relations: "The opponents of the treaty in the United States believe that America should not agree to any restriction of the right to make, test,

deploy, and use armaments, since allegedly the Soviet leaders are trying to increase the military power of their country. They claim that the stabilization of the nuclear armaments race will create in the Soviet leadership the illusion that it could successfully launch a sudden attack."

Speaking at the luncheon in Vienna on 16 June, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said the following in this connection: "The opponents of mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States actively use the legend of the so-called 'Soviet military threat.' Strangely, the greater the contribution which the Soviet Union makes to the development of peaceful relations among countries, the more adamantly it submits specific suggestions on limiting armaments and reducing the threat of a new war, the more zealously cock-and-bull stories on our policy are being disseminated."

The results of the Vienna talks indicate that realism, a farsighted approach, and governmental wisdom can triumph over the aspirations of the military-industrial complex. However, their final triumph is possible, above all, on the basis of surmounting the idea that the arms race is something almost fatally inevitable and on the basis of the practical and ideological debunking of the slander of the "Soviet military threat."

Today the sharpest confrontation between the forces of social progress and the reaction takes place precisely on the matter of war and peace in which basic class, national, and universal interests of hundreds of millions of people are interwoven. The real accomplishments of the policy of detente trigger a feeling of profound satisfaction in all peace-loving people. However, the specific nature of the present time in international relations is the need to surmount the opposition of aggressive and reactionary circles, extremely galvanized of late, to the positive changes in global politics.

A most acute struggle is being waged on problems of detente in the military field and of supporting political detente with its achievements. The need for military detente is dictated by the existence in the world of the type of arsenals of mass-destruction weapons which could sweep off the face of the earth entire countries and nations, and threaten the entire future of mankind. That is why the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and all peace-loving forces formulate with such constancy and persistence constructive proposals aimed at terminating the arms race and for disarmament, and for insuring safety based on political cooperation and on strengthening trust in international affairs. The soberly thinking members of the ruling class in the capitalist countries are also coming to a realistic assessment of the fatality of a thermonuclear conflict and to an understanding that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence.

It is no secret, however, that many useful initiatives launched by the socialist states, consistent with the interests of the peoples, are not meeting with the necessary response in the West. Furthermore, forces aggressive toward socialism are trying to urge on the arms race under various farfetched pretexts. They systematically organize anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaigns and provoke international complications. Those who

broadcast the "Soviet threat" night and day act as though the numerous peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union did not exist, including the proposal to conclude a global treaty on the non-use of force, stop the further production of nuclear weapons, reach an agreement among the participants in the European Conference not to be first in the use of nuclear weapons against each other, and many others.

The question arises: Why? The LONDON TIMES published a very frank statement on this subject: "Soldiers must formulate certain assumptions on their most likely opponent. Under present-day circumstances the only candidate is the Soviet Union." The existence of a national "enemy," said the American CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, echoing the TIMES, is needed for the prosperity and blossoming of the war industry which supports and promotes doctrines on the basis of "Russian hostility." Correspondingly, the enemies of detente literally flood the mass-information media with materials depicting an incredibly distorted picture of the contemporary world, methodically and tirelessly disseminating fabrications on the "aggressiveness" of the USSR, which allegedly is increasing its armaments "above its defense requirements."

The myth was launched neither yesterday nor the day before. In particular, it was the offspring of the course of preparations for an aggressive war against the USSR and the people's democratic systems in Eastern Europe which developed following the defeat of Hitlerite fascism. Reliance on the atom bomb, which would give imperialism the possibility to regain its global domination, the strategy of surrounding the socialist states with military bases, and the accelerated development of American air and nuclear-attack forces at the turn of the 1950's were all justified at that time with references to the allegedly existing threat of "communist expansion," even though basic common sense indicated that a country which suffered such severe losses as the Soviet Union as the result of the Hitlerite aggression and was engaged in rebuilding its national economy would be dreaming, above all, of a peaceful life and aspire toward it.

Year after year references to the "Soviet military threat" appeared in the Western press for the sake of concealing the arms race continued by imperialism. The arms race developed on the basis of the principle of "to each action there is a reaction." The West hurled a challenge. The Soviet Union had to accept it. Such has been the case from the first atom bomb to the present. Invariably, the beginning of each new spiral in the arms race promoted by imperialism was accompanied by a wave of laments on the subject of the "Soviet threat."

During the decades of its existence, the false legend of "Soviet aggressiveness" acquired a number of refinements, hypotheses, and "proofs," aimed, somehow, at preserving and supporting its survival in circumstances in which the daily facts constantly exposed its groundlessness. Ignoring here the cock-and-bull stories of the yellow press, curdling the blood of the petit bourgeois about "cossack hordes," who would spread death and destruction in peaceful settlements, "tank armadas" ready to jump to the English Channel, or the "thousands of missiles" which could drop their nuclear load at all

times on American cities, let us consider the so-called "intellectual" base of this myth as it is presented to millions of people in the Western countries who are trying to understand the true meaning of events.

The first postulate of the myth is the unsubstantiated claim, which apparently would require no proof whatever, of the "expansionism" inherent in the Soviet governmental system. For example, P. Nitze, the head of the notorious "committee for the present danger," untroubled by the absence of facts, opens his views on this matter with a consideration of "crisis situations," which allegedly would arise "as a result of the actions of the USSR in support of its expansionist policy." J. Hardt, who with Nitze is one of the authors of the collection recently published in the United States "The Soviet Threat: Myths and Realities," (edited by Grayson Kirk and Nils H. Wessel, The Academy of Political Sciences, USA, 1978) goes even further. It costs him nothing to proclaim that "the powerful military establishment of the Soviet Union is trying to extend its influence throughout the world and in outer space in order to influence the course of world events."

Other similar examples could be cited. However, the more numerous they become the more persistently the question arises: Why is it that this notorious aggressiveness of the Soviet Union has not been manifested anywhere and in anything in the postwar decades? The answer given by imperialist militaristic propaganda is simple: The constant increase in armaments by the NATO countries has protected the world from "Moscow's attempts."

Characteristically, of late the nomenclature of the so-called manifestations of Soviet "aggressiveness" has also been extended to infinity. Today it encompasses a number of actions on the part of people's masses throughout the world engaged in a national-liberation struggle, depicted as the consequence of the intervention of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The authors of such views are not disturbed by the repeated statements made by the USSR that neither in Africa nor in Asia is it seeking for itself economic or strategic benefits or is trying to harm anyone's legitimate interests, but is systematically promoting the total elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and racism, and respect of the right of the peoples to independent development. The West prefers to ignore such declarations.

Naturally, not all imperialist propagandists operate so crudely. Some of them prefer to assume an apparently objective position. They acknowledge that, unlike the United States which has spread the network of its bases throughout the world, the Soviet Armed Forces are located exclusively inside the USSR and, on the basis of proper agreements, only in some socialist countries. In this connection, they hypocritically state that it is difficult to grasp the intentions or desires of the Soviet side to show any initiative in unleashing conflicts. Here again experts and analysts of the CIA, the American Department of Defense, and other similar institutions hasten to come to their aid. They always have ready figures, of unknown origin, yet formulated with aplomb, on the growth of "Soviet military preparations," which allegedly can have only an aggressive nature. ". . . The Soviet Union has speeded up the implementation of its 10-year program for modernizing the

armed forces on its territory and in Eastern Europe," categorically states the collection we mentioned. The readers are asked to believe the authors, who give the impression of having looked into the safes of the Soviet general staff. The doubtful are being assured that the Soviet military budget is rising with every passing year, even though a simple study of data regularly published in Moscow would show that, unlike the U.S. budget, the share of defense costs in the Soviet budget has been steadily declining in recent years.

The bread and butter of the propaganda fables on the "Soviet threat" is the totally groundless data, fabricated by the respective U.S. and NATO services, on the quantitative structure of the Soviet Armed Forces, the quantity and quality of their armaments, and the allegedly growing scales of Soviet war production. They could not exist without such "materials," for, in the opposite case, the major "arguments" of the entire system of frightening and convincing the public in the West, needed to justify the increased military expenditures of NATO countries and the deployment of ever new armament systems, would burst like soap bubbles. That is why factual data on such matters, originating from the Soviet side, are concealed, and hasty mention is made of frequent official statements by members of leading U.S. and NATO circles confirming the words of the Soviet leaders on the existence of an approximate balance between the military potentials of both sides, whether in the area of strategic weapons or armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. However, figures, diagrams, and charts are regularly published in an effort to convince the Western petit bourgeois of the threatening growing Soviet military power. On the basis of all such forgeries conclusions are drawn like the following: "It may be assumed that the Soviet leaders can, have expressed the desire, and are ready to use their tremendous military power in a direct military conflict with the West at worst, or at best to demoralize and psychologically undermine the Western alliance and undermine Western interests throughout the world."

With cynical shamelessness plans are ascribed to the Soviet Union of treacherously launching an aggressive nuclear strike at the United States and the other NATO countries. It is accused of the capacity to inflict such a strike even at the cost of sacrificing a considerable percentage of its population and experiencing substantial destruction for the sake of establishing its world domination. It is ascribed plans to frighten the West with its power to such an extent that the latter would be ready to surrender without a struggle. All slander of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union is presented to the naive public with a view to being able to state that, "What is urgently needed is to deprive the USSR of any grounds whatever to trust that it has the capacity to win and survive a nuclear war." This was stated by P. Nitze. Such is the language of the political blackmailers to which the enemies of peaceful coexistence resort in the state of detente as well.

We must say a few words on the mechanism of the functioning of the myth of the "Soviet military threat." Its main motive force is the military-industrial complex, which is getting rich from the manufacturing of the tools

of war (according to the American Professor M. Weidenbaum, who has made a special study of this question, the profits of U.S. military monopolies are approximately 70% higher than the profits of corporations producing non-military goods). This complex, with huge funds at its disposal, is served by a large number of various committees, associations, scientific research centers, and other institutions whose objective is both to link the Senate and the House of Representatives, which play a decisive role in the approval of military expenditures, to its aggressive line, as well as the proper indoctrination of the public toward which the old method used by Hitlerite propaganda itself is applied: A lie repeated with sufficient frequency becomes a fact in the eyes of the segment of the public stupefied by it.

The method most extensively used to this effect is that of the regularly sponsored public debates in the United States in which military personnel, preferably high-ranking, are especially involved. The very fact that they have the possibility to refer to certain secret information gives their statements a certain "solidity." As a result, as American observers have emphasized, the military departments develop strong positions in the Congress in resolving problems of the planning and deployment of new weapons systems. The debates are also joined by the CIA with its information "sources," as well as representatives of the military monopolies--contractors of the Department of Defense and scientists working for them, former governmental officials, and applicants for high positions generous with their promises. This way the conclusions of such debates acquire an authoritative sound, thus insuring their extensive press coverage.

Debates are organized in such a way as to be focused on one or two items, which are especially discussed at the expense of the remainder. Furthermore, the method of selective information of the public with one or another speech made in the course of the debates, advantageous to military-industrial capital, is used. Another widespread method has been the organization of "leaks" of secret information to the press, again consistent with the interests of the supporters of the arms race.

American researcher B. Carter guardedly writes: "The widespread public debates on complex and, at times, confused matters dealing with the strategic balance essentially frequently contain disinformation along with objective studies. . . ." A prestigious "witness" such as J. Miller, former commander of the U.S. 6th Fleet, has expressed himself more frankly on the subject. Briefly, his statements may be reduced to the following: ". . . Since a number of 'braintrusts' bring profits to the corporations, they tend to accept the variant of the threat which will be considered most substantial in the formulation of the answer expected from the studies." Frequently, the "Soviet threat" variant, accepted by some congressmen, testified J. Miller, is determined to a certain extent by the influence which it will have in their electoral district; the variant of a military commander may be influenced by considerations related to his further career; any author could prove that the United States has fallen behind in terms of bombs, missiles, ships, fighter planes, and tonnage. Nearly any kind of desired lag may be found depending on the quality of the available raw intelligence data.

As the saying goes, no one could say it better.

The main problem remains--that of the political motive forces supporting the myth of the "Soviet military threat," and its place and significance in the overall foreign political strategy of imperialism. It would be interesting to note in this connection that in the course of the present debate on SALT II taking place in the United States, a number of its participants raised the question of does the Soviet Union indeed represent a threat to the United States or does it lack any desire to hurl a military challenge to America. In itself this formulation of the question is quite noteworthy, for it proves the existence in the United States as in other capitalist countries of serious doubts concerning the reality of any "Soviet threat." Most of the public in those countries is, essentially, deprived of the chance to become familiar with the nature of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It obtains very scant information on the numerous initiatives launched by the Soviet Union, aimed at adding military to political detente. Nevertheless, reality is making its way into the minds of millions of people.

"During the 1960's," American researcher B. Denich admits, "it became ever more difficult to find any influential movement in Europe prepared seriously to claim that the Soviets represented a factual military threat." Such a situation cannot fail to affect assessments in the United States as well. For example, one frequently hears in that country today claims that "apparently, the Soviet Union ascribes greater importance to the strategic balance and progress in SALT talks than the United States."

In general, let us point out that the strategic balance problem, as it is described in the United States, i.e., the correlation between the military potentials of the USSR and the United States, is now ascribed basic significance in the propaganda efforts on the part of the supporters of the myth of the "Soviet threat." It is precisely with the help of such reckonings lacking a thorough study of economic, social, and political factors, that efforts are being made to suggest to the public certain ideas on the possible future development of American-Soviet relations. As the permanent topic of the polemics waged among supporters of different political directions, the question of the status of the strategic balance frequently loses any connection with reality and becomes a means for clearly purely subjective speculations.

In any case, the more responsible Western documents and publications on this matter essentially agree with the thesis formulated by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity on the fact that currently an approximate military balance exists between the two sides. Thus, the London International Institute for Strategic Studies drew the conclusion in its study entitled "The 1977-78 Military Balance," that the current overall ratio of forces is such that "military aggression does not seem attractive." In precisely the same manner, the study "Survey of Military Strategy and Condition of the Armed Forces," drafted by the U.S. Government, states that the "attacker," i.e., the aggressor, would have little "hope for a quick or substantial victory."

As would be expected, the supporters of the continuing arms race fiercely reject such conclusions. As the typical representative of the hawkish viewpoint, Gen M. Taylor claims that the figures create a false impression of accuracy and that the "mystical power of the figures could create an erroneous idea of the Soviet armed forces." His clearly unsubstantiated conclusion is that, ". . . Available data offers sufficient proof of the impressive Soviet military threat."

General Taylor and all those like him in the West who spread fabrications on the "aggressiveness" of the Soviet Union ignore the repeated statements by the Soviet leaders on their readiness to go as far as the opposite side is willing to in the matter of reducing armaments and of disarmament. The "hawks" also ignore the firmly expressed position of the Soviet Union on its lack of territorial or any other claims toward its neighbors or any other country. In fact, they fear not the imaginary dangers of "Soviet superiority" but, precisely, equality, parity, hoping to gain military superiority through new spurts in the arms race. The myth of the "Soviet military threat" is promoted against a background of assertions of the absence of any kind of military aspirations on the American side. As Z. Brzezinski, national security adviser to the U.S. President, claimed in an interview with the West German FRANKFURTER ALGEMEINE, "An assessment of the military and the geographic situation requires the admission that the West will never attack," and that allegedly "it will always act only in response to the actions of the other side." As to the American strategic forces, according to P. Nitze, "Their purpose is, above all, to insure containment," i.e., the prevention of a nuclear war. However, and it is in this "however," precisely, that the essence of the matter may be found, "in order to achieve such containment," Nitze says, "they must insure the U.S. possibility to wage nuclear war should containment fail."

This is the substantiation of the concept of the need for so-called "redundancy"--the quantitative and qualitative superiority of the U.S. strategic forces "as an obstacle to an unexpected Soviet threat." Year after year high NATO officials and press organs closely linked with them bring up that same thesis according to which, initially, the allegedly existing military superiority of Warsaw Pact countries is to be eliminated by arming the West, achieving a "redundancy" of Western forces, and only then engage in talks with Moscow on armament limitations.

The authors of such concepts, whether in the Pentagon or the NATO staffs, quite clearly reject the principle of equal security of countries and are unwilling to abandon the idea of their own military superiority. For the sake of this idea the United States, with 5% of the world's population, accounts for one-third of the \$400 billion globally spent on armaments. This is the reason for the military machine in the United States to have grown, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES magazine, "to such a tremendous size as to drag the civilian economy into the abyss." It is for the same reason that any decision which leads to the saturation of the world with new and ever more destructive armament systems is presented by the U.S. and NATO militaristic circles as forced, concealed behind considerations of existing or possible "sudden" threats on the part of the USSR.

As a result, over the past 10 years U.S. direct military expenditures have exceeded \$1.2 trillion; the NATO countries as a whole have spent \$1.3 trillion. Last year alone, according to official data, military expenditures exceeded \$188 billion. The United States is increasing its military budget with every passing year. Whereas in the next fiscal year it will total \$198.2 billion, according to American sources, four years from now it may reach \$200 billion. The other members of NATO and Japan are also increasing their military expenditures and taking measures to increase the combat readiness of their armed forces. Last year's Washington meeting of the NATO Council, which announced the course toward a new takeoff in the arms race over the next decade, fully disclosed the true objectives of the sponsors of the stir on the subject of the imaginary "military threat" to the West presented by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

By now the arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons stockpiled in the world have exceeded, in terms of explosive power, the equivalent of over one million bombs of the type dropped by the United States on Hiroshima. Such is the result of the policy of the nuclear arms race initiated by imperialism slightly over 30 years ago with a view to defeating the socialist world.

There was a time when the leaders of the main imperialist powers, including U.S. President H. Truman, and the British Prime Minister W. Churchill, openly spoke of this objective. The memorandum "Foundations for the Formulation of U.S. Military Policy," dated 19 September 1945 (only 15 days after the end of World War II), drafted by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff for the American President, recommended "the implementation of all preparations for making the first strike if necessary." The plan formulated at that time by the Pentagon for waging war against the USSR cynically stated: ". . . It is important to use mass-destruction weapons as early as possible and on a scale required and necessary for the destruction of the Soviet capability to resist, paying no particular attention to resulting and not precisely accountable consequences." As we know, at that time the Soviet Union did not as yet have the nuclear weapon.

The strategic concept of the first strike gained new popularity in American militaristic circles in the mid-1970's. The purpose of the concept of "counter force" formulated by the then U.S. Secretary of Defense J. Schlesinger, according to the American journal THE PROGRESSIVE, is "for the United States to be ready to launch an unexpected strike." The Pentagon's strategy, the journal explained, "has always aimed at developing means for launching a first strike which would give it victory in a strategic nuclear war." Obviously, it is no accident that precisely at that time views were published in the American press to the effect that a general nuclear war would cost the lives of "approximately 10% of mankind," and that this "does not as yet mean the end of mankind." In this connection we must recall that in the postwar decades the United States has used its armed forces or threatened their use on 215 occasions; on 33 occasions they came close to the brink of the use of nuclear weapons. These figures were computed by the Brookings Institute in the United States, which studies problems of war and peace. They clearly indicate the origin of the real threat of military conflicts in the contemporary world.

Describing the present moods prevailing among the American military, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote that, according to those circles the purpose is to "give the United States a greater potential for waging a limited nuclear war in addition to its potential for a major war." The idea of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe is one of the "inventions" of American strategic thinking, popular today despite all successes achieved by detente. Everything indicates that it is hoped that should a conflict break out in Europe the growth of a "local" nuclear war into a general one could be avoided and thus U.S. territory could be protected from inevitable destruction. As early as March 1978 the London TIMES wrote: "Some circles in the United States are stating ever more persistently that a tactical nuclear battle in Europe should be considered a practical possibility and that the leaders of the Western countries should begin to draft plans for such a contingency." So far nothing has happened to show any changes in the views of the American military. On the contrary, the accelerated "modernization" of American nuclear weapons deployed on Western European territory would indicate that such plans are being implemented.

Unable openly to oppose detente, its opponents resort to the slanderous campaign of the "threat from the East" which has never existed in reality. As ZEITUNG VUM LETZEBURGER VOLLEK, the Luxemburg communist newspaper, wrote, "It is clear why the stir of the 'Soviet threat' is being raised precisely now. There are at least two main reasons for this. The first is as follows: Currently the solution of the problem of detente, including that of the limitation of armaments, has entered its practical stage. This triggers the concern of circles who are unwilling to abandon the trenches of the cold war and are trying to hinder the process of detente and urge on the arms race. The second is the intensified general crisis of capitalism."

The roots of militarism and the arms race are indeed found in the economic and class nature of imperialism itself. The main reason for urging on the arms race, concealed behind the legend of the "military threat from the East" is the aspiration inherent in imperialism to use military force in its attempts to exert pressure on world socialism and the national-liberation movement, and widen its room for maneuvering under the conditions of the aggravated general crisis of the entire capitalist system. Specifically, this was unequivocally stated by the former commander in chief of the joint NATO armed forces in Europe, the American Gen A. Haig, testifying at the Senate Armed Forces Committee. ". . . Today we are not concerned with war in the narrow meaning of the term," he said. "But with containment in the broadest possible meaning of the term; with security not only in the sense of protection from aggression, but in the broader meaning of our further capacity to deal with unprecedented economic, social, and political difficulties."

At the same time, the intent to cause the socialist countries political and economic harm by forcing them to allocate a substantial share of their national income for defense is an important aspect of the imperialist policy of armaments aimed at gaining military superiority. "Would the Soviet Union reach the status of a superpower economically and technically while, at the

same time, retaining a high position as a military superpower?" asks J. Hardt in the book, "The Soviet Threat: Myths and Reality," thus revealing the secret intents of the makers of the arms race policy. At a NATO "military research meeting," held in Munich at the very beginning of 1978, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Peery said: "We must make the Soviet Union enter into competition against us under conditions dictated by us." No less frank was the statement delivered at roughly the same time by West German General Krause: "The Soviet Union should think of how long it would be able to withstand this race and what it would cost it."

As all previous experience has indicated, such hopes for "wearing out" the Soviet Union and its economy through the arms race are simply unattainable. Furthermore, considering the intensifying economic crisis currently experienced by capitalism, such hopes would, above all, intensify this crisis and exert an adverse influence on attempts to put an end to inflation, balance of payments deficits, and so on. Above all, they are dangerous, for their implementation threatens to remove any kind of political control over the arms race and greatly increase the danger of a thermonuclear conflict.

The opponents of SALT II and, in general, of the reduction of armaments use in their propaganda the fact that the long cold-war years have left their marks in the minds of some Western circles. In this connection, the West German bourgeois journalist F. Pleitgen notes that at times the West should not expect sensible political judgments on the part of the "common man," for the "fear which is instilled in people since childhood determines their views on the Soviet Union." D. Simes, an American researcher, directly links concepts of the Soviet Union instilled in the U.S. public and the lack on its part of firm objections to the huge military expenditures.

The plans of the organizers of the arms race include the intention to strengthen in the minds of the people the view that it is something self-evident. Not only the American but Western European monopoly capital has been interested in this, considering the "Atlantic" concept, i.e., reliance on NATO with its military machine, in addition to everything else, as a bastion against the increased socialist expectations of the working people in the capitalist countries and a weapon in the struggle against the national-liberation movement. It is precisely for this purpose that the absurd yet dangerous thesis is constantly stirred up according to which "the behavior of the Soviet Union offers no indications whatever that Moscow has the intention to abandon its aspiration for hegemony over the entire world, which in the final account should consist of communist countries erected on the ruins of capitalism" (the American General M. Taylor).

Spreading the myth of the "Soviet threat," imperialist reaction is trying to distort the meaning of the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity and to "prove" that these proposals are neither constructive nor new, and that their purpose is to conceal the "military superiority" of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact members. With a view to disorienting and frightening the peoples, the peaceful prerequisites and nature of socialist foreign policy are shamelessly distorted.

In fact the "Soviet military threat," like the "threat" of the entire socialist comity, neither exists nor could exist. Love of peace is an organic feature of the socialist social system and of the political course stemming from its nature. The Great October Socialist Revolution won under the banner of peace. From the very beginning of its existence the struggle for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and for disarmament became the state policy of the Land of the Soviets. The basic task of Soviet foreign policy to this day is to do everything possible to put an end to the arms race and to strengthen the peace and security of the peoples.

The Soviet Union is alien to the callous, quantitative approach to the prospects of a nuclear war, according to which a certain percentage of casualties among the civilian population is proclaimed "acceptable." The USSR declares that only extreme circumstances, an aggression committed against our country or its allies on the part of another nuclear power, could make us resort to this means of self-defense. Threatening no one and intending to attack no one, the Soviet state is doing and will continue to do everything possible to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war and protect the peoples from becoming the casualties of nuclear strikes, whether first or subsequent.

It is the view of the Soviet Union that there is no problem in the field of reducing armaments and of disarmament, however complex and urgent it might be, that could not be resolved through talks, providing the existence of goodwill on the part of its participants. The Soviet approach to disarmament has a comprehensive, an all-embracing nature. Formulating as the final objective universal and total disarmament, the USSR realizes that its accomplishment would require extensive efforts and time, and is seeking possibilities to achieve partial, intermediate measures as well. It is only on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security and the rejection of attempts to gain unilateral advantages that viable agreements could be achieved to restrict and reduce armaments, subject to strict international control. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members are ready to do their share to achieve such agreements, convinced that military detente is a realistic matter and that disarmament is objectively possible. However, there could not even be a question of unilateral disarmament on the part of the Warsaw Pact members alone.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, has emphasized, "The time has come to become fully aware of the real significance of the alternatives facing mankind today: The arms race will either be terminated and turned back, at which point, finally, peaceful principles will become irreversible in intergovernmental relations, or else there will be another most dangerous balancing on the brink of war with all accompanying negative consequences to detente, the normalizing of intergovernmental relations, and the solution of global economic problems."

Answering the propaganda stir raised in the West on the allegedly threatening military superiority of the Warsaw Pact members over the NATO bloc, and of some aggressive intentions on the part of Moscow, the Soviet leadership is pointing out that our country does not want war and is not preparing for war.

However, our people know, on the basis of hard personal experience, the tremendous casualties which aggressive actions could cause the population. The Soviet Union is effectively concerned with its defense. Our country's economy, science, and technology can insure the development of any weapon on which our enemies would rely. However, the USSR has never striven nor will ever strive toward military superiority over the other side and has frequently expressed its unwillingness to compete in the military-technical field. Strengthening its armed forces, the Soviet Union does not go beyond any real requirements of the security of the Land of the Soviets and of its socialist friends and allies. It attentively watches the development of the circumstances and the maneuverings of the enemies of detente, holding a firm strategic line of strengthening universal, just, and durable peace.

Detente is a major prerequisite and a component of social progress, for it paralyzes the actions of the most extreme forces of world reaction, contributes to the development of liberation and democratic movements, and creates favorable conditions for the solution of urgent and vital problems of all mankind. Detente and the termination of the arms race have strong enemies. However, as the Warsaw Pact members emphasized in their November 1978 declaration, "It is possible to surmount the counteraction of the enemies of the cessation of the arms race by mobilizing and uniting all contemporary forces interested in the preservation and consolidation of the peace."

The decisive exposure of the myth of the "Soviet military threat" is an important factor in this unification.

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SOCIALISM AND PEACE ARE INDIVISIBLE

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[Review by Ye. Petrov of the book by A. A. Gromyko, "Vo Imya Torzhestva Leninskoy Vneshney Politiki" [For the Sake of the Triumph of the Leninist Foreign Policy]. Selected speeches and articles, Politizdat, Moscow, 1978, 399 pages]

[Text] In our century of tempestuous revolutionary change the realm of international relations is assuming an ever rising significance in the life of mankind. Following the victory of the Great October Revolution the broadest possible people's masses, new social forces, and material factors became involved in their molding. The thermonuclear realities of our time exceptionally aggravated the problem of war and peace whose solution is largely responsible for the destinies of hundreds of millions of people and of human civilization.

Initially characterized by the rivalry between the two confronting social systems, today's international circumstances are developing under the influence of the main law of the age: the steady and ever more decisive change in the ratio of forces in favor of the peace, democracy, and socialism. The Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state plays a growing role in the great battle for the salvation of mankind from oppression and exploitation and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, and in insuring a lasting just peace.

The new book added to the series of Soviet political publications offers a profound and vivid idea of its nature and basic processes. It is a collection of selected articles and speeches by A. A. Gromyko, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, recently awarded for the second time the title of Hero of Socialist Labor for great merits to the Communist Party and Soviet State and on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

The book contains a comprehensive study of topical international problems and of the crucial problems of the foreign policy of our party and state. The materials it contains vividly confirm the unity between Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, embodied in the programmatic documents of the CPSU, the new USSR Constitution, and the daily activities of the CPSU Central Committee,

the Politburo, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, aimed at insuring favorable foreign conditions for the constructive labor of the Soviet people and for strengthening the peace and security of the nations.

Socialism and peace are indivisible concepts. "An end to war, peace among nations, and a stop to plunder and violence," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "are precisely our ideal . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 304). This is the seventh decade in which the Land of the Soviets is steadfastly following the Leninist instructions and legacy in the field of foreign policy. They represent the inflexible basic foundation of all international activities of the USSR. The works included in the book comprehensively reflect the systematic, consistent, and dynamic nature of the Soviet strategy for peace from the Great October Revolution to the present.

"Our objective is lasting peace and security for the Soviet people and lasting peace and peaceful cooperation among all countries on earth," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on 2 March in his meeting with the voters. "We shall struggle tirelessly, sparing no efforts and energy, for the reaching of this objective."

The dialectical study of processes and prospects of world development and its leading trends, the precise consideration of the deployment of class forces, and the organic combination of the Leninist principles with the creative approach to changing reality are the foundations of the foreign political course of the Soviet state in whose pursuit the CPSU relies on the eternally living doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. "The great Lenin," the work states, "was the first in the history of mankind to combine the theory of scientific communism with the practice of conducting state foreign policy. The foreign policy of the Soviet state is truly democratic, based on the equality of all nations, a policy of peace and friendship among them. Lenin's decree On Peace itself reflects in its dialectical interconnection its fundamental principles: proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence among countries with different socioeconomic systems" (p 404). The Peace Program, formulated at the 24th and developed at the 25th CPSU congresses, was a vivid example of the creative contribution made by the party to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of international relations, based on the comprehensive scientific interpretation of the latest data of historical experience.

A scientific foundation is one of the basic distinctions of socialist foreign policy. The work submitted to the readers raises major ideological problems. They include problems of idea- and party-mindedness, the class and international nature of Soviet foreign policy, and its organic love of peace based on the very essence of the socialist social system. The efficient development of the problem of the main function of the foreign policy of real socialism is of essential significance. It consists of defending the basic interests of the Soviet people and insuring, together with the other socialist countries, the necessary international conditions for the building of communism and socialism. The author comprehensively considers the theory and practice of

the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, the interaction between socialist countries and young developing states, detente, and the struggle for reducing armaments and for disarmament.

The materials in the collection sum up the great experience of Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy of our time. The events directly encompassed in the book cover the last 15 years. We are exposed to a panoramic view of an exceptionally important period of the most recent history of mankind, noted by the historical successes of CPSU and Soviet state foreign policy, and a number of major positive changes in international circumstances. At the same time, the reorganization of international relations continues to take place under the conditions of a sharp confrontation with the enemies of detente and peace. The most reactionary imperialist forces are trying to turn back the processes of detente, inflate even further the arms race, and suppress the liberation movement of the peoples. The position of the present Chinese leadership is coming ever closer to the aggressive policy of imperialism.

The Leninist party headquarters--the Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, provide the daily leadership in Soviet foreign policy. The activities of this headquarters is characterized by all the features of the Leninist style of party foreign-policy management: high class principle-mindedness, profound Marxist-Leninist analysis, truly scientific forecasting of circumstances, creative penetration into the essence of new and rapidly changing phenomena in international life, a realistic and flexible approach to foreign political practice, and democracy in the discussion of international problems in party ranks. This skillful and experienced leadership greatly predetermines our foreign political successes and the related major changes in international relations, enabling us to chart a proper course.

The test of time and practical results have always been, are, and will remain the best criteria of the correctness of any policy. The history of Soviet foreign policy, reflected in the collection, is a clear and convincing proof of the fact that it has brilliantly passed this test.

One of the main features of our age is the confident and dynamic development of the socialist world and the steady growth of its beneficial impact on international circumstances. The great attention which the book pays to the development of the world socialist system is natural.

"The appearance of the world socialist system," the author states, "inaugurated a new stage in the development of Soviet foreign policy. An entirely new phenomenon was established and developed--the socialist comity, an international alliance of a new type, a new comity of peoples and states unparalleled in the past. Today the Soviet Union is a structural component of the world socialist system and the socialist comity. Concern for the all-round strengthening of the positions of world socialism, the development of all-round cooperation with the fraternal countries, and the strengthening of their unity and solidarity are the main trends of Soviet foreign policy" (p 585).

The socialist comity is progressing successfully in the building of the new society. The unity among ruling communist and workers' parties is strengthening under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. A deeper alliance, fraternal friendship, and all-round cooperation have become part of the daily practice of the foreign policy of the socialist states, along with the further perfecting of the activities of their collective organizations and the coordination of foreign political steps and efforts. All this, as A. A. Gromyko emphasizes in a number of speeches, is a prerequisite for the steady change of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism.

Regular contacts among heads of communist parties and states within the socialist comity have become a tried method for fraternal cooperation. In particular, their Crimean meetings have become very important. They make it possible to consult on topical problems of the building of socialism and communism and foreign policy, and provide new impetus for the coordinated actions of our countries in the course of their joint movement forward.

The Warsaw Pact is reliably protecting the interests of socialism and peace. As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, "As long as the NATO bloc remains, and as long as the militaristic circles are engaged in the arms race, together with the other members of the Warsaw Pact our country will strengthen this military-political alliance." The durable value of this concept is obvious. Last year, at its Washington meeting, the NATO Council adopted a new long-term military program and stipulated the appropriation of huge additional allocations for the arms race. Under such circumstances any one-sided weakening of our defense efforts is inadmissible. This would have irreparable consequences to the cause of peace and socialism.

As a most important peace factor, the Warsaw Pact formulates major foreign political initiatives developed at the conferences of its leading organs. New important constructive suggestions, aimed at strengthening worldwide cooperation and restraining the arms race, were included in the Moscow declaration of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members, held in Moscow in November 1978. New and important initiatives were formulated in the development of such ideas at a meeting of the committee of ministers of foreign affairs of Warsaw Pact members, held last May in Budapest. In particular, they called for convening a European conference on military detente.

The role of CEMA, which celebrated this year its 30th anniversary, is growing steadily in the field of economic relations among fraternal countries. The 1971 comprehensive program for socialist economic integration, which raised economic interaction to a qualitatively new level, is being successfully implemented. As the author notes, the systematic intensification of socialist integration will greatly contribute to the development of equal economic cooperation among all countries, the elimination of relations of inequality imposed by imperialism on many countries, and the further normalizing of international circumstances.

Socialism today has a tremendous attractiveness. To an ever greater extent the peoples are linking with it their hopes for the future. The positions of real socialism are steadily strengthening in the world and it is achieving new major successes. United socialist Vietnam has become its important bridgehead in Southeast Asia. The author describes the decisive help given by our country in the international arena to the heroic Vietnamese people in its struggle against American aggression and for the just cause of freedom and independence. Today as well the Soviet Union is firmly on the side of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which was the victim of Chinese aggression at the beginning of this year. The USSR-Socialist Republic of Vietnam Friendship and Cooperation Treaty is of major importance. The ties of fraternity and socialist solidarity linking the Soviet with the Vietnamese peoples are unbreakable.

The fraternal international comity of peoples and countries has become a powerful factor in contemporary global developments and human progress. Welded by common ideals and unity of objectives, the socialist countries are playing today an outstanding role as the most reliable bulwark of peace and democracy and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

In 1964 there were about 120 states on earth. Today, only 15 years later, the United Nations has over 150 members. The elimination of the final bulwarks of colonialism is on the agenda.

"The tempestuous development and successes of the national-liberation movements in the postwar period were a triumph of Leninism," the author emphasizes. "The appearance and consolidation of the world socialist system, having created an entirely new ratio of forces in the world arena, contributed to a tremendous extent to the elimination of the colonial system. The gaining of political independence by previously oppressed peoples, in turn, resulted in a further weakening of imperialist positions. History confirmed the objective link and common basic interests of world socialism and the national-liberation movements, discovered and substantiated by Marxist science" (pp 586-587).

In our time the influence of the developing countries is rising visibly. Most of them are energetically asserting their political and economic rights in their confrontation with imperialism, and are strengthening their independence. The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are trying to surmount the difficult legacy of the past and further their economic, social, and cultural development. In a number of young countries this leads to the choice of a non-capitalist way, to a course of socialist orientation. The contribution of the developing countries to the common struggle for peace and security on earth is becoming ever more substantial.

Strengthening relations with the young countries and the consistent support of their just aspirations are among the basic trends of the foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet state. This Soviet course is based on the great ideas of internationalism, and of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of national-liberation movements as one of the main revolutionary currents of our time.

The author depicts the decisive struggle waged by the Soviet Union for the total elimination of the shameful colonial system and against any neo-colonialist encroachments of imperialism. Supporting the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress is a principle today codified in the new USSR Constitution as well. It is being firmly implemented. In this case the Soviet Union does not seek for itself any advantages, benefits, or privileged positions. Its help is selfless and sincere. We are justifiably proud of the support given, together with other socialist countries, to the peoples of Angola and Ethiopia in their struggle against aggression and for the right to independently determine their path to the future. The USSR is on the side of revolutionary Afghanistan. Our friendship and cooperation treaties with these countries and with Mozambique have become a sign of the times.

There is no field in world politics in which the Soviet Union has not supported the cause of justice, progress, and peace. It is from such positions that it welcomed the victory of the peoples in distant Nicaragua as well, where Somosa's hated dictatorship was overthrown, and in neighboring Iran where an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution won. Our country supports the struggle for freedom waged in Southern Africa, where the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and the Union of South Africa are striving to eliminate racist oppression and apartheid. The Soviet approach to problems of the Middle East is similar. Here the USSR is firmly on the side of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples and against the imperialist dictate and capitulationist deals. It favors an equitable settlement in the interest of the peace and prosperity of the peoples of the entire region.

Contemporary international relations are the arena of a sharp ideological struggle. The assertion of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and competition among countries belonging to different social systems requires a decisive rebuff of anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda, which is waged under various guises and forms. In the course of this difficult confrontation the USSR is systematically defending the principles and policy of peaceful coexistence in all international forums. It is adamantly applying them in relations with countries belonging to the non-socialist part of the world.

For many decades the bourgeois governments ignored the proposals of the socialist countries to establish peaceful relations and businesslike cooperation. The failure of the imperialist interventions against the USSR, the defeat of fascism, and the failure of the cold-war politics and politics "from the position of strength" were necessary before soberly thinking political leaders in the West began to realize the impossibility to resolve the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism militarily.

Embodying an objective law in the development of human society today, the principle of peaceful coexistence has now become the universally acknowledged base for relations among countries belonging to opposite social systems. Its further assertion and the struggle for a lasting peace and for weakening and, in the future, totally eliminating the threat of a new world war is the main

content which the Soviet Union invests in its relations with the capitalist countries. Many sections of the collection reflect the complex and extensive work done by the communist party, our state, and Soviet diplomacy.

It would be impossible to overestimate everything accomplished in the course of the "peaceful offensive" mounted by the CPSU, to which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding political and state leader, has made an invaluable contribution in terms of its substantiation and purposeful implementation. "The turn to detente," the author states, "has become determining in terms of the present state of affairs in the world even though further ups and downs in the tension are possible in the future as well. Nevertheless, the real possibility has been confirmed of insuring the necessary level of trust among countries and turning the competition and struggle between the two social systems into a channel which does not threaten mankind with military catastrophes. A good foundation has been laid for the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations. The turn from confrontation to detente opened to the nations a broad historical prospect for the consolidation of the peace, social progress, and all-round development of economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation" (p 590).

Unquestionably, the longest way to the establishment of a reliable peace was covered in Europe. It is precisely here that major peaceful actions were implemented in recent years on a collective or bilateral basis. Today the political climate in Europe is clearly healthier than in the past.

Outstanding levels have been reached by the USSR and France--the pioneers in detente. Their relations are characterized by continuing and close political dialog and active cooperation in various areas, on a stable basis. The results of the April Soviet-French summit meeting, held in Moscow, were of age-making significance. A program for the further development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and France was concluded in favor of detente and peace, containing not only guidelines for intensifying the policy of international detente but describing its specific roads. This is a new aspect in the practice of international relations.

Our relations with the FRG are positive as a whole. Here again the summit meetings were of prime importance. The fruitful visit which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid to Bonn last year was marked by the conclusion of a number of important documents contributing to the furthering of detente, good-neighborly relations, and mutually profitable cooperation.

Comprehensive relations are successfully developing with Italy, Austria, Spain, and the Scandinavian and many other European countries. An atmosphere of friendship, partnership, and useful cooperation imbues relations with Finland. The reader will find in the collection extensive data on the practice of cooperation between the USSR and Western countries, and a substantiated study of the prospects and possibilities for improving such relations in all major directions.

Completing the historical effort to secure the inviolability of the postwar structure in Europe was a necessary prerequisite for opening new possibilities

for peace on the continent. Four decades will have passed on 1 September from the time when German fascism--the shock detachment of international imperialism--unleashed World War II. The most difficult and bloody war in the history of mankind ended with the defeat of the aggressive imperialist states. The Soviet people and their armed forces, led by the Leninist party, made a decisive contribution to this victory. As a result of the victory over the darkest forces of reaction, international life began to develop according to different laws. The positions of progressive, democratic, and peace-loving forces were consolidated the world over. However, a difficult struggle remained to be waged for a durable peace, democracy, and the freedom, independence, and progress of the nations.

The task of a postwar settlement was complicated by the fact that for a long period of time imperialism refused to acknowledge the new political-territorial and social realities which had developed in Europe as the result of the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and its allies. Allied with West German revanchism, the most aggressive Western circles undertook to revise the results of World War II. This was the purpose of the notorious "atomic diplomacy," Dulles' policy of "containment of communism," the establishment of the NATO military bloc, and the arms race and the cold war.

The Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries firmly countered this military-political pressure, sallies, threats, and blackmail. They exposed in the eyes of the peoples the dangerous plans of imperialism. At the same time, the USSR continually formulated a realistic and constructive program for settling the most acute postwar problems in the interest of a durable peace and good-neighborly relations on the continent. Many works in the collection describe the intensity of the struggle and the principle-mindedness, persistence, and consistency in defending the Soviet position, combined with the necessary flexibility.

History brilliantly confirmed the wisdom and correctness of the peaceful strategic line pursued by the USSR in European affairs. This line was based on the need to acknowledge the new, irreversible realities and to insure the safety of the continent on a collective basis.

Today the inviolability of European borders is a principle recognized by all countries on the continent, the United States, and Canada. It is codified in the historical Moscow treaty between the USSR and the FRG, and in the treaties between Poland, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and the FRG, on the other, and in other international documents. The familiar quadripartite accord, whose core is the stipulation that West Berlin does not belong to the FRG and cannot be controlled by it, also contributed to detente.

The author notes that the extensive international recognition of the GDR as a sovereign and independent state was a very important success in strengthening the positions of socialism and achieving a radical turn for the better in Europe. This gain is the result of the adamant struggle waged by the GDR with the support of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, and

one of the outstanding examples of socialist internationalism in action. The socialist German state of workers and peasants, celebrating this year its 30th anniversary, is a prestigious factor of peace, security, and cooperation on the continent.

The summoning and holding of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe became one of the most outstanding stages in the chronicle of the struggle for a Europe of peace and good-neighborly cooperation. The idea was formulated as a specific suggestion as early as the spring of 1966 in the CC CPSU Accountability Report delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 23rd party congress. Supported by all Warsaw Pact members, it became the pivot of the Bucharest declaration for strengthening the peace and security in Europe. Nevertheless, years of purposeful activities and intensive struggle against the forces of reaction and war were necessary before the European Conference could become a fact. The historical significance of this forum, whose fourth anniversary was celebrated by all peace-loving people, is universally acknowledged. Its Final Act represents a long-term program for the activities of the 35 signatories. Its purpose is to develop among them comprehensive relations and convert Europe into a continent of durable peace and mutually profitable cooperation.

"The Soviet people," A. A. Gromyko emphasizes, "welcomed with satisfaction the results of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, considering them not only as the summing up the necessary political results of World War II and the creative interpretation of the entire European past, but above all an interpretation of the future of the continent in terms of the realities of today and with their consideration. They highly rate the tremendous work done by the CPSU and the Soviet Government and, personally, by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for the implementation of one of the most important stipulations of the peace program formulated by Lenin's party" (pp 417-418).

The implementation of the results of the conference and of the stipulations of the Final Act to their fullest extent is one of the main lines of Soviet foreign policy today and in the forthcoming period. The book offers a clear idea of the extensive activities of the Soviet state, the CPSU, its Leninist Central Committee, and the CC Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in this direction. The beneficial influence of the European Conference are visibly influencing relations among countries on the continent. Even though a number of attempts are still being made to test the solidity of these results, detente has become and remains a dominating trend governing developments in Europe and in the international arena as a whole.

The purpose of detente, the author notes, is, above all, to exclude outside interference in the domestic affairs of a country, the use of force or the threat of force in international disputes and conflicts, thus controlling the threat of a new world war and enabling the peoples to look at the future without fear. However, detente does not mean in the least the freezing of the objective processes of historical development. It does not eliminate in the least the existing class antagonism within the capitalist countries, between the interests of the peoples and the interests of world imperialism, and between the two social systems. It does not abate their ideological confrontation.

The most aggressive forces of imperialism, the manufacturers of weapons and the militarists, and the promoters of the cold war sponsor extensive campaigns against detente, disarmament, and the liberation struggle of the peoples. The Beijing leadership is openly allying itself with them, a leadership whose great-power and hegemonistic line pursued in world affairs and provocative actions create today a dangerous threat to the cause of peace. Using the threadbare propaganda myth of the "Soviet threat," imperialism and its accomplices are swinging the pendulum of the arms race, which has become the virtually main weapon for counteracting detente. The book offers impressive examples of the substantiated, effective, and aggressive rebuff to this propaganda, removing the false screen through which circles which urge on the arms race would like to conceal such dangerous activities.

Today, essentially, the question is the following: The world will either abandon the use of force and take the path of disarmament and mutually profitable cooperation, or will be dragged over the precipice of the unrestrained arms race threatening to escalate into armed conflicts. Historical experience proves that an increase in armaments has never strengthened the peace. This axiom has become particularly important in the nuclear-missile century. The formula for political wisdom in our time is the following: If you want peace you must fight for it, fight for disarmament!

"A termination of the arms race," the author points out, "is the focal point of the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress. Striving to implement it, the Soviet Union has presented a broad program which covers all aspects of the problem and stipulates both general and total disarmament as well as specific partial measures based on the level of readiness displayed by our Western partners to undertake their implementation. The Soviet Union ascribes particular importance to nuclear disarmament and to the tasks of the subsequent total elimination of nuclear armaments. The Soviet Union considers parity, renunciation of attempts to extract unilateral advantages to the detriment of the other side, and equal security for all a basic principle for the solution of the problem" (p 591).

Such is the principled, open, and honest approach adopted by our country to the solution of the most urgent, the most burning problem of mankind--a cessation of the arms race and the prevention of the threat of a nuclear war. It is backed by the formulation of new ideas, constructive initiatives, and practical suggestions. The published materials cover a broad range of problems related to the containment of the arms race and disarmament. A number of pages contain a description of a program of specific measures for disarmament and of the struggle waged by Soviet diplomacy for their implementation.

The Soviet Union has put on the agenda the question of a total end to the further quantitative and qualitative growth of armaments and armed forces of countries with major military potential. In particular, it is a question of implementing measures such as stopping the production of nuclear weapons of

all kinds for a specific limited time; stopping the production and banning all other kinds of mass-destruction weapons; ending the creation of new types of conventional armaments of great destructive power; renunciation of the expansion of armed forces and of increasing conventional armaments of permanent members of the Security Council and of countries bound to them through military agreements.

The Soviet proposals also stipulate the following: reduction of military budgets; promoting the success of talks on limiting strategic offensive armaments; total and universal banning of nuclear-weapon tests; banning the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons and destroying its stockpiles; banning radiological weapons; non-deployment of nuclear weapons on territories of non-nuclear powers; reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, and many other specific initiatives. Put together, they form an extensive, practical, and realistic program for saving mankind from the heavy burden of armaments and the related threat to the life and future of the planet.

The addresses of the leaders of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations General Assembly and, in particular, the speech by A. A. Gromyko at the special disarmament session held last year, are of great interest. The reader is offered a panoramic view of the tireless struggle waged by the Soviet Union for peace and its continuing creative search for ways and means which could block the channels of the arms race. Over the past 15 years there has been virtually no single United Nations meeting at which new Soviet initiatives have not been presented to this effect. Our consistency in achieving such goals can easily be confirmed. For example, as of 1964 the Soviet Union has invariably supported the idea of holding a world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries on earth.

Some suggestions are perfected in accordance with changing circumstances and the positions of other countries. Thus, in 1964 the USSR called for the conclusion of non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In 1976 it proposed that the participants in the European Conference assume the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another. Taking into consideration the views expressed in the West on this subject, the Soviet Union has now suggested an agreement not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional armaments or, in other words, the conclusion of something similar to a non-aggression pact. Its qualitative difference would be that it would include a greater number of countries and cover a broader area compared with the suggestion formulated 15 years ago.

Foreseeing new dangers, the USSR proposed a ban on the development and manufacturing of new types of mass-destruction weapons and new systems of such weapons long before the world began to talk with concern and to object to the neutron bomb and other human-hating "novelties."

The Soviet position on problems of disarmament is clearly distinguished by its persistence, dynamism, creative approach, and realism of formulated problems.

The Soviet Union and the United States bear particular responsibility in the contemporary world. They could do a great deal to reduce the scale of the threat of a nuclear conflict. It is natural that a number of works in the collection treat this aspect of the problem. The USSR is in favor of comprehensive and durable improvement of Soviet-American relations. Unquestionably, their development on a mutually profitable and equal basis is consistent with the interests not only of our two countries but of all nations.

In this connection the Soviet-American summit held in June, in Vienna, was of the greatest possible significance. The heads of the USSR and the United States concluded the Strategic Armaments Limitation Treaty and other related documents and issued a joint communique.

Preparations for SALT II required some seven years. The dramatic stages of this political and diplomatic struggle have already become history. Its tension is described extensively in the book. It has now become a fact that common sense prevailed and the work on SALT II was completed successfully. A major and important project was accomplished in the interest of the peoples and of global peace. Following the ratification and enactment of the documents initialed in Vienna, their implementation will open new opportunities for stopping the growth of nuclear missile arsenals and insure their effective quantitative and qualitative limitation. This will mean a continuation of the process of restraining the arms race and encouraging other talks in this area. In addition to smoothing out Soviet-American relations, SALT II will unquestionably have a beneficial influence on the entire international climate as well.

"This treaty is a treaty in favor of peace and detente," said A. A. Gromyko at his press conference in Moscow, on 25 June. "It is directed against the danger of war. Voting in favor of the treaty means voting for peace. Simplifying the matter and considering the core of the stipulations of the treaty and its results, the situation could be described precisely thus: Those who support the treaty support peace, detente, and good relations among people. This expresses the profound thoughts and expectations not only of the Soviet and the American peoples, but of all peoples on earth."

The peace program and peaceful proposals submitted by the USSR have become factors of great mobilizing power. The Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is based on the unanimous support of the Soviet people. It also enjoys the sympathies of hundreds of millions of people of goodwill on earth.

The powerful growth of the economic and defense potential of the Soviet Union, the intensification of its international influence and prestige, and the growing influence of world socialism on the course of history, the author states, offer today opportunities for the ever fuller manifestation of the transforming and constructive nature of USSR foreign policy. The organic unity between the most humane objectives and the most vital requirements of our time--securing the peace and social progress--is the most important and inexhaustible source for its vital force and effectiveness.

Unquestionably, the collection will draw the attention of the broad party aktiv, propagandists, agitators, journalists, and workers on the diplomatic front--anyone interested in Soviet foreign policy and international life. A. A. Gromyko's work provides us with knowledge of topical foreign political problems and an understanding of the processes determining developments in the world. It is infectious with its optimistic confidence in the victory of the just cause supported by our country. It clearly indicates that the foreign policy of the Soviet state is a powerful weapon of the CPSU in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

5003

CSO: 1802

HISTORICAL-THEORETICAL STUDY OF SOVIET-RELATED LEGISLATION

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[Review by Professor M. Kirichenko, doctor of juridical sciences, and Professor N. Kuprita, doctor of juridical sciences, of the book by A. I. Luk'yanov, "Razvitiye Zakonodatel'stva o Sovetskikh Predstavitel'nykh Organakh Vlasti" [Development of Legislation on Soviet Representative Power-Organs]. (Certain problems of history, theory, and practice.) Yuridicheskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1978, 352 pages]

[Text] In recent years the party has done a tremendous amount of work in the field of renovation and perfecting of the legislation regulating the structure and activities of the soviets--the supreme and local representative organs of the state system of the Soviet people. Above all, solid legal foundations were established for their most numerous and most widespread units--the rural, settlement, urban, and rayon soviets. Work is currently being completed on the drafting of legislative acts related to kray, oblast, and okrug soviets.

The most important stage in the legal regulation of soviet activities is related to the adoption of the new USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union and autonomous republics. They codify the foundations of the legal status of the soviets and the promulgation of laws developing constitutional norms. Thus, at the present time laws have already been passed on elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet, and laws on elections for supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics; new laws on the election of local soviets of people's deputies and a number of other legislative acts will be enacted in the very near future.

In his speech at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 10th convocation, held on 20 April 1979, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, the Supreme Soviet Regulation, renovated the Regulation on Permanent Commissions and Law on the Status of People's Deputies, creates for our work a proper legal foundation. He emphasized that "one of the main tasks is for our legal norms to be fully effective and yield maximum returns."

In the light of the ever more complex and responsible assignments formulated through the purposeful activities of the CPSU in the field of the systematic

consolidation and perfecting of the political system of the Soviet society at the present stage, the theoretical interpretation of the new features characterizing today the developed socialist democracy is of particular interest. In this connection, so is the study of union and republic legislation on supreme and local organs of state power, the determination of the general trends of this legislation and the formulation of the principles governing its structure and advancement. It could be said immediately that the book under review is an entirely successful attempt to answer the most important among these questions.

Focusing his attention on the study of effective legislation on soviets and the prospects for its further renovation, classification, and codification, the author proceeds for the fact that an effective system of legal norms consistent with the requirements of developed socialism cannot be established without a profound knowledge and consideration of the more than 60-years old experience in Soviet construction.

It is precisely such a broad historical-legal coverage of this problem that enabled the author not only to thoroughly consider the most significant aspects of previous law-making in our country but to undertake the theoretical interpretation and practical substantiation of a number of topical legislative problems dealing with representative organs of the state system from accurate methodological positions. The main purpose of the study is to establish and describe processes, events, and facts related to the appearance of a historically innovative legislation on the previously unfamiliar system of representative organs.

The novelty and originality of the work by A. I. Luk'yanov is found, in particular, in the fact that, for the first time, the author traces the establishment and development of norms regulating the activities of the soviets beginning with their very first acts, representing the direct making of laws by the revolutionary masses between 1905 and 1917 and the approval by the whole people of the 1977 USSR Constitution and the adoption, on its basis, of the constitutional acts of the USSR and of union and autonomous republics.

The time breakdown selected by the author is related to the stages of the building of socialism: the establishment and development of legislation on the soviets in the period of laying the foundations of socialism (separately for the periods preceding and following the founding of the USSR); the further development of this legislation in the period of the building of mature socialism; and legislation on the soviets in the stage of developed socialism. The chapter on the contemporary period describes the general trends toward perfecting existing legislation on the soviets (primarily local, explained by the increased complexity and broadening of their tasks in the field of economic and cultural construction). The author differentiates among the legislation of the USSR, union republics, and autonomous republics, summing up legislation at the three levels of legislative activities of the Soviet state.

As a result of painstaking and creative work, and with the help of a tremendous number of legislative materials, some of which were drawn from the archives, the author has been able to describe the contemporary trends and specific means for perfecting the legislation which defines and regulates the basic functions of the soviets, and the ways and factual means for their effective implementation. Let us note, above all, problems related to the correlation between the competences of the USSR and of the union republics in the field of legislation of the soviets. In turn, this is of exceptional topical significance in connection with the implementation of a broad program for legislative work which was culminated by the publication of the code of laws of the USSR and codes of laws of union republics.

The active participation of the author of the monograph in the theoretical elaboration of this problem over a number of years, in the course of which he wrote a number of works interpreting various aspects of legislative activities of supreme power organs, and practical work in the field of Soviet governmental structure and law, enabled him to acquire a thorough knowledge of legislative processes and to develop and convincingly substantiate a classification of the legal acts related to the soviets.

The clear concept of the soviets as the political foundation of the state, as separate from the political foundations of the society, as the totality of all classes and social strata, nations, nationalities, state and public organizations of working people headed by the communist party, is of major significance. The work depicts the elaboration of concepts related to the political foundation of the USSR, introduced for the first time with the 1936 USSR Constitution. Data are cited on the development of the new system of supreme state organs--the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium which replaced the Congress of Soviets, the Central Executive Committee, and the Central Executive Committee Presidium.

An interesting study is made of the basic functions of the soviets at the stage of developed socialism, in which the author includes six types of political, economic, sociocultural, and legal activities: the governmental unification of the people with the extensive involvement of the citizens in administration; insuring the comprehensive economic and social development of the respective territories; management of state, economic, and sociocultural construction, and the solution of other problems of union, republic, and local significance; participation in the elaboration and implementation of national assignments; unification and guidance of the activities of the lower soviets and of the Soviet public on their respective territories; insuring on the soviet's territory the maintenance of socialist legality--the strict observance of laws and of state and public order, and of the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens. This study indicates that the present functions of the soviets developed on the basis of a clear continuity, as a result of the legitimate and systematic development of the functions of the soviets, developed in the previous stages of the building of socialism.

Article two of the USSR Constitution stipulates that the people exercise the power of the state through the soviets, which are the political foundations

of the USSR. All other state organs are under the control of and accountable to the soviets. These basic constitutional principles are the core of the book, running through its entire content. It is on their basis that the author structures his conclusions and suggestions on the further perfecting of legislation on the soviets, and formulates practical recommendations for the codification and classification of such legislation.

The author convincingly proves that, compared with the previous one, the current USSR Constitution develops considerably more broadly the principles governing the organization and activities of the local power organs. This circumstance is of basic significance both in determining the functions of each unit within the system of representative organs as well as in the theoretical study of legislation on soviets as a single entity whose nucleus is the constitutional legislation of the USSR.

The particular consideration of problems of republic soviet legislation is also of great interest. The author clearly describes the state sovereignty of union republics, codified in article 76 of the USSR Constitution and the corresponding articles in the republic constitutions. The independent exercise of state power by a union republic, outside the range of competence of the union, is clearly expressed in its constitution and legislation on representative power organs, which account for the bulk of the existing legislation on the soviets. Also important in this connection is the stipulation on the corresponding legislation of autonomous republics. Exercising the state power on an autonomous basis, such republics actively participate in the drafting of legislation on the soviets, which as the author notes is the main share of their legislation. This is factual proof of the fact that all autonomous republics have the right to independently resolve problems which, according to the USSR Constitution, are under their jurisdiction, independent of the laws of the USSR and the union republic.

Unquestionably, the author is right in emphasizing, at the same time, the need for circumspection and caution in the elaboration and adoption of legislative acts dealing with the organizational structure and activities of the soviets in general and the local soviets in particular. In his view, in this case it is always preferable to study as profoundly as possible available experience and only then adopt legal acts which have the force of law. In this case the author is guided by the party's requirement of resolving such problems without haste, following the thorough substantiation of each stipulation.

The merits of the book are unquestionable. This enables us to rate highly its scientific and practical value. Naturally, as in any original work, it contains controversial or insufficiently developed and substantiated views. In particular, in the chapter on the time breakdown of Soviet legislation, the author could have described more clearly and concretely the continuity of some legal norms, which by virtue of their durability and viability may be found at each stage of the building of socialism.

Actually, the author himself writes that the development of the legislation on the soviets is such an extensive and comprehensive topic that a number of

its substantial aspects have not been covered by his study. Among these he includes the effectiveness of the application of the legislative norms on the soviets, since it is precisely such legislation that is related to processes triggering changes in the legislation and its constant renovation. Also very important is the problem of the role which the laws passed by the local soviets play in the legal regulation of the activities of representative organs. Scientific publications have also insufficiently dealt with problems of the interaction between the legislative norms concerning the soviets and the other social norms operating in our society.

The historical-theoretical study made by A. I. Luk'yanov studying the establishment, development, and perfecting of the legislation on the superior and local organs of the state power in our country is a major contribution to juridical science. It is of great importance not only for perfecting the legislation on the soviets but for improving the practical work of the soviets of people's deputies as a model for all subordinate organs in insuring the precise and strict implementation of Soviet laws.

Expanding and concretizing our knowledge of Soviet statehood and its historical development, the monograph is useful in scientific work and in teaching the history of the state and law of the USSR, Soviet state law, Soviet construction, and administrative law. It would be equally justified to recommend this book to the personnel of soviet organs. Unfortunately, it was published in a small edition (12,000 copies only), whereas there are over 50,000 soviets of all levels operating in our country.

The book is interesting also from the viewpoint of the further popularization of the new Soviet Constitution, the ideas of socialist legality, and the basic and essential advantages of socialist democracy in the light of the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," and its instructions on insuring the high scientific level of propaganda and agitation.

5003

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METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE

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[Review by I. Apsheronov of the books, "Printsip Sistemnosti v Teorii i Metodologii K. Marksa" [The Systems Principle in K. Marx's Theory and Methodology] by V. P. Kuz'min. Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, 247 pages; "Metodologicheskiye Osnovy Poznaniya Sotsial'nykh Yavleniy" [Methodological Foundations of the Knowledge of Social Phenomena] by I. D. Andreyev, Vysshaya Shkola, Moscow, 1977, 328 pages; and "Metodologiya i Logika Istoricheskogo Issledovaniya" [Methodology and Logic of Historical Research] by V. V. Kosolapov. Vishcha Shkola, Kiev, 1977, 382 pages]

[Text] The increased role of the social sciences in the building of communism is profoundly natural. It is determined by the nature of the developing communist society which is being created on a strictly scientific basis. This is convincingly confirmed by the extensive research program which the 25th CPSU Congress assigned the Soviet social scientists. Expanding the research front, the appearance of new directions for creative research, strengthening the alliance with the natural sciences, and establishing ever closer ties with practice--characteristics of the contemporary stage of development of the social sciences--determine the particularly topical nature of the methodological problems of social knowledge.

A number of works have tried to cover individual problems of the methodology of social sciences. The task facing philosophers and sociologists today is to provide a panoramic view of the entire range of problems to be developed, and to raise their solution to a higher theoretical level.

Noteworthy among works published in recent years from the viewpoint of the scope of the problems considered and the thoroughness of philosophical analysis are the books under review. We shall focus our attention on these works in the present survey whose purpose is not only to comment on the books but to single out some of the most important problems of the methodology of social knowledge and the prospects for its development.

The thorough and comprehensive study of the creative laboratory of the founders of Marxism-Leninism is one of the immediate tasks of the methodology of social knowledge. Let us admit that our philosophers have still not paid

sufficient attention to the study of this aspect of the theoretical heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin, even though they have at their disposal the inexhaustible treasury of methodological ideas contained in their works.

This makes even more noteworthy the book by V. P. Kuz'min, one of the few works dealing specifically with Marx's methodology, and the course of Marx's thinking in the study of the capitalist socioeconomic system. Studying Marx's creative activities, the author emphasizes the topical nature of the methodological principles it contains, without which it would be inconceivable to understand not only the history of social development but contemporary problems as well.

In this case the study of the role which the systems approach plays in the study of social phenomena holds a particularly important position. The main purpose of the author is to prove that systematic knowledge, the value of which is being realized in modern science ever more clearly, developed in its theoretical and methodological aspect along with the appearance of the dialectical-materialistic outlook. The materialistic understanding of the history of society, founded by K. Marx, and the theory of the development of animate nature, formulated by Charles Darwin, became the starting points of the systemic interpretation of reality. It is precisely with them, according to the author, that began the storming of the basic laws governing macro-systems, followed by the study of the laws of the microworld. It is on the basis of this approach that we consider problems related to the level of knowledge of social phenomena and their specifics, compared with natural phenomena (including the problem of objectivity of social knowledge), the qualitative determination of social phenomena, their contradictory nature, and other topical problems. In this respect the book clearly deals with contemporary problems and intertwines with the works of I. D. Andreyev and V. V. Kosolapov.

What distinguishes I. D. Andreyev's book is another, no less essential, direction in the development of Marxist-Leninist methodology. It is an attempt to interpret the methodological aspect of categories and laws of dialectical and historical materialism within the context of social knowledge, and to build a kind of "bridge" from general principles to specific problems of the social sciences.

V. V. Kosolapov, conversely, directs his study from the ripe problems of the social sciences to a consideration of the methodological possibilities of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. His work is based essentially on historical data, for which reason it provides a more detailed study of the cognitive importance of the principles and categories of historical materialism.

What are the main problems on which the authors have focused their attention?

One of them, without whose solution any profound study of the methodology of social knowledge would hardly be possible is the difference and unity between the social and natural sciences. Summing up some results of discussions of this problem in Soviet literature, the authors also earmark means for its further solution.

In V. P. Kuz'min's book this problem is analyzed above all on the basis of the Marxist study of the systemic social quality and the distinctions between social and natural systems.

As the author proves, the laws governing the development of systemic qualities play a tremendous role in Marx's study of the features of value and the "forming" feature of social phenomena. The most important feature of dialectics in "Das Kapital" is the definition of the systemic-capitalist qualities of commodity production, private ownership, production relations, and population laws. Thanks to this approach the specific historical nature of all these phenomena is revealed through their "forming," systemic qualities.

Unquestionably, the problem of social qualities and their equivocal and contradictory nature, analyzed by the author, is of interest. A number of major methodological difficulties arise in the study of social phenomena precisely as a result of their controversial nature. Both the people themselves and the objects--the products of their toil--acquire, along with their natural qualities, social qualities determining the social essence of such phenomena. "Natural matter" with its "primary" qualities here turns out to be only the bearer of social qualities. "On the one hand, as a natural matter, objects live and develop in accordance with their natural laws," the author writes. "On the other, their 'second life,' as socially significant objects serving man and meeting one or another of his needs, is entirely determined by the laws and conditions governing the development of human society" (p 77).

The author's conclusions on the controversial and comprehensive nature of the concept of quality, based on a profound mastery of Marx's theory, are of substantial significance in the elaboration of the methodology of social sciences. The principle of subordination of natural and social qualities must obviously become one of the basic principles in the study of the sum total of social relations and in resolving problems related to the interaction between nature and society and the ties between natural and social sciences.

Interpreting the interrelationship between social and natural sciences, I. D. Andreyev considers it as his task to indicate the extent to which the ideas and methods of the natural sciences may be used beyond their range and contribute to the study of social processes, as well as to indicate the limits of their sensible utilization. At the same time, he emphasizes, in the case of specialists in the natural and technical sciences working, in particular, on comprehensive problems of production automation and control, rational utilization of natural resources, placement of productive forces, and environmental protection, no less important from the methodological viewpoint is the experience acquired in the study of social phenomena by economists, psychologists, sociologists, and other representatives of the humanities.

V. V. Kosolapov raises a no less interesting question, that of the interaction between history and sciences such as ecology, archeology, and geography, justifiably pointing out that works on history do not always take into

consideration properly the factor of the interaction between nature and society. Naturally, external conditions, including the geographic environment, play a subordinate role in the development of social systems. Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to underestimate the importance of their influence. Marx and Engels emphasized that "all historiography should proceed on the basis of such natural foundations and the changes to which they have been exposed in the course of history as a result of human activities" ("Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 19).

However, we could hardly agree with the author's opinion that the more distant a historical system may be from the starting point of the history of mankind, the more dependent it becomes on natural resources and labor objects required for the normal functioning of a highly developed social production process. "Even the scientific and technical revolution, with its tremendous scale," he writes, "not only failed to free society from the influence of the environment, weather conditions in the first place, but intensified this influence even further" (p 180). The interaction between society and nature has always been dialectically conflicting and hardly developed on the basis of such a simple system and in the direction of making man ever more dependent on natural conditions. Clearly, the solution of this problem cannot be that simple and will unquestionably require the further study of the historical interrelationship between nature and society.

The interconnection between social and natural sciences consists not only of the exchange of ideas, ways, means, and information but, something no less important, their methodological and conceptual unity. The solidity of their alliance is insured under our circumstances by the fact that the natural and social sciences are based on the same dialectical-materialistic principles.

The principle of objectivity is the most important element of the methodology of the social sciences. The books under review fully reflect the complexity and comprehensiveness of the problems related to its application in proving the accuracy of social knowledge. One of the topical aspects is to bring to light Marx's distinction between the material nature of natural and social systems. This aspect of the problem is considered in detail by V. P. Kuz'min.

Linking the materialistic understanding of society with the systemic approach, the author proves the equivocal nature of the very concept of "matter" as applied to the study of social processes. The social qualities (value, for example) are material. However, this material nature is different from the material nature of their natural carriers.

The determination of natural and social qualities and their conflicting unity in social phenomena and processes, as the author notes, is merely one aspect of the problem of objectivity in historical materialism. Methodologically, the question of the correlation between the social qualities of the "first" and "second" order is even more complex. The social qualities of the "first" order are tangible. They are directly embodied in the natural characteristics of the carrier-object and represent its functional

characteristics. Such is, for example, the consumer value as the ability of objects to meet a certain human requirement. The social quality of the "second" order are not materialized similarly. "They express the complex integrational qualities of social systems which cannot be reduced to the qualities of their individual elements" (p 94). Thus, for example, the value of a commodity does not include any particle of the substance in nature. Nevertheless, it represents a material social relation. The determination of the secondary integral qualities as the most essential and as determining the social nature of one or another process, is particularly important in any socioscientific study.

The problem of objectivity of social knowledge, as I. D. Andreyev proves, has other aspects as well. One of them is related to the more-or-less essential influence of the subject on the object in the course of the process of knowledge. Another one is related to the role of theories and ideas in the interpretation of facts and the significance of social values in studies, interpretations, or forecasting of one or another social phenomenon.

As V. V. Kosolapov points out in his book, the question of the material aspect of societal life remains topical, particularly in connection distortions found in bourgeois and revisionist literature of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the determining role of social life in terms of social consciousness. The basic aspect of the debate has now been moved to the correlation between the objective nature of the historical process and the active and conscious activities of man. "The social activity of man," the author emphasizes, "converts his activity into a subject of history. The objective needs arising in people are embodied in their subjective objectives, aspirations, programs for action, and realized interests which represent the 'inner' ideal level of activities. The greater the unity and integration of objective with subjective aspects of activities, the more effective activities become. In the final account, this is manifested in the accelerated pace of the development of the historical process, the broadening of its scale, and the increased size of the people's masses directly involved in objective socio-political changes as a creative element" (p 112).

It is entirely proper that the subject of the study contained in these books is the problem of the laws governing social development in its various aspects. Justifiably, I. D. Andreyev objects to the widespread view that, unlike the laws of nature, the laws of society are narrowly statistical. Comparing various types of laws discovered by natural scientists and laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism in the development of human society, the author proves that from the methodological viewpoint they are far more similar than indicated by appearances.

Along with statistical laws other laws operate in society identically defining some of the essential trends in its development: the laws of dynamics. As the author indicates statistical laws should not include the law of added value, the general law of capitalistic accumulation, or the law of consistency between production relations and the level and nature of the development of production forces. For example, the latter does not offer us

the possibility to accurately determine when and where lagging production relations become consistent with developing production forces. Nevertheless, it quite simply answers the question of what would be the consequences of the lagging of production relations behind production forces in the capitalist production method.

Like the laws of nature, the social laws could be, consequently, both statistical and dynamic; they could be absolute or may appear as trends. The distinction between the social and the natural sciences appears, possibly, only in the fact the former are dealing ever more frequently with statistical laws compared with the latter. In any case there is no essential difference between them, even when we are dealing with history dealing with most "current" research topics. The purpose of social (as well as natural scientific) knowledge is not simply the description or even interpretation of historical, economic, ideological, or similar phenomena but--above all--the discovery of the laws governing their development, and theoretical analysis needed in the prediction and practical application of knowledge in the revolutionary-transforming activities of the working class and its party and of the people's masses.

Perfecting the methodology of social knowledge presumes the paying of most serious attention to the problem of unity between dialectical and historical materialism. Does such a problem exist, considering that to any Marxist philosopher the indivisibility between historical and dialectical materialism is the unequivocal truth? They developed historically within this unbreakable unity and it is within that same unbreakable interconnection that they assume the quality of an outlook, and become a methodology for contemporary scientific knowledge and for revolutionary-transforming activities. At the same time the state of research in the field of methodology of contemporary science proves that the development of the principles and laws of dialectical materialism is based essentially on natural-science data. The few works discussing the methodology of social sciences are based only on historical materialism, frequently in its aspect as a training discipline, rarely turning directly to the laws and categories of dialectical materialism. This has led to the opening of a certain gap within the single front of research of problems of scientific methodology.

To a certain extent this gap is filled by the books under review, which particularly emphasize the methodological and general-philosophical aspect of the laws and categories of historical materialism. It is precisely on this level that the book by I. D. Andreyev considers, for example, the concept of the primacy of social life compared with social consciousness, the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and the class struggle, and the "socioeconomic-system" category.

The other aspect of the study of the unity between dialectical and historical materialism, still insufficiently written about, is the determination of the role of dialectical principles and categories in the study of social phenomena and processes. V. P. Kuz'min's book is clearly aimed at resolving this problem. The author not limit himself to a detailed consideration of the

characteristic of the systemic approach. The possibilities of the latter are clarified together with other aspects of dialectical materialism. Categories such as "necessity and accident," "internal and external," "essence and phenomenon," and so on, are specifically interpreted by the book, strictly in accordance with the logic of Marx's "Das Kapital."

The author's development of the problem of the integrity of the socialist society and of its various types, such as production-economic, social, political, and spiritual, is of practical and methodological value. For the first time in history the social community of people turns here into specific reality. Whereas under capitalist conditions all social life is subordinated to the law of profits, which separates the individuals from one another, under socialism everything is subordinated to the solution of basic social problems and to building a society of free and equal people and nations.

Indicating the close ties linking the various entities, the author particularly singles out the political aspect of the management of the socialist society, extensively analyzing the role of the communist party as its main integrating force which rallies and directs toward a single objective the work of all units within the social system, insures the choice of optimal ways of development, and programs processes of economic, social, and cultural construction. ". . . Finding the optimal correlation and the proper measure for combining economic with social criteria in the solution of national economic problems," the author writes, "is the most important and most difficult task in the scientific management of the socialist society. Unquestionably, these problems exceed the framework of purely economic management. Every such occasion requires a higher, a political solution of the problem" (p 205). Such principles, based on the creative study of Marx's legacy, are an important methodological base for the practical and theoretical solution of the problems of managing the national economy under developed socialist conditions.

The works under review single out yet another very important direction along which the unity between dialectical and historical materialism must be achieved more persistently and purposefully. It is the determination of the position of the general principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge in the social sciences. The works extensively deal with the correlation between theory and fact, description and explanation, structure of the scientific hypothesis, nature of the methods for ascending from the abstract to the concrete and for analogies, and checking the accuracy of social knowledge and its specifics and, in this connection, the various levels of knowledge of material objects.

An entire range of complex and topical problems of the methodology of social knowledge is related to experimentation, modeling, and use of mathematical means in sociological, economic, historiographic, and other research. In the past decade, in connection with the rapid increase in the number of "crossing" problems in the social sciences and the integration of knowledge and increased complexity of research topics, the role of general scientific, of interdisciplinary methods has been rising steadily. Mathematics is being applied

ever more extensively in the study of social phenomena. Drawing attention to the danger of underestimating such methods, the authors also decisively object to the other extreme. Today we hear ever more frequently that any, even a social, theory must be mandatorily formalized, for which reason it is claimed the time will soon come when logical-mathematical methods will dominate all sciences.

Naturally, the extent to which mathematics is used proves the level of development of science and of its conceptual apparatus. Nevertheless, the absolutizing of formalized systems remains erroneous. Far from always could scientific knowledge be processed and presented exclusively in the language of mathematics or formal logic. Its essential and qualitative aspects of prime scientific value cannot be fully expressed through mathematics. Discussing the possibility of the use of mathematics in the science of history, V. V. Kosolapov, for example, notes that the improvement of historical knowledge will follow the path of the ever greater application of mathematical methods. However, by virtue of the specific nature of history as a science, obviously such methods will never become self-sufficing. Opposing the exaggeration of the role of formal methods in social research, the authors emphasize the decisive role of dialectics as the logic of the study of social phenomena.

Dialectics offers a firm foundation for the substantiation of the principles shaping the theory of social development, study of the structure, and elaboration of the classification of the social sciences, defining the place and significance of formal and mathematical logic, and the possibilities and limits of applicability of mathematical and other methods which have come to the social sciences from other sciences. Dialectical logic, as I. D. Andreyev proves, also resolves problems of the nature of concepts, the role of judgments and conclusions, and the correlation between scientific theory and facts in social knowledge. The categories of dialectical and historical materialism considered as forms of thinking, are of tremendous importance to social knowledge and enjoy an advantage compared with the concepts of formal and mathematical logic, for they reflect not simply certain aspects of reality but their specific interconnections within a single entity, showing the conflicting nature of such interdependencies and enabling us to trace the development of contradictions and the conversion of one quality into another.

I. D. Andreyev emphasizes that in the elaboration of the logic of knowledge of social phenomena particular attention should be paid to the problem of dialectical contradictions. "In order to penetrate into the profound nature of studied social phenomena, determine their most important laws, and become familiar with social reality in its dynamics and development," he writes, "it is necessary to study said contradictions, reflect them in our minds, and determine their mechanism. Without this the researcher could only slide on the surface of phenomena and be unable to penetrate the deep 'secrets' of reality" (p 322). Developing the same topic, V. V. Kosolapov compares dialectical with logical contradictions. He considers in detail the sources of means for eliminating logical contradictions in historical narration. The conversion from facts to theories and from the old internally conflicting

theoretical concept to the new non-conflicting one, he notes in his book, is a complex dialectical movement of the thinking process from the known to the unknown. Historical knowledge cannot be a mirror reflection of the objective process and be reduced to the application of familiar logical methods. In his search for the truth the historian uses the entire wealth of methods offered by dialectics.

The role of dialectical materialism in contemporary socioscientific knowledge has not as yet been fully determined. This task will require a great deal of effort on the part of Marxist philosophers. The authors particularly emphasize the topical and insufficiently developed nature of the problem of the dialectics of necessity and accident, essence and phenomenon, possibility and reality in social processes, and the dialectics of the development of social and scientific and technical progress. In their view, the determination of the basic stages of social knowledge, of the laws governing the establishment and perfecting of social theories, and the elaboration of problems of checking social knowledge and applying it in practical activities deserves most serious attention.

Extensively based on the studies of Soviet philosophers in the field of the methodology of social knowledge, the books under review also draw our attention to unresolved problems. Their value lies in the adamant determination and substantiation of the methodological unity between natural and social sciences and the indivisibility between dialectical and historical materialism. This is an important source for the inexhaustible vitality and effectiveness of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

5003
CSO: 1802

MAIN TASK ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 122-123

[Review by B. Arkhipov, candidate of historical sciences, of the Bulgarian-language book "Borbata za Pretvoryavane v Zhivota Strategiyata na Partiyata za Visoka Efektivnost i Visoko Kachestvo--Zadacha nad Zadachite na Ideologicheskiya Front" [The Struggle for the Implementation of the Party's Strategy for High Effectiveness and High Quality--The Main Task on the Ideological Front], Partizdat, Sofia, 1978, 256 pages]

[Text] Ideological work is an important sector in the building of the new society. The attention of our party and of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries is directed toward the steady enhancement of its effectiveness and strengthening its ties with life and the building of socialism and communism.

In this respect the book under review, published by the Bulgarian Communist Party Press, is of unquestionable interest. It contains materials of the conference of leading Bulgarian ideological cadres sponsored by the BCP Central Committee in November 1978.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov delivered a major speech to the participants. He emphasized that the 11th BCP Congress most emphatically raised the question of intensifying the effectiveness of ideological work as a powerful factor for the solution of specific party problems--upgrading the quality and effectiveness of all work, and developing an all-round socialist individual. His speech dealt with the problems of further improvements of the planning and socialist organization of labor and their ideological-educational aspects. The speaker noted the basic qualitative advantages of the socialist approach to improving production management and the organization of labor and wages. Characteristic of this approach are, above all, the solution of social problems, concern for man, and the establishment of the most favorable conditions for the manifestation of his capabilities and the development of features such as collectivism and comradely mutual aid. The new wage system introduced in the country, which takes more fully into consideration the quantity and quality of labor, is also aimed at resolving not only economic but educational problems. Such problems must assume an ever greater role in party work, for their solution combines ideological-educational with organizational and economic activities.

Todor Zhivkov emphasized the need to wage a more systematic and irreconcilable struggle against violations of the norms of communist morality, for enhancing and praising the honest workers, helping them actively, and insuring the thoughtful summation and adamant application of the experience of leading production workers.

The ideas of the struggle for peace, friendship, and cooperation among peoples and of systematic proletarian internationalism imbue the section of Comrade T. Zhivkov's speech in which he analyzes the international activities of the BCP and the Bulgarian Government.

The collection takes the title of the report delivered at the conference by Comrade Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and CC BCP secretary. Discussing the practical implementation of the party's decisions and their ideological-political support, he described in detail the condition and basic directions of the reorganization of the ideological front, the further upgrading of the effectiveness of ideological work, and the application of the comprehensive approach to the upbringing of the socialist individual.

What are the place and role of the ideological front in the struggle for the specific objectives of the BCP? It would be wrong, the speaker pointed out, for the ideological workers to reduce their task only to the dissemination and interpretation of party decisions or assessing the results of their work only on the basis of the number of ideological measures carried out. Propaganda and interpretation are exceptionally necessary yet far from exclusive or self-satisfying parts of overall ideological influence. The number of meaningful ideological measures is an important means for exercising this influence. In itself, however, it has never been, nor could it ever become an accurate criterion of the factually accomplished work.

The speaker suggested three criteria for assessing the effectiveness of ideological activities. First, to determine the quality of ideological-educational measures themselves, their topical nature, direction, extent, coverage of the various population strata and age groups, etc. So far a number of party organizations have used primarily this criterion, even though in fact it is an intermediate one, for it does not have a separate significance and must be applied together with the other two. Second, the changes which have taken place in the minds of the working people must be assessed through the study of their views, knowledge, convictions, value criteria, and social psychology. According to the speaker, currently the party organizations use this criterion extremely one-sidedly. At best, individual examples are provided without the necessary depiction of the conscientiousness of the working people, consisting of the necessary completeness of detail, objectivity, and representative character. Understandably, this criterion is very important. However, it as well cannot be used independently, for the task of ideological-educational work is not only to upgrade the conscientiousness but to encourage the corresponding practical actions and social activities of every person. Third, that is what makes very important the assessment of the practical actions and behavior themselves, created through the influence of ideological-educational measures. This, precisely, is the

final effectiveness criterion, even though such an assessment is not provided frequently and, usually, not accurately but generally, without distinction between the contribution of strictly ideological work to a given practical result and the influence of other factors.

According to the speaker, the results of the labor activities of individual workers and collectives as a whole, their solidarity with party policy, the growth of the socialist individual, and the existence of negative phenomena and actions in one or another collective should be considered in the formulation of the scientific classification of such criteria. In order to obtain a more complete and accurate idea of the effectiveness of ideological activities, all its criteria should be considered together, since taken separately they become relative and conditional.

Stating that he does not claim to present any complete system or classification of all basic effectiveness criteria, but that he considers his task as finding an approach to the practical solution of this problem, Aleksandur Lilov notes that the result of any ideological undertaking should be a corresponding positive change in the awareness of the working people and in the organization and methods of their work and results of their labor. A higher socialist conscientiousness, better labor organization, and more advanced labor methods at all work places and, above all, the reaching of higher labor indicators should be the target and measurement of the effectiveness of comprehensive ideological activities in the struggle for the implementation of party decisions.

The report convincingly substantiates the need to improve the selection and upbringing of ideological cadres, and to upgrade the standard of ideological-educational work, in the primary party organizations above all, for, in the final account, this determines the condition and effectiveness of all party ideological activities.

The other speakers supported the stipulations and conclusions of the report, supplementing and concretizing it through the experience of the local party organizations.

The entire work is imbued with the idea that upgrading further the quality and effectiveness of ideological work calls for unity between ideological-educational and organizational-political activities. Only thus could ideological practice be freed from the elements of educational activities and party-organizational work from manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy.

Particular attention is paid in the collection to the intensification of the struggle against bourgeois and opportunistic and revisionist ideology, and above all against anti-Sovietism. All speakers provided specific examples convincingly proving that the international ideological circumstances are characterized by the powerful ideological offensive mounted by socialism. Life has most clearly confirmed the accuracy of the course jointly formulated by the fraternal parties of the socialist countries--the all-round presentation and dissemination of the greatest accomplishments and tremendous advantages of real socialism. Our ideological enemies fear most of all the skillful depiction of precisely that which it factually provides the working people.

SOCIALIST REALISM--CREATIVE METHOD OF SOVIET CINEMATOGRAPHY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 123-125

[Review by L. Kulidzhanov, people's artist of the USSR, of the book "Sotsialisticheskiy Realizm i Sovremennyy Kinoprotsess" [Socialist Realism and the Contemporary Movie Process]. Editors: V. Baskakov, Ye. Gromov, S. Drobashenko, R. Yurenev, S. Yutkevich, V. Murian (editor in chief), and O. Makarov. Iskustvo, Moscow, 1978, 272 pages]

[Text] The development of the Soviet motion picture as an important realm of socialist culture is a comprehensive process which requires tireless creative efforts. One of its directions is the development of a truly scientific, an ideologically effective theory of cinematography. It would hardly be necessary to prove the need for this after the memorable CC CPSU decrees "On Literary-Artistic Criticism" and "On Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Cinematography."

Delegates to the Third All-Union Congress of USSR Cinematographers spoke of the responsible assignments and major hopes entrusted today to our motion picture science. The speakers emphasized the particular significance of basic theoretical research on the most important problems of Soviet and world cinema, which would embody the ideological and methodological advantages of the Marxist-Leninist science of the arts. The addresses by the congress delegates and the congress resolutions expressed interested attention in the work being done by the recently created Scientific Research Institute of the Theory and History of the Motion Picture of the USSR Goskino.

We believe that we can already point out that in its five years of life the institute has done a great deal to interpret the creative experience of the motion picture and provide a more profound elaboration of problems of the theory of the art of the screen. This is convincingly proved by the collective work under review based on materials of the theoretical conference sponsored by the institute together with the USSR Union of Cinematographers. Essentially, this is the first comprehensive study of the basic problems of our cinematography.

The articles included in the collection deal with a variety of topics related to the practice and theory of the Soviet cinema. However, despite this, they

form a single entity. This is not only because everyone of the authors has studied the nature of socialist realism in the motion picture from one or another viewpoint but, above all, because the work is imbued with the spirit of our time, the spirit of the ideological struggle which is currently waged on the world screen and around it. The work shows the maturity and responsibility of thoughts nurtured by concern for the comprehensive development of the art of the motion picture, an understanding of the vital problems of the spiritual life of the developed socialist society, and a precise awareness of the ideological positions of Soviet cinematography.

The inseparable link between the method of socialist realism and the life of the people and their progress toward communism, party-mindedness and nationality in their concrete esthetic manifestation, the principles of socialist realism as a base for artistic innovations in cinematography, the multinational nature of the Soviet motion picture as a great revolutionary accomplishment in the history of culture, the educational tasks of the motion picture and its real impact on the spiritual life of our contemporaries, and the development of the theory and practice of the art under the influence of the ideas of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses are the range of problems in the light of which the main topic of the work is considered.

Let us emphasize yet once again that the articles in the collection--strictly scientific and theoretical in nature--are linked with the vital interests of creative practice. This link is expressed in the attention which the authors pay to the specific facts of the motion-picture art, the specific laws of artistic activities and, in general, their identical concept of socialist realism as a creative method.

The authors systematically promote the view that the art of socialist realism is a dynamic, continually developing esthetic system. They provide a precise and substantiated assessment of the various stages of its development. On this level their polemics with bourgeois and revisionist critics of our art who are trying to split this uninterrupted process and pit some of its periods against others, appears both apt and convincing. Such are, for example, the attempts of some Western motion-picture experts to "pit" the period of development of the Soviet motion picture in the 1920's against the period of the 1950's, remove from the context of the art of socialist realism the founders of this method in cinematography--S. Eisenstein, V. Pudovkin, A. Dovzhenko, and the brothers Vasil'yev, and impose their prejudiced assessments of the works of contemporary Soviet artists. Both in open opposition to such concepts as well as in the positive study of the historical process, the authors of the book prove that the periods of the "Battleship" Potemkin, Chapayev, and of the present are organically interrelated stages of the single forward development of the motion picture along the path of socialist realism and the creative enrichment of artistic culture by the cinema. These concepts and conclusion, clearly expressed in the work, are of immediate and topical nature. They remind us of the only true criteria with which motion picture theoreticians and practical workers must approach progress in cinematography.

One of the main ideas contained in the book is that the method of socialist realism was formed and developed through the practice of the art itself. This is a very topical idea, for our ideological opponents are still trying to interpret socialist realism and the principle of party-mindedness as something allegedly imported and even prescribed to Soviet art as a directive. Let us say that the habit which theoreticians have retained of interpreting the principles of socialist realism speculatively, as abstract formulas, automatically applied to art and to the creative process itself, does not contribute in the least to the refutation of such views. The authors justifiably reject this approach and prove its groundlessness.

They consider socialist realism an esthetic phenomenon possessing its own essential characteristics. Quite important in this respect is the idea promoted in the book of the unity between reflection and transformation of the world in artistic images, the internal link between "prose" and "poetry," accuracy, and high-level ideological-artistic summation. Unquestionably, these are the essential qualities of the cinematography of socialist realism. Their assertion in the best films does not mean in the least an artistic monotony or equalization of creative styles. The unity of the art of socialist realism, as an artistic system, is expressed in the variety of stylistic directions, the individual ways followed by the masters, and the fruitful differences among means of depiction. The creative variety of the Soviet motion picture is not only stated in the book as a general thesis, but is revealed in specific examples. In my view, the most interesting is the part describing the broad spectrum of artistic searches in the motion picture.

Another topic which must be mentioned is the educational power of the motion picture and its influence on the spiritual and moral world of our contemporaries. In particular, the authors speak of the influence of films such as "The Cranes Are Flying," "Ballad of a Soldier," "Fate of a Man," and others, not only affecting the emotional world of millions of viewers but the development of philosophical thinking, and drawing the attention of philosophers to problems of the individual and humanism, which have become today the main arena of the ideological struggle in the realm of culture.

The book is a comprehensive study which would be of interest to people practicing different creative professions. Possibly, some of the authors' views may trigger creative discussions. Here I would like to emphasize the main fact: We are faced with a serious and significant scientific work which follows the main trend in the development of Soviet art studies and makes a substantial contribution to this process.

In his greetings to the participants and guests of the All-Union Motion Picture Festival, in Riga, noting the successes achieved by the Soviet cinema, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev defined the general qualities shared by the best motion pictures of recent years: "Such works enrich the social thinking of the people and their historical memory. They effectively contribute to the promotion of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. They actively oppose imperialist ideology and bourgeois morality." These words clearly express the general line which the Soviet motion picture must follow

today and tomorrow. They clearly formulate the social functions of the art of socialist realism at the present stage. We have all reasons to hope that our motion picture theory, based on practical experience, will manifest itself with creative activity in the study of the trends governing the development of cinematography, exacting comradely evaluation of works, and the upbringing of young creative cadres, i.e., in resolving all the problems formulated in the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

5003

CSO: 1802

PEACEFUL SOCIALIST ATOM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 79 pp 125-127

[Review by Academician G. Flerov of the book, "Mirnyy Atom v Stranakh Sotsializma. Sotrudnichestvo Stran-Chlenov SEV" [The Peaceful Atom in Socialist Countries. Cooperation among CEMA-Member Countries]. Atomizdat, Moscow, 1979, 280 pages]

[Text] The book, "Mirnyy Atom v Stranakh Sotsializma," written by a big group of authors from CEMA-member countries, was published for the 30th anniversary of CEMA. The extensive work begins with an article by A. M. Petros'yants, chairman of the CEMA Permanent Commission for the Utilization of Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes, discussing the role of nuclear science and technology under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. The remaining articles depict the fast growth of this new scientific and technical area in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia, as well as the general picture of multilateral cooperation among fraternal countries in the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The book provides a specific idea of the tremendous work done in recent decades by scientists and specialists from the socialist countries in the peaceful utilization of nuclear power and the impressive results they have achieved within this relatively short period. A virtually new and progressive industrial sector was created, which made it possible to obtain new types of materials, instruments, and equipment. The use of nuclear energy raised to a qualitatively new level a number of areas in medicine, agriculture, and transportation.

The close, unbreakable, and reciprocally enriching tie between basic and applied research is a good tradition which developed in this area of human activities. The physics the atomic nucleus and elementary particles is one of the main and steadily developing areas of contemporary science. The reason for this is found in the importance of the practical utilization of its theoretical conclusions and their profound impact on related scientific sectors. For example, studies of the atomic nucleus and of elementary particles not only led to the appearance of a new source of energy but the laws discovered in the study of the structure of the atom made it possible

to understand the structure of solid bodies, explain ferromagnetism and superconductivity, create semiconductors and superconductor alloys, etc.

The more deeply the physicists penetrate the microworld, the greater the amount of new problems they face. Studies of elementary particles at super-high energies, conducted with powerful accelerators, are aimed at establishing the nature of the tremendous forces manifested in exceptionally small time-space intervals. Should mankind be able to conquer these forces, it will obtain new and even more powerful sources of energy.

In the course of the studies of the structure of atom nuclei, some 15 trans-uranium elements not found in nature were artificially obtained. We are well familiar with the tremendous practical significance of one of them--plutonium. However, synthetic elements are unstable and many of them decay rapidly. Furthermore, in recent years predictions appeared on the existence of an area of higher stability close to the element carrying the number 114 in Mendelyev's periodical table of elements. The discovery of such super-heavy elements would open new prospects for mankind. Despite the fact that this purely scientific problem remains unresolved, the facilities developed for synthesizing super-heavy elements--accelerators of heavy ions--have already found extensive practical use. In particular, the production of nuclear ultrasmall filters, undertaken with such accelerators, is of great economic effectiveness. They are used in science, industry, and agriculture.

In recent decades scientists focused extensive efforts on mastering yet another source of energy--thermonuclear synthesis. One of the biggest contemporary scientific and technical problems is to learn how to use the energy released in combining the nuclei of light elements. Great successes were achieved in this respect by the scientists at the Institute of Atomic Energy imeni I. V. Kurchatov, using the "Tomahawk" thermonuclear facility. An experimental thermonuclear reactor may be developed as early as the end of this century. A faster solution of the big and complex problem of thermonuclear synthesis could be achieved within the framework of close international cooperation, above all among the scientists of the socialist countries.

Speaking of the immediate future, the CEMA-member countries are linking the further expansion of their power base with the building of nuclear power plants using the energy released from the splitting of heavy nuclei. In 1980 the overall capacity of nuclear power plants in CEMA-member countries will be higher by a three-four factor compared with 1976. In particular, the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress indicate the need "to contemplate the faster development of the nuclear power industry in the European part of the USSR."

The European CEMA-member countries and Cuba will build through 1990 nuclear power plants generating a total of 3,700 megawatts, and two nuclear power plants generating 4,000 megawatts each will be built in the USSR to supply electric power to the fraternal countries, with a view to resolving the power problem as stipulated in the long-term target program for cooperation in the

fields of energy, fuel, and raw materials. By 1990 the overall capacity of the nuclear power plants in CEMA-member countries will reach approximately 120,000 megawatts, or the equivalent of the use of 240 million tons of conventional fuel per year. The nuclear power industry is becoming one of the most important sources for increasing the production of electric power in CEMA-member countries.

The use of nuclear power made a revolution in the navy, inordinately expanding its capacity. Everyone clearly remembers the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet nuclear powered ships. For the first time in the world, on 17 August 1977, the Arktika nuclear icebreaker reached the North Pole. The Lenin, Arktika, and Sibir' nuclear powered icebreakers proved the possibility for year-round navigation in the Arctic. The high-latitude trip of a transport which sailed in 1978 from Murmansk to Magadan in the wake of the Sibir' nuclear powered icebreaker, opened additional possibilities for increasing the role of the eastern areas of the USSR in the efficient utilization of fuel and raw-material resources. Thus, the use of nuclear icebreakers and small nuclear power plants is creating a firm base for the extensive development of the Arctic areas of the USSR.

The numerous examples cited in the book prove the extensive use of nuclear power, radioactive isotopes, and sources of nuclear radiation in science, industry, agriculture, and medicine. Thus, radioactive analysis has become one of the high-sensitivity methods used in analytical chemistry in determining extremely small quantities of admixtures in pure substances, traces of elements in biological and geological objects, and in the control of technical processes. In a few minutes nuclear-physics methods enable us to determine the content of admixtures not exceeding one ten-billionth of one percent. A new scientific direction has appeared--radiation chemistry. Gammadefectoscopy has become one of the basic methods for the non-intrusive control of finished goods. A new promising scientific sector--radiation materials study--is developing at a headlong pace.

One of the most impressive areas in which nuclear energy is extensively applied is medicine. The use of radioactive nuclides and sources of ionizing radiation not only raised diagnosis to a higher quality level but substantiated new methods for the treatment of various diseases. Great hopes are tied to the use of radiation therapy in the treatment of malignant tumors and malignant formations with the help of special electron and proton accelerators, gamma therapeutic apparatus, cobalt radiation systems, and high-activeness apparatus.

Thanks to the cooperation among CEMA-member countries, within a short time these countries developed atomic scientific-research centers equipped with modern scientific-experimental facilities.

The fraternal countries equipped and commissioned research reactors, accelerators, and radiochemical and physics laboratories. Over 1,000 highly skilled Soviet specialists participated in the creation of such centers and over 3,000 specialists from other CEMA-member countries were trained in the USSR.

The ever more extensive utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, naturally, raises questions of reliability and safety in this area. The authors emphasize that from the very beginning of the development of the nuclear power industry in CEMA-member countries, problems of insuring radiation safety, rendering harmless and burying radioactive waste, and so on, have remained the focal point of attention. The CEMA Permanent Commission for the Utilization of Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes has scientific and technical coordination councils for rendering radioactive waste harmless, deactivation and processing of used fuel, and radiation safety. The great attention paid to the problem of insuring radiation safety is confirmed also by the fact that it is included in the general expanded program for cooperation among CEMA-members and Yugoslavia in the preservation and improvement of the environment and the related rational utilization of natural resources.

The authors write that as the number and power of nuclear power plants rise, problems of their operational reliability and safety become ever more urgent. Along with the already noted reasons of a scientific and technical order, the authors list the status of public opinion on such matters. Thus, in some capitalist countries the fear of the extensive use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes is intensively encouraged by the counter-publicity launched by rivaling industrial sectors, the petroleum monopolies above all. Yet, we should not ignore the circumstance that, in itself, using the achievements of scientific and technical progress, capitalism is concerned least of all with the interests of the masses. This applies to the development of a nuclear power industry as well. Here again capitalist rationalization brings about adverse social consequence affecting the working people. In this specific area it could become a real threat to the health and even the life of the people.

The numerous facts cited in the book prove the way cooperation among CEMA-member countries in the utilization of nuclear power for peaceful purposes serves the successful solution of arising problems.

As the use of nuclear energy increases in CEMA-member countries, the organizational base of their cooperation in this area improves. With a view to assisting its further development, CEMA established a Permanent Commission for the Utilization of Atomic Energy for Peaceful Purposes. The CEMA-member countries and Yugoslavia set up Interatomenergo, an international economic association, with a view to cooperating in the production and delivery of equipment and providing technical assistance in the building of nuclear electric power plants. The purpose of the other international economic association--Interatominstrument--is to organize specialization projects and cooperation in the development and production of instruments and apparatus for the nuclear technology. The international center for scientific research in high and low energy physics--the Joint Nuclear Research Institute in Dubna--plays a major role in the training of scientific cadres for the socialist countries. Some of the articles in the collection describe the activities of these international economic associations and the successes achieved by the international scientific collective of the institute.

This work is yet another vivid and convincing example of the tremendous problems which the socialist comity can resolve in the field of social progress and in the development of science and technology. The decades of cooperation within CEMA in the peaceful utilization of atom energy have already yielded outstanding results. However, the solution of even bigger problems related to the further development of atomic science and technology will call for increased cooperation and the search for new effective forms of cooperation. The collective experience acquired in this field gives us confidence that the peaceful utilization of atomic energy in CEMA-member countries will be developed rapidly and dynamically in the interest of increasing their scientific and technical potential, upgrading the prosperity of the working people, and insuring the successful building of socialism and communism.

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