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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 13, September 1979



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USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 13, September 1979

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

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1979

FROM KARL MARX' MANUSCRIPT LEGACY ABOUT RUSSIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 3-6

[Text] The Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee has in its possession manuscripts by Karl Marx written as a result of a special study of Russian sources he undertook from the end of 1869 to the final weeks of his life. The author's purpose was to collect data for corresponding parts of "Das Kapital," and for determining Russia's revolutionary potential following the so-called emancipation of the peasants in 1861.

The close ties linking K. Marx with the Russian revolutionaries, scientists, and representatives of progressive public opinion, who supplied him with various sources, including official publications on the socioeconomic development of the country after the abolition of serfdom, were a manifestation of K. Marx' exceptional interest in Russia.

The extensive manuscripts left by Marx--summaries, annotations, and rough drafts dealing with specific problems--have already largely been published within the "Marx and Engels Archives" series (volumes 11-13) and in a number of volumes of the second edition of K. Marx' and F. Engels' "Sochineniya" [Works].

The profound, intensive, and lengthy study of sources in the Russian language which Marx specially studied for the purpose, enabled him to draw in a number of documents (letter to the editors of OTECHESTVENNYE ZAPISKI, appeal to the participants in the Slavic Meeting in London in honor of the anniversary of the Paris Commune, the preface to the Russian edition of the Communist Party Manifesto, the letter to V. Zasulich, etc.) most important conclusions on the rapid development of capitalism in Russia, the mass ruination of the peasantry and the establishment of a proletariat, and the ripening of a "terrible" and "most tremendous social revolution," in the country which would play a tremendous role in the development of the global revolutionary process.

Marx' manuscripts on Russia make it possible to gain a fuller idea of his creative biography and to broaden our knowledge of the direction and content of his research in the final period of his life, which the most severely distorted by the enemies of Marxism. These manuscripts make it possible to

expose the falsifiers of Russian history and of Marxism-Leninism. As we know, the bourgeois historians and "Marxologists" present the statements made by Marx and Engels on czarism as their attitude toward the Russian people. They stubbornly conceal the results of Marx' profoundly scientific study of the socioeconomic situation of the peoples in our country and their extremely high revolutionary potential. They conceal the very fact of the existence of a manuscript legacy on the subject of Russia left by Marx.

The complete texts of excerpts of Marx' annotated summaries, published here for the first time, will be included in the 16th volume of the "Marx and Engels Archives," prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee. The first part of the volume will include the second half of the big manuscript entitled "Summary of the 'Proceedings of the Taxation Commission.'" The beginning of the manuscript (over 20 printer's sheets) was included in the 13th volume of the "Archives."

The "Proceedings of the Taxation Commission" is one of the most important among the limited number of sources containing statistical data on Russian agriculture in the 1860's-1870's. They are distinguished both by the considerable volume of figure and other factual data as well as their greater consistency with the real situation. The "Proceedings of the Taxation Commission" were not "for public use," but only for a small circle of czarist specialist called upon to review the tax system following the abolition of serfdom. The democratic-leaning rural intelligentsia (teachers, agronomists, physicians) were recruited to collect factual data. V. I. Lenin highly valued the "Proceedings of the Taxation Commission" as a source. The work was delivered to K. Marx in 1875 by N. F. Danielson, the translator of "Das Kapital," who had access to the work for a short while by virtue of his official status.

The excerpts published from Marx' notes on the "Proceedings of the Taxation Commission" are a summary of the sources (opinions of guberniya zemstvo assemblies, guberniya and uyezd administrations, and working commissions), to which Marx added his own remarks.

K. Marx passionately exposed the predatory nature of the 1861 reform, the policy of the czarist government hostile to the peasants, and the predatory aspirations and actions of the landowners. He depicted the collective guarantee and other vestiges of serfdom which heavily oppressed the multi-million strong Russian peasantry.

The text of K. Marx' own remarks and individual words and expressions he included in describing the source are printed in darker characters or with greater spacing between letters if emphasized by Marx. Words and expressions Marx emphasized in the summarized source are presented in a lighter print. Words written by Marx in Russian are noted in the text with an asterisk. The square brackets, symbols, and marginal markings are Marx'.

The publication was prepared by R. P. Konyusha, senior associate at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee.

"Voronezhskaya Guberniya* Commission: Here the wish of the society* is the base for the land* utilization by individuals and in which the peasant* apportionment is the basis for taxation. Here the collective* guarantee,* used as a deterrent, is an inevitable phenomenon without which anyone without any influence on the assemblies,* would have their land interests harmed or would pay excessive taxes. The elimination of the poll* tax would not eliminate the quit-rent tax.* [This is the skeleton in the closet. The landowners are interested in their own rent tax* payments even though here the rent tax paid to the state alone is mentioned.]"

"The Ryazanskaya Guberniya* Authority* (p 159). It is natural that the current burdening of a single class with taxes should create, particularly among the orderly taxpayers--the most prosperous peasants--the aspiration to get out of this class. For this reason the mutual* guarantee* will convert our rural societies* into organized masses of impoverished taxpayers, whose reciprocal guarantee will not insure the payment of taxes. [Such is the inner dialectics of the mutual* guarantee* of the Russian taxation system: mutual guarantee means poverty.]"

"Khersonskaya Guberniya* Zemstvo* Assembly.* The intention is to interfere in the family life of the people--to keep together those who want to get away. Such considerations should be considered in terms of financial measures (pp 161-162). [Another point of dialectics is the following: The patriarchal family breaks down with the abolition of serfdom; at the same time, however, communal ownership, based on parcel ownership, brings about the worst possible consequences incompatible with this form (and, particularly, with mutual* guarantee*)--parcel ownership.]" +

"Penzenskaya Guberniya* Authority:* There has been a great deal of talk and writing² on the harm of family divisions to the prosperity of the peasants. This view developed thanks to the custom to supervise the rural population and was originated when the peasants were paying most of their dues* in kind. Today, when the peasants are paying their heavy taxes,* dues,* and quit-rents in cash, the more freedom they are granted in their domestic life the easier will it be for them to make their payments.* [Another type of dialectics would be that economically money payments would be preferable, whereas politically the desire is to retain the dependent and idiotic relations sanctified by custom, related to a barter economy . . .] + Furthermore--a hygienically and morally necessary improvement of peasant housing is inconceivable with the cohabitation of different families in the same hut, a stifling hut in which all ages and sexes sinfully huddle together on the floor."

"Poltavskaya* Guberniya* Authority.* If peasant lands are heavily taxed (whoever the tax collector may be) with a special land tax from which land belonging to the nobility and to others is free, this would lower the price (value)³ of peasant land [compared with other land]. Would such an aspiration be just, particularly in terms of land* bought by the peasants at legal prices? (p 329).

[Here the Russian government with its swindling, presented as philanthropy, is caught red handed. It begins by forcing the peasants to purchase land at higher prices so that they may become "owners." Once the peasants have been swindled [furthermore, the danger exists that those temporarily committed may give up their allotments], the government drops the market price of such land, imposes an exceptionally heavy land-tax, and perpetuates its serfdom nature, converting the tax from a poll tax to a land tax.]"

"To article 33. (According to which in rural communities* with a municipal* use of the land, society* is responsible with a mutual* guarantee* for the payment of the household* tax* and land* tax* of each of its members; an exception is made of settlements* with less than 12 households.*)"

[Regardless of the fact that the farmstead* and, consequently, the homestead* is hereditary private ownership, now, with the municipal* use of the land the taxation* commission, pretending that it is trying to eliminate the mutual* guarantee,* suggests that it apply to the poll tax* that it is planning as well; this is precisely the way the Russian government of the nobility established the reciprocal* guarantee* for state taxes even where private land ownership predominates among the peasants (in the northwestern and Baltic guberniyas).]"

". . . The so-called joint* economic capital of the peasants (for comestible goods*) has been transferred under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. . . . However, the economic capital accumulated in governmental estates has remained definitively in the hands of the government. [In other words: it stole it from the peasants!] Furthermore, as before, it collects a public* tax.* [Consequently, also from the share allocated not for governmental needs but for the needs of the peasants themselves. Once again this is a monstrous swindle! Such is the case when the Russian government turns itself into a trustee!]"

"Chairman of the Venevskaya* Authority* (Tul'skaya Guberniya) Uvarov. The peasants are given the complete opportunity to earn maximum income from their land. The other landowners are totally dependent on them because of the need for peasant manpower. Because of laziness, carelessness, and apathy on the subject of improving their position and their living and housing conditions, the peasants scorn earnings* and put the other landowners into a hopeless* situation. (Quite a prophecy!*) Particularly when a good crop is harvested from their communal lands they refuse to work even for the highest wages. [This is exactly the complaint of capitalists in British colonies!]"

"Saint Petersburg Uyezd* Authority:* Data are given on the excessively burdensome peasant taxes, which explains the arrears.* 'This situation,' the authority* states, 'is harmful to the state, the landowners, manufacturers, merchants, and other residents, along with those in arrears* in the area, for it blocks its [the area's] economic development. Yet, the Petersburg Uyezd* is far from being among the poorest of the empire' (pp 706, 707). [What a brilliant confirmation of the prosperity of the uyezd* in which the capital is located!]"

"Extract from the decree* of Kiev Guberniya* and other offices:* The tax on peasant land* must be higher than that of landowners,* because the peasants have more manpower and working capital per desyatina than the landowners* (p 217). [According to this logic the less land is given to a person the heavier the tax he should pay, for a person who has only one sazhen' has probably more working capital and, as a one-man working force, more manpower.] This guberniya has a large number of small holders,* citizens,* free* people, colonists, and petit bourgeois* who inhabit entire settlements, slobodas,* and colonies, living in their own homes but on landowners'* lands* (pp 217, 218)."

FOOTNOTES

1. The precise title of the source is "Proceedings of the Commission Set Up by Supreme Authority for Reviewing the System of Taxes and Fees." The "Proceedings of the Taxation Commission" were obtained by Marx in the middle of December 1875. By then the first 22 volumes of the "Proceedings" had already been published along with data in the supplement "Collection of Views by Guberniya Offices on Peasant Affairs and Conclusions of Governors on the Plan for the Reorganization of the Poll Tax System Drafted by the Ministry of Finance" (in two sections. Saint Petersburg, 1873-1874).

K. Marx immediately undertook to study the 10 volumes containing particularly important data, sent to him by N. F. Daniyel'son. Between December 1875 and February 1876 he made abundant notes in big notebooks he number IV, V, VI, and VII. Completing his study of the volumes, Marx sent them back to Petersburg.

2. In the "Proceedings": "stated and written."
3. In the "Proceedings": "value."
4. Here Marx paraphrased the words from Shakespeare's comedy "Midsummer Night's Dream" (act V, scene 1): "Well roared, Lion!"

5003

CSO: 1802

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 7-9

[CC CPSU statement]

[Text] The CC CPSU considered the results of the Crimean meetings and talks conducted between L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman on the one hand, and G. Husak, CC Communist Party of Czechoslovakia general secretary and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic president, E. Honecker, CC SED general secretary and State Council chairman, N. Ceausescu, Romanian Communist Party general secretary and Socialist Republic of Romania president, E. Gierek, CC PZPR first secretary, T. Zhivkov, CC BCP first secretary and Bulgarian People's Republic State Council chairman, and Yu. Tsedenbal, chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, on the other.

The CPSU Central Committee highly rates and fully approves Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's activities. Together with the talks which L. I. Brezhnev held with J. Kadar, CC MSZMP first secretary, in the course of the recent visit of the Soviet Party-Government delegations to the Hungarian People's Republic, the Crimean meetings and talks of 1979 represent an important stage in the further strengthening of the interaction among fraternal countries in the solution of domestic and international problems.

The particular significance of these meetings is that they focused on long-term problems of decisive importance to long-range cooperation among socialist countries. What makes this more important is that the communist and workers' parties of the socialist part of the world are entering their pre-congress period in the course of which the next big landmarks will be earmarked in the efforts to build a new society.

The 1979 Crimean meetings prove that the socialist countries are confidently progressing in their sociopolitical and economic development. Their achievements stand out in particular against the background of the situation in the capitalist world, characterized by the further growth of crisis phenomena.

Yet, the socialist countries also take into consideration that the increased complexity of the world's economic situation creates certain problems which

affect them. In particular, this applies to maintaining the high level reached in the consumption of petroleum and petroleum products, and insuring the steady growth of power generating capacities.

Joining efforts in resolving the energy problem, as exemplified by the joint construction of the powerful Soyuz Gas Pipeline, the big program for the building of nuclear electric power plants, the intensive work done to develop new sources of energy, and the orientation toward the use of progressive technology in the utilization of traditional resources, the members of the socialist comity are creating a stable base for the further growth of their national economies.

The CPSU Central Committee notes with satisfaction that the fraternal countries are firmly following the course of development and intensification of cooperation and specialization among the socialist economies, as reflected in the results of the Crimean meetings as well. This course is reliably leading to reaching the peaks of scientific and technical progress and upgrading production effectiveness and quality in the interest of improving further the prosperity of the people in the socialist countries.

The long-term target cooperation programs, approved by CEMA, and the soon-to-be-completed drafting of bilateral documents for the long-term development of production specialization and cooperation, face the USSR Gosplan and all Soviet ministries and departments involved in cooperation with the fraternal countries with new and responsible tasks of great national and international importance. Their systematic implementation will become an organic part of the next 11th Five-Year Plan.

The 1979 Crimean meetings reasserted the inflexible support by the fraternal socialist countries of the policy of peace and peaceful cooperation. A systematic line of restraining and eliminating the arms race, and a clear orientation toward detente and adding military to political detente, as well as support of the rights of the peoples to free and independent development are the topical directions of socialist foreign policy, firmly supported during the Crimean meetings.

The main problem in current international life is to limit and terminate the arms race. It is the belief of the socialist countries that the conclusion of the new Soviet-American SALT agreement is a major step precisely in this direction. The treaty convincingly proves that, given goodwill, it is entirely possible to find mutually acceptable solutions even for the most complex problems directly affecting the security of the countries.

Progress in military detente could be secured only if all parties pursue this objective. At the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, the Committee for Disarmament, and at other talks on restraining the arms race, the socialist countries are adamantly seeking constructive solutions and are calling upon the Western countries to match their efforts. Naturally, there neither is nor could there be any sensible justification of the aspiration of some NATO circles to pile up on the

territories of Western European countries more and more mountains of armaments, including some with a monstrous destructive effect. The military balance in Europe is a reality. It is entirely possible to reduce, step by step, the level of the armed forces and armaments of the confronting groups in this area.

The systematic and full implementation of the stipulations of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki--supported by all fraternal socialist countries--would reliably help to turn Europe into a continent of lasting peace, good neighborly relations, and cooperation.

Together with the other members of the Warsaw Pact the Soviet Union adamantly promotes the expansion of measures for strengthening reciprocal trust in Europe and reducing the military confrontation between socialist and capitalist countries. The convening for such a purpose of a European conference, with the participation of the United States and Canada, as suggested by the members of the Warsaw Pact, and the successful implementation of the forthcoming Madrid meeting could substantially contribute to the normalizing of the political climate in Europe and throughout the world.

The CPSU Central Committee deems it essentially important that the need to continue to strengthen the international solidarity of the socialist states with all nations targets of imperialist and hegemonistic pressure was emphasized at the Crimean meetings. In this connection the danger was noted of the continuing expansionist policy pursued by Beijing as well as the reasserted solidarity with the Soviet Union with Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. The right of all nations to be the masters of their destiny is sacred and must be strictly respected.

The Soviet Union shares and supports the peace-loving, anti-imperialist, and anti-colonialist objectives of the Sixth Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Non-Aligned Countries to be held this September in Havana.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the respective ministries and departments to take practical measures for the implementation of the tasks stemming from the talks conducted between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of fraternal parties and countries.

5003
CSO: 1802

POWERFUL MEANS FOR THE UNITY OF THE SOVIET PEOPLES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 10-22

[Article by Sh. Rashidov, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Uzbekistan CC Communist Party]

[Text] I

The chronicles of world history contain a number of great exploits. However, there is hardly any one of them that could compare in terms of scope and mass nature with the accomplishments of the Soviet people. Our state is young, numbering only a few decades. The exploits of its citizens--military and labor--prove the invincible force of Marxism-Leninism, moral purity, and moral maturity of the Soviet people whose spiritual qualities, hammered in the crucible of the October Revolution, are tempering and maturing in the course of the building of communism.

It is no accident that it is precisely the Soviet people, the builders of the most splendid society on earth, who became the main character in the outstanding works of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. Penetrating sharply into the core of events, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes in each of these truthful and truly exciting and instructive books, above all, the deeply international nature of the objectives and actions of the Soviet people, whether in terms of war or peaceful construction.

"Socialism," we read in "Tselina," "has long confirmed that the more intensive the growth of each of the national republics is, the clearer the process of internationalization becomes." Referring to the vivid example provided by Kazakhstan, Leonid Il'ich presents an impressive depiction of the Virgin Land as a true school for communist education and as a beneficial factor under whose influence the republic became a "planet of 100 languages." This image contains a great all-embracing meaning, for fraternal friendship and reciprocal aid among all our nations have always been, are, and will remain an objective law of the building of communism.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's recollections are a convincing proof of the unparalleled combat and labor exploit accomplished under the leadership of the

Leninist party by all the nations and nationalities of our country, headed by the great Russian people. At the same time, it is a splendid model of the inexhaustible possibilities of the Russian language.

Like all Soviet people, the working people of Uzbekistan welcomed the fact that Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev was awarded the Lenin Prize for these splendid books and for his tireless struggle for peace, with a feeling of tremendous joy and profound satisfaction.

Socialist ideology has developed in the toiling masses of all nations and nationalities in our country a great understanding of national interests. We describe as a mark of the times the voluntary resettlement of tens of thousands of people of different nationalities and rayons to the biggest construction projects and in the areas of development of new lands. Thus, members of several tens of nationalities participated in the conversion of Golodnaya Steppe into a major cotton-growing base and a center of rapidly developing multisectorial economy. The Russian language, fulfilling a noble international mission, united, rallied, and helped them in their common toil and constant communication.

Let us recall the time of the rebuilding of Tashkent after the 1966 earthquake, when the sons and daughters of all Soviet peoples came to the capital of Uzbekistan to clear up the consequences of the earthquake. In those memorable days a number of languages could be heard but Russian was predominant. It was precisely in Russian that the members of the various nations and nationalities communicated among themselves, shared views, and discussed matters. Tashkent was reborn with the help of all republics in the Soviet Union without exception, and became one of the most beautiful cities in our powerful multinational homeland.

The Russian language is the language of unification and close cooperation among people of tens of nationalities at the biggest construction projects of the five-year plan. This is the language of friendship, fraternity, and mutual understanding spoken by the envoys of Uzbekistan who are helping the Russian Federation in the development of the Nonchernozem Zone and participating in the building of the Baykal-Amur Main Line and the Kama Automotive Vehicles Plant.

All languages in our country--there are over 130 in the USSR--are steadily developing and, with every passing year, becoming more vivid, richer, more colorful and varied. Their equality and the lack of any special privilege granted to any one of them are codified by law. Let us look at article 36 of the USSR Constitution. It states that, "The citizens of the USSR, whatever their race and nationality, enjoy equal rights."

The exercise of these rights is backed by a policy of all-round development and rapprochement among all nations and nationalities in the USSR, the raising of the citizens in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and the possibility to use their native language and the languages of the other peoples of the USSR.

The peoples of the Soviet Union voluntarily chose the Russian language--the most widespread in our country and one of the richest in the world--as the language in which they communicate. Today it is the native language of this truly international community which unites over 100 nations and nationalities in the USSR, and an effective and powerful factor for communications among all Soviet people. The fast growth of international relations and cooperation, as stated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, enhances the significance of the Russian language.

The Russian language is the language of the great Lenin, the language of a giant people possessing the richest possible democratic and revolutionary traditions and the highest culture. It is the language of the builders of the new society for which the best minds of mankind dreamed over the centuries. It is the language of contemporary science, technology, and culture.

The Russian language is the link binding the Soviet multinational state with the peoples the world over. It is the voice of peace, and the passionate appeal for equality, fraternity, and friendship among the peoples, and of the unification of their efforts for the sake of peace and social progress.

The interests of the building of communism and the vital needs of each nation demand a profound knowledge of Russian by Soviet people of all nationalities. In union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts it is spreading in an atmosphere of ever greater aspiration of the native population toward mastering the Russian language as its own.

This explains the great interest shown in the all-union theoretical science conference on "The Russian Language--Language of Friendship and Cooperation among the Peoples of the USSR," held in March 1979 in Tashkent, attended not only by specialists in linguistics but the broadest possible public. The delegates to the conference comprehensively discussed problems of the study and teaching of the Russian language and summed up the experience acquired in this important matter.

In his message of greetings to the conference, imbued with a truly Leninist attitude toward the further advancement of international communications, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, wrote: "The free mastery of the Russian language, along with one's own native language, voluntarily accepted as a common historical property of all Soviet people, contributes to the further strengthening of the political, economic, and spiritual unity of the Soviet people. . . . Lenin's dream of seeing to it that every citizen in our country 'has the possibility to learn the great Russian language' is being successfully implemented. Your conference will contribute to the implementation of this noble task."

The conference became an important event in the life of all Soviet peoples and yet another vivid manifestation of their unity, friendship, and cooperation. At the same time, it proved the tireless attention which our party's Central Committee pays to the dissemination of the Russian language, required

by the expanded scale of the building of communism, the solution of socio-economic problems and problems related to the ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing, and improved propaganda of the Soviet way of life.

The all-union conference made a proper contribution to the solution of the major and responsible assignments formulated by the CC CPSU and Soviet Government to the educational system. It provided a new impetus for the further improvement in the study and teaching of the Russian language. It made it possible to upgrade the theoretical level of research in this area and to insure the more efficient practical treatment of the considered problems.

II

Currently over 2,000 different languages are spoken in the world. Each of them develops in close contact with the history of the people, the nature of the country, and the characteristics of production forces and production relations, and has its unique qualities and richness, reflecting the specific features of the people's life.

Yet, as Lenin pointed out, the requirements of socioeconomic and cultural progress determine the need for the use of the most developed and widespread languages as languages for international communication--global languages. Russian is precisely such a language. It has not only developed to perfection its stylistic means of expression but formulated a streamlined system of lexicographic and structural-syntactic units which insure the transmission of the most complex philosophical and natural scientific categories of human thinking.

The founders of scientific communism rated the Russian language exceptionally highly. In order to be able to study Russian language publications, in the 52nd year of his life Karl Marx undertook its study. Approximately six months later he had mastered it to such an extent as to read in the original the works of Herzen, Dobrolyubov, Chernyshevskiy, and Saltykov-Shchedrin.

Friedrich Engels invariably emphasized the merits of the Russian language. Being an outstanding linguist who had mastered to perfection several of the most developed languages of antiquity and contemporary Europe, he provided a most competent and scientifically objective assessment of the Russian language, considering it one of the strongest and richest among the living languages. "How beautiful the Russian language is!" he exclaimed (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 36, p 106).

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin repeatedly emphasized the richness, strength, and beauty of the Russian language. On the basis of his profound knowledge of the economic, political and cultural development of Russia, he clearly depicted the progressive significance of the Russian language to the Russian peoples. Lenin's works are a classical model of scientific publicism and a most outstanding phenomenon in the history of the Russian language.

A number of Russian public figures of the past drew attention to the brilliant expressive qualities of the Russian language. How can we forget the words of

M. V. Lomonosov: "As the ruler of many languages, the Russian language is not only extensively practiced where it rules but is the greatest of European languages in scope and sufficiency. . . . Most refined philosophical considerations and views, and a great variety of natural characteristics and changes found in the entire visible structure of the world and in human relations may be properly and expertly described in our country."

We find in the classics of Russian literature--A. S. Pushkin, N. V. Gogol, I. S. Turgenev, N. A. Nekrasov, A. P. Chekhov, and others--inordinately apt, precise, and highly artistic statements on the wealth and expressiveness of the Russian language.

A. N. Tolstoy considered the Russian language the greatest achievement of human linguistic culture. "The Russian language must become a global language," he predicted prophetically. "The time will come (it is not far away), when the Russian language will begin to be studied in all meridians on earth."

Despite the attempts of the exploiting classes to turn the Russian language into a tool of national oppression, it always performed progressive historical functions--bringing to the working people of different nations and nationalities the light of knowledge and progressive ideas. The peoples themselves, their progressive sociopolitical leaders, scientists, and writers acknowledged the high historical mission of the Russian language.

Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, M. Bogdanovich, Ya. Luchina, Abay Kunanbayev, I. Chavchavadze, A. Tsereteli, M. Akhundov, Mukimi, Khamza, K. Negruttsi, Yu. Zhemayte, F. Kreytval'd, Gabdulla Tukay, and many others considered the Russian language a powerful source for the spiritual development of their peoples.

Zakirdzhan Furkat, the outstanding Uzbek scientist and poet-democrat, called for friendship with the Russian people, emphasizing that it will bring the Uzbek people freedom, social progress, and enlightenment. "If the Russian people's suggestion was that we study their language and literacy," Furkat said, "they do not wish us ill. On the contrary, they would like for our country to blossom and the population to prosper. The Russian people always see to it that we are taken care of and are satisfied."

The famous Uzbek educators Mukimi Sattarkhan and Iskhakkhan believed that the entire wealth of scientific knowledge could not be mastered without the Russian language. They persuaded their compatriots that knowledge of the Russian language will contribute to the reciprocal rapprochement between the two peoples and the strengthening of their friendship. With his typical passion Khamza Khakim-zade, the loyal son of the Uzbek people, and the fiery patriot and internationalist, called for the extensive study of the language, customs, and culture of the great Russian people.

As a result of the victory of the October Revolution and the building of the new society, all the peoples of our country rallied within a single fraternal

family. Within the Soviet multinational state the aspiration of the non-Russian peoples to master the Russian language is growing steadily. The knowledge of Russian has become a vital need for all Soviet citizens.

III

Displaying very high concern for the fate of big and small nations, Lenin invariably opposed the suppression of the cultures and languages of national minorities. He favored the all-round development and spiritual reciprocal enrichment of all nations. As a convinced supporter of the policy of equality of nations, he opposed any attempt to impose by force the Russian language on other peoples. Lenin was convinced that the development of Russia along the path of social progress will inevitably bring about the extensive and voluntary mastery of the Russian language by the entire multinational population of the country.

The cultural revolution in the USSR was a truly epoch-making event in the history of mankind. The elimination of illiteracy became one of its first steps. This was the great social lever for the involvement of the broadest possible masses in active political, production, and cultural life.

The development of national languages helped to struggle against backwardness. It contributed to the growth of culture and the mobilization of the working people for resolving the problems of the building of socialism. The expansion of the fraternal mutual aid and cooperation among the peoples of the country placed on the agenda the question of the use of a single language for the implementation of a variety of international relations in all fields of material production and spiritual life. Russian was voluntarily elected to be such a language.

The establishment of the Russian language as a means for international communication was an objective need, for socialism was built through joint labor and through the coordinated activities of all nations and nationalities in the country. Foreseeing this process, Lenin wrote: ". . . Economic requirements will always force nationalities living within a single state (for as long as they wish to live together) to study the language of the majority . . . and to determine themselves the language of a given country, the mastery of which will benefit the majority in terms of trade relations. What will make this choice stronger will be the fact that it will be adopted voluntarily by the different nations, the more rapidly and extensively the more systematic democracy becomes . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, pp 423, 424-425).

The accelerated upsurge of the economy of all republics is insured through the reciprocal aid and cooperation among nations and nationalities and intensified economic specialization. This improves economic relations among republics and the exchange of material and spiritual values. In the course of the development of industry and agricultural collectivization multinational production collectives developed in which an international language became the main tool for communication among people. This made possible the reciprocal

understanding among tens of nations and nationalities speaking in different languages, the coordination of joint actions among republics for the sake of an economic upsurge, and the creation of the material and technical foundations for socialism and communism.

No social system has created such conditions for the development of national languages as socialism. Under the Soviet system some 50 languages acquired an alphabet for the first time, enriched their vocabulary, and formulated their literary standards. Fiction, scientific and technical, and other works are published in all the languages of the peoples of our country.

The Leninist national policy implemented by our party has always taken into consideration the interests and vital requirements of each people, nation, and nationality in the country. In the process of the building and strengthening of socialism, all national languages were developed and the Russian language spread among all nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups.

As the language of fraternity and cooperation among peoples, the Russian language played an important role in the development of the working class and the national intelligentsia, for it is a true mine of knowledge, active carrier of the ideas of creative Marxism-Leninism, a treasury of spiritual wealth, and an effective means for the exposure of the masses to the civilization of mankind.

Communism is based on everything best created by mankind over many centuries of material and spiritual development. The Russian language as well plays an ever greater role in the building of communism. The Soviet age enriched it with new elements in the fields of vocabulary and phraseology. Today the Russian language has become the most important source for the enrichment of international vocabulary and for the dissemination of new concepts and terms throughout the earth. Lenin himself noted the exceptional international familiarity and popularity of the Russian word "soviet." ". . . Throughout the world," he wrote, "the word 'soviet' has become not only understandable but popular and favorite of the workers and all working people" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," vol 38, p 238).

Words such as Leninism, Bolshevism, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, Komsomol, five-year plan, and many others have firmly become part of international concepts. Today the Russian language is the language of space technology, nuclear physics, and modern chemistry. Virtually all nations and nationalities use Russian terms and words (or else those which have become popular through it), such as "sputnik" and "lunnik." International concepts such as innovator, rationalizer, mechanizer, etc, have become firmly established in the languages of the socialist nations.

The exceptional wealth of vocabulary, inexhaustible stylistic possibilities, and extensive scientific terminology contributed and continue to contribute to the utilization of the Russian language as an international language, making it possible for the members of all the peoples of our multinational country to express in it the entire variety of their thoughts and feelings.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" indicates the main directions, and ways and means of ideological-educational activities under developed socialist conditions, clearly earmarking the task of intensifying its influence on upgrading the level of communist awareness and creative activity of the Soviet people, and of promoting intolerance of bourgeois ideology and morality.

Problems related to the study and teaching of the Russian language hold an important position in the comprehensive work done by the Leninist party for the communist education of the masses. At the mature socialist stage its growing role is determined by the further development of national relations, intensification of international relations, expansion of the impact of the scientific and technical revolution, and the growth of the spiritual requirements of all of our nations and nationalities.

A characteristic feature of the development of national relations at the present stage is the increased multinational nature of the population in republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons. Along with the considerable natural growth of native populations in each republic, as a rule the number of people belonging to other nationalities within it rises. In Uzbekistan, for example, there are members of over 100 nations and nationalities. The Russian language is the most important means for communication among them, and for information related to their joint work.

The blossoming and rapprochement among nations take place simultaneously under socialism. These are two interrelated and interdependent aspects of a single objective process. Each of them is a prerequisite for the development of the other. The blossoming of nations creates conditions for the intensification of their reciprocal relations, expansion of cooperation and, consequently, their rapprochement. Yet, the closer the nations are drawn to each other, the more extensively and closely they cooperate, the more complete the process of their reciprocal enrichment becomes, and the faster and more comprehensively each one of them develops.

The effect of these interrelated progressive trends appears in all realms of social life, including interlinguistic relations. The national languages blossom and, at the same time, the Russian language--the universally acknowledged means for international communication, becomes ever more widespread among the various nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups.

Under mature socialist conditions, the rapprochement among nations assumes a leading trend in the development of national relations. The further intensification of the fraternal cooperation among soviet nations, the decisions of the 25th party congress emphasized, and the steady growth of their international comity and unity are based on the solid foundation of a single national economic complex and the factual equality among nations, established in all realms of our society. At the developed socialist stage economic cooperation among them has acquired the form of a united, joint, combined

labor based on all-union division. The joint toil of the Soviet people leads to the creation of major national economic projects. It is entirely natural that as a language of international communication among members of all nations and nationalities, the Russian language plays a most important role. It is one of the worldwide languages on the basis of which the contemporary scientific and technical, sociopolitical, and humanitarian terminology has been factually developed and shaped. Over one-third of all scientific and technical work published in the world is in the Russian language, which concentrates within it the knowledge of mankind.

The differentiation among the various scientific and technical sectors intensifies under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution. New scientific areas and directions appear, not as yet reflected in the languages not only of a number of autonomous republics and national okrugs, but of some union republics as well. However, everything new always enters the Russian language. The peoples of our country can see through their own experience that with its help the latest achievements of world science and technology become accessible.

The Soviet people have only one homeland--the USSR--and one goal, the building of communism. They have a single ideology--Marxism-Leninism--and a single leader and guide--the party of the great Lenin. They are united on a common political foundation--the soviets of people's deputies--and a single economic foundation--the socialist economic system. They have a single social awareness, the socialist, and a single civic self-awareness, the national pride of the Soviet person, the feeling that everyone, regardless of nationality, belongs to the Soviet people. They have a common socialist way of life shared by all nations and nationalities.

"The formation of a historically new social and international community--the Soviet people," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has stressed, "is an important characteristic of developed socialism in our country, an indicator of the growing homogeneousness of Soviet society, and a triumph of CPSU national policy. This means that, gradually, common features of behavior, character, and outlook shared by the Soviet people, commonly shared, independent of social and national distinctions, are gradually assuming a decisive significance in our country."

The new historical community--the over 260-million-strong Soviet people--is multinational and multilinguistic. However, the accelerated pace of development of the country today largely depends on the speed and operativeness with which the useful experience of each nation is transmitted to all others. In practice, linguistic communication is achieved most frequently through the comprehensive use of bilingualism.

According to the 1970 population census, 141.8 million out of 241.7 million people considered Russian and their native language. Additionally, some 42 million named it as their second fluently spoken language. Consequently, at that time there were 184 million people in our country who had freely mastered the Russian language. This is over three-quarters of the total USSR population.

This reemphasizes the unequivocal truth that the aspiration of the citizens of our multinational state to master the Russian language has become an adamant need. Today it is not only the basic language for scientific and technical and cultural exchanges among the peoples of the USSR but the principal intermediary in the process of the enrichment of their scientific and technical and spiritual life. The fluent mastery of Russian arms the citizens of our country with the most advanced tool for communication and social development.

The dissemination of bilingualism is particularly important in the blossoming and rapprochement among national cultures and the all-round development of the single Soviet socialist culture, which is a high stage in the contemporary spiritual progress of mankind. Learning from other nations and, at the same time, making universally accessible the cultural achievements of one's own is the logic of the progressive process of cultural interaction and reciprocal enrichment under mature socialist conditions.

National cultures no longer live a closed and isolated life. Their very development is possible only on the basis of interconnection and interaction. The Russian language is the tool for such interaction, cementing the single Soviet socialist culture. Today the nations particularly need such stable bridges in the big world which is always richer, wider, and more varied than the cultural world of the individual nation.

The Russian language is a means objectively contributing to the broadening of economic and cultural cooperation, the establishment of all possible ties and contacts, the dissemination of information, and the exchange of experience. A person who has mastered it can fully master the historical power of a scientific outlook and the achievements of spiritual and moral progress, as well as an awareness of his role and place in today's world.

As we know, belles lettres offer the broadest possible opportunities for the study of the spiritual world, way of life, mores, and traditions of each nation with everything that is best and progressive in its culture. Our country pays tremendous attention to translations from national languages into Russian and from Russian into national languages. Thanks to this the works of fraternal literatures become accessible to all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The outstanding achievements of Uzbek Soviet literature and the extensive possibilities opened to it became possible above all because it developed and is developing in inseparable unity with the entire multinational Soviet literature. Today the works of Uzbek writers are known in all fraternal republics and have reached the world arena. In turn, nearly all important works of fraternal literatures and foreign authors have been translated and published in the national language of Uzbekistan.

". . . Today in Turkmenia or Moldavia," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "tens and hundreds of thousands of people read, are familiar with, and love like their own native writers, Pushkin and Shevchenko, Gor'kiy, and Mayakovskiy,

Sholokhov and Tvardovskiy, and Fedin and Stel'makh. The ancient yet ever young epic Shota Rustaveli, and the outstanding works of Vilis Latsis, Abay Kunanbayev, and Chingiz Aytmatov, and the beautiful poems of Yanka Kupala, Samed Vurgun, Rasul Gamzatov, Eduardas Mezhelaitis, Mustay Karim, and many, many others have become an inseparable part of the cultural baggage of a Russian or a Ukrainian."

Today the Russian language is the promoter and protector of the culture of all the peoples of our multinational Soviet state. It is also a window opening into the tremendous world of the cultural values of contemporary mankind.

The tremendous expansion of scientific and technical and cultural relations with foreign countries led to the increased need and requirement of the peoples of the USSR freely to master the Russian language. Russian became one of the five official languages of the United Nations. Russian speech may be heard in many international congresses, conferences, and symposiums. Today it could be heard on all continents and in the most remote corners on earth.

The successes of the Soviet people, universally acknowledged, have triggered abroad the desire for close economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation with our country, and the wish to make fuller use of the experience of the Soviet Union. A number of countries are paying ever greater attention to the study of the Russian language. "As a means for communication of the multimillion-strong and multinational Soviet people, the Russian language is becoming ever more widespread among the peoples of the world," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in his greetings to the participants in the Third International Congress of Russian Language and Literature Teachers, in Warsaw. "It is assisting the contribution of our country to the treasury of world culture, and providing access to the spiritual wealth of world civilization to the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries."

V

The correlation between the Russian language as a language of international communication and the national languages represents the embodiment of the dialectical unity between the international and the national.

The internationalization of all aspects of life of our society is characteristically refracted in the linguistic area: It intensifies and accelerates the dissemination of the international Russian language among the nations and nationalities of the USSR. It is under its influence that the linguistic comity is developing, in particular the comity of linguistic standards and international terminology included in the dictionaries of many languages, reflecting the changes occurring in the most important realms of social life—science, technology, politics, and culture. The Russian language enriches the other national languages with vocabulary and phraseology expressing new sociopolitical and economic relations and socialist ideology and way of life. At the same time, it actively accepts a number of lexicographic elements from other languages. A considerable percentage of such

vocabulary becomes, subsequently, accessible to the general vocabulary fund of the peoples of the USSR through the Russian language.

Thanks to the socialist system and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the contemporary Russian language has become richer and more advanced. It insures daily contacts among all Soviet peoples. It is a means for familiarization with the new national, Soviet traditions, customs, and behavioral norms.

Soviet reality totally refutes the blabberings of the enemies of socialism to the effect that bilingualism and the comprehensive dissemination of the Russian language leads to the "denationalization" of the local languages, and to their russification. The unity of the Soviet people does not mean in the least that nations and nationalities become diluted in some sort of supra-national formation as is broadcast by bourgeois propaganda which is trying to ascribe to our state the aspiration to unify the peoples within a "single nation" by force.

The imperialist ideologues are trying to prove that the CPSU national policy is allegedly directed toward the assimilation of national cultures and languages. All kinds of "Sovietologists" deliberately distort the true picture of relations among the peoples of our country and, above all, their truly fraternal attitude toward the Russian people. However, the practice of real socialism in the Soviet Union irrefutably proves to the entire world and convinces any unprejudiced person that the national languages in our country are developing freely and that borrowing from the Russian language only enriches them.

The development of the national cultures and languages of the peoples of the USSR was vividly and extremely precisely described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "Outstanding and original works of literature, painting, and music contributed by each of the peoples of the Soviet Union have become our common property. . . . All this and many, many other things which are simply too numerous to enumerate, represent the single common priceless national wealth of the Soviet people. Every Soviet person, all sons and daughters of our great multinational homeland, whatever their language, are justifiably proud of all this."

Under mature socialist conditions the new quality of a single social consciousness of the entire multinational population of the USSR and common features in the mentality of the Soviet people appear and develop. The national pride of the Soviet people is the result of the truly socialist solution of the national problem achieved by our state. This is an emotional-moral guideline for relations of friendship and cooperation among all nationalities, developed through the internationalist awareness of the united Soviet people.

Every Soviet person considers himself the representative of one or another nation. He displays national pride which also includes respect for the national characteristics, traditions, and cultures of other peoples. However, the main thing which characterizes the working people of all nations and

nationalities is the fact that they consider themselves part of the Soviet people as a single entity. It is a feeling of belonging on the part of the individual, regardless of his nationality, to the new historical community. The Soviet people are proud of the successes of their great fatherland, the achievements of the members of the socialist comity, and the revolutionary changes the world over.

The main objective of the building of communism is the creation of maximally favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual. This presumes, above all, the mastering of a Marxist-Leninist outlook and of the achievements of modern science, technology, and culture.

The Russian language plays an exceptional role in the solution of this problem. Thanks to it all nations and nationalities in our country have access to the treasury of Marxist-Leninist ideas. In the daily activities of the Leninist party, the socialist state of the whole people, and the Soviet people--the active builder of communism--the Russian language fulfills the role of the most important means for the molding of the individual.

The increased social significance of the Russian language as a language for international communication and cooperation among nations and nationalities in the USSR, and as an essential factor in the all-round and harmonious development of the people, and the upbringing of the growing generations in a spirit of internationalism, Soviet patriotism, and unbreakable friendship among nations, adamantly requires further improvements of all aspects of its study. Unfortunately, the proper importance of this is still not realized everywhere. The efforts to explain the importance of mastering the Russian language by people of all ages and in all professions is not always consistent with contemporary requirements.

The study of the Russian language is necessary also from the viewpoint of the interests of the USSR armed forces. The ranks of the Soviet Army must be reinforced by young troops with excellent mastery of the Russian language, capable of rapidly mastering the use of contemporary complex military equipment, and understanding all the fine points of the common and single army terminology.

The Uzbek party organization ascribes tremendous importance to the study and teaching of the Russian language. In recent years the republic's Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers passed a number of important decisions aimed at improving the teaching of the Russian language in preschool institutions, schools, technical schools, and VUZ's. Guided by these resolutions, and on the basis of adamant requests submitted by parents, the public education organs are doing extensive work. In particular, starting with the first grade, the teaching of the Russian language has been introduced in national schools. There are translation examinations in Russian. A new curriculum has been developed which takes more fully into consideration practical requirements and available experience.

In our republic the Russian language is studied along with the local language in all preschool institutions, general educational schools, other schools,

technical schools, and VUZ's. It is one of the basic subjects. Boarding schools offering the intensified study of the Russian language and literature have been established in all oblasts. Schools offering mixed language training, in which the training is conducted on a parallel basis in Uzbek and Russian have confirmed their adequacy. Practical experience indicates that here the effectiveness of the training is higher. The all-Soviet features of the people's character are molded more energetically, and the need to study the international Russian language is greater. The new forms of training strengthen the role of the school in the communist upbringing of the students.

The end purpose of the study of the Russian language in national schools is to make it a second native language, and a customary means for communication and exchange of knowledge, thoughts, and feelings. In this connection the curriculums call for a drastic intensification of practical training in mastering the Russian language and the faster and more effective mastery of the spoken and written language. A great deal has been done to strengthen the training-material facilities for the teaching of Russian language and literature, to equip classrooms, and supply them with technical facilities.

In this connection the press, radio, and television play a tremendous role. Great attention is paid to the self-training of young people and adults, and to improving the work of the various language courses and circles. New Russian language textbooks, aids, and dictionaries are being prepared through the joint efforts of teachers and scientific workers.

The republic is doing a great deal to improve the training of teaching cadres. Currently about 30,000 specialists are teaching Russian in Uzbek schools; Russian language and literature teachers are trained in 14 normal schools, 3 universities, and specialized secondary schools. For the past 16 years the specialized Institute for Russian Language and Literature has been successfully operating. It trains highly skilled educators for the national schools. Furthermore, hundreds of graduates of Uzbek schools are studying to become Russian language teachers in 30 pedagogical institutes in the Russian Federation and the Ukraine.

Today everyone engaged in the noble function of teaching the Russian language to the young generation has tremendous opportunities for successful and effective work and for using the treasury of Marxist-Leninist sociopolitical literature. In our republic the 45 volumes of V. I. Lenin's Complete Collected Works and the works by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course] have been translated into Uzbek and published. Russian language students have at their disposal extremely rich political, scientific and technical, and fiction works.

Thanks to the constant attention paid by the party organizations, the number of natives in the republic fluent in the Russian language is rising steadily.

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and Central Committee plenums, and other basic documents formulated by our party, and the interests of the

building of communism call for further improvements in the study and teaching of the Russian language. We must apply more extensively the new ways and means of training at all levels, from preschool institutions to VUZ's, courses, and circles. It is particularly important to make extensive use of technical training facilities and to intensify scientific research on the sociological, pedagogical, psychological, and linguistic problems of bilingualism, taking all age-group categories into consideration.

The headlong pace of scientific and technical progress raises new problems in the field of Russian language teaching. For example, for many years it was based in secondary schools essentially on the use of fiction for training and interpretation purposes. Now, when the role of vocational-technical education and of the interaction between the general and specialized training of the students has increased immeasurably, the training process must be saturated both with a general technical terminology and a terminology specific to a given profession. The teacher must display a certain knowledge in the details of industrial skills taught by vocational-technical schools training specialist.

It is important for Russian language teachers to use in their work the newest scientific and technical achievements and visual aids. We must focus our attention on the further intensification of the ideological-political, scientific-methodological, and professional training and on upgrading the skills of the teachers.

The mass-information media--press, radio, and television--must act as propagandists of the Russian language. They must explain thoroughly and knowledgeably its role as a cementing force of multinational labor collectives, particularly at the biggest construction projects, in areas where new production-territorial complexes are being created, and in the training of new detachments of the working class for industry and agriculture.

Further improvements in the study and teaching of Russian are of tremendous national and international significance. This is a complex problem, for it is political, ideological, linguistic, and pedagogical. Its successful solution requires the ever closer and stronger creative cooperation among specialists from all union republics. Such a consolidation of forces will make it possible to achieve even greater successes in the teaching of the Russian language--an important means for international communication among the peoples of the USSR.

Our multinational homeland is taking powerful steps forward. Our future is bright and splendid. Our objectives are clear and noble, and our progress toward communism is insurmountable. All nations and nationalities in the Land of the Soviets are united through common interests and ideals and are engaged in a historically unparalleled socioeconomic and cultural construction. The Russian language--our great resource and powerful means for the unification of all Soviet peoples--plays a tremendous role in this most important project.

As one of the richest languages in the world, the Russian language has a great historical future. It opens the way to the future of science, technology, and culture. Anyone who wishes to follow this road can see in it his support, and loyal friend and tutor.

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SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND PRODUCTION INTENSIFICATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 23-33

[Article by S. Pervushin, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] As a legitimate result of historical progress, the contemporary scientific and technical revolution is developing at a time whose basic social content is the transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale. Under those circumstances the development and effective utilization of science and technology become the most important battlefield of the historical confrontation between the two opposite social systems, making particularly urgent the competition between them in the utilization of the latest scientific and technical achievements.

The Soviet Union has created a highly developed scientific and technical potential characterized by a widespread network of scientific institutions and creative collectives engaged in fruitful work along the entire scientific and technical front. The national economy employs over 26 million specialists with higher and secondary specialized education. The existence of skilled cadres and of a powerful modern industry makes it possible for our country to make a substantial contribution to global scientific and technical progress.

The technical advancement of socialist production is taking place on a broad scale. This five-year plan alone about 11,000 prototypes of machines, equipment, apparatus, instruments, and automation equipment have been developed. The number of new types of mass-produced industrial goods rises with every passing year. The production of obsolete commodities is being curtailed to an ever greater extent. The national economic effect of the application of new equipment in industry in 1978 was higher by a 1.9 factor compared with 1969. However, with each new stage reached in the technical perfecting of the production process, motivations arise for reaching new heights in this area, both under the influence of the internal needs of the developed socialist society as well as the further economic competition against the capitalist world.

As was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, it is only on the basis of the accelerated development of science and technology that the final objective of the social revolution can be achieved--the building of a communist society.

However, it is a question of reaching the long-term objectives of the building of communism with the lowest possible outlays and in the shortest possible time.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Effect of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" orients us toward the solution of this problem. The decree stipulates a system of measures aimed at accelerating the practical utilization of scientific and technical discoveries and developments and, on this basis, increasing the grow rates of labor productivity and achieving high national-economic end results.

I

The main direction in the effective utilization of the achievements of science and technology in resolving the problems of the building of communism is, first of all, the successful development of basic and applied sciences; second, it is the creation of the type of economic and management mechanism which would enable us to make the highest possible use of available scientific and technical knowledge for obtaining high economic results.

Experience proves that technical improvements of the production process at the present stage are determined to a decisive extent by the success with which the methods for combining science with production, inherent in socialism, are applied. The explanation of this fact lies in the characteristics of the development of basic and applied sciences, on the one hand, and the establishment of conditions for the mass application of the achievements of science and technology in production, on the other.

The development of basic and applied natural and technical sciences is characterized by high-level intergovernmental integration of scientific and technical thinking. This means that gaps in scientific development in one or another country can be filled relatively easily through knowledge accumulated in other countries. A different situation prevails with the acquisition of knowledge on the organizational-economic conditions governing the effective utilization of the scientific and technical potential. In this area the process of internationalization is less developed, for organizational-economic forms of technical improvements of the production process are largely determined by the nature of the social system. The pioneering nature of the problem of organically combining the achievements of science and technology with the advantages of socialism precisely largely predetermines the difficulty of resolving it.

It is no secret that against the background of the outstanding successes achieved by the Soviet Union in the development of basic and applied sciences we note a certain lagging in the pace of the application of a number of very important scientific and technical innovations in mass production, even when they have been developed and applied for the first time in our country. Covering limited areas of material production and separate technological processes, new equipment and technology cannot fully display their

capabilities. Thus, the very economic method for continuous steel casting was developed and applied for the first time in the Soviet Union and patented in 28 capitalist countries. However, in terms of the share of steel ingots produced by this method, Soviet metallurgy is behind some other industrially developed countries. Soviet metallurgists pioneered the application of the oxygen-converter steel-production method. However, they were not very successful in its mass application. Obsolete methods for the production and utilization of basic structural materials hold back the improvement of machines and equipment and the enhancement of their effectiveness. Slowness is being displayed in a number of other very important directions of technical progress.

The pace of application of technical innovations depends almost entirely on the extent to which the economic mechanism has been adapted to the solution of the problem and the energy with which problems related to improving the organization, management, and planning of the production process under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution are being studied and resolved operatively. A large number of scientific publications have been printed. A number of conferences have been held on the clarification of the specific problems of the management of scientific and technical progress. However, the results of the studies and recommendations formulated on their basis have not always proved to be effective.

One of the reasons for this situation, in our view, is the lack of clear and simple ideas concerning the distinguishing features of the present stage of scientific and technical progress, and the nature and characteristics of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. For example, the view is frequently stated that the distinguishing feature of the contemporary stage of scientific and technical progress is completing the process of replacing manual with machine labor. No question, completing the mechanization of labor is important and urgent. No less important, however, is the conversion to a higher level of technical equipment of already mechanized sectors and production facilities, the development of the technical base and intensification of all public production and, on this basis, the growth of its effectiveness. This can be achieved by using equipment and technologies insuring the lowering of production costs and the reduction of specific material outlays. Today, when material outlays have become absolutely predominant, technical production improvements can acquire an economic sense only if they insure savings not only in labor but, even more so, in materials. In our view, this is one of the essential distinctions separating the contemporary stage of technical progress from the preceding one.

The essential economic distinction of the contemporary period of development of production forces and the contemporary scientific and technical revolution lies in the conversion to all-round production intensification. All-round production intensification, to which the decisions of the 25th party congress and subsequent CC CPSU plenums direct our economy, offers favorable possibilities for reducing specific outlays for basic materials used in the production of finished goods. Relative and absolute greater savings of materials, compared with labor, are achieved through a higher level of

production intensification through the utilization of qualitatively new equipment and technology. This makes it possible to achieve a substantially faster growth in the rates of the national income compared with the growth of the overall social product and of productive capital. The economic effect obtained as a result of the reaching of a qualitatively new technical standard of output is helped by upgrading the role of intensive reproduction factors, bringing the closer the growth rates of the first and second subdivisions, and a rapprochement between the rates of growth of output in industrial sectors belonging to the B and A groups.

Under socialist conditions revolutionary changes in the technical base predetermine the possibility for the accelerated growth of output with a simultaneous increase in the share of funds directed toward the fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people. This exceptionally important characteristic of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, which creates material and technical opportunities for the fuller and more effective subordination of the production process to the interests of man, is a powerful motive force for the mass application of new equipment and technology and the determination of all advantages of socialism in the utilization of scientific and technical achievements.

II

The changes in the nature of production forces, determined by the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, substantially change the traditional concepts of organizational-economic conditions needed for the technical advancement of the production process, including the natural changes which occur in the structure of the national economy, the criteria governing the economic nature of the new equipment, amortization policy, the cost-accounting mechanism, and management methods.

The topical problems of economic policy consistent with the new level of scientific and technical progress include, above all, the problem of the technical and organic structure of the production process. The point is that technical progress is accompanied, as a rule, by a growth of the technical and organic structure of the production process, i.e., the growth of the ratio between the mass of productive capital used and the number of workers, and an increase in the value ratio between all productive capital and the means of workers engaged in material production.

However, the simplistic interpretation of this interrelationship leads to the erroneous conclusion of an inevitable decline in effectiveness of outlays as the level of the capital-labor ratio rises and as the outlay of productive capital per unit of consumer goods increases. Attempts to provide a similar interpretation of this law have been undertaken in the past as well in the study of the growth of the organic structure of capital and were rejected with full justification by V. I. Lenin. In his argument with Bulgakov he pointed out that this law is applicable only "in general and as a whole." In reality, Vladimir Il'ich wrote, a situation prevails in which "periods of technical changes (in which the ratio V/c declines) alternating with periods

of progress on a specific technical basis (in which the ratio V/c remains unchanged and, in some cases, may even rise)" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 101).

The experience of a number of industrially developed countries confirms that this is precisely the nature of manifestation of this law. As was already noted in the press, including in *KOMMUNIST* (No 10, 1978), at the present stage of technical progress, in a number of capitalist countries, the United States above all, whose technical level of output is quite high, there has been a stabilization and even a substantial reduction in the organic structure of capital with a considerable growth of technical production facilities. Under the influence of this fact the growth rates of the first and second divisions draw closer to each other and the share of group B in the gross industrial product rises substantially.

Yet, the view that technical progress inevitably leads to the growth of the organic structure of output and to increasing the role of the first division extensively prevails in our scientific, training, and planning-methodological publications. Such dynamics is considered a mandatory prerequisite for the technical progress of output. The potential possibility for the new equipment and technologies to meet the growing requirements for productive capital while reducing specific outlays are ignored.

In the national economy of the Soviet Union the ratio between the overall value of basic productive capital and the annual wage fund of industrial-production personnel, representing a basic expression of the organic structure of output, continues to rise. Thus, compared with 1970, in 1977 the productive capital was 75% higher, whereas the wage fund had risen approximately 46%; compared with 1975, the growth rates were, respectively, 16 and 11%. However, all the necessary reasons exist for the consideration of such dynamics not only as an inevitable consequence of increased capital-labor ratios but also, partially, as a result of the low level of economy offered by new equipment and shortcomings in the organization of the utilization of productive capital. The thus inevitable method for providing the national economy with productive capital primarily by increasing the volume of output of basic products, and the production of construction materials, machines, and equipment, which accounts for most investments, limit the possibility to improve production equipment and technology.

For example, the existing practice of meeting the requirements of the national economy for metal primarily through the gross increase in the amount of steel smelted leads to the fact that only 10 to 11% of the overall volume of capital investments in this sector go to upgrading the quality characteristics of the rolled metal ("fourth treatment"), whereas in the interest of this matter investments for such purposes should be doubled or tripled. Global practice proves the high effectiveness of such reallocation.

It is indicative that the steady increase in the volume of output of productive capital, undertaken for the sake of meeting more completely rising production requirements, does not contribute to surmounting the shortage of

productive capital, particularly fuel and construction materials. This is due to the fact that an increased volume of productive capital is directed to an ever greater extent to expanding capacities for the manufacturing of that same productive capital. Yet, practical experience and computations prove that in most traditional sectors, scientific and technical progress could be accomplished without increasing investments or the volume of output, providing that we increase investments in the development of progressive processes and raise the share of economic materials. This leads to a fuller satisfaction of requirements for productive capital. For example, without increasing the volume of capital investments in ferrous metallurgy, but by increasing their share channeled into the development of high-quality metallurgy, the growing needs of the national economy for rolled steel could be satisfied in full with a lesser growth rate of the amounts of iron and steel smelting, or even with a more-or-less lengthy stabilization of the volumes of output of raw metal.

That is why the party decisively opposes the preservation of the extensive methods used in supplying the national economy with productive capital and the tradition paying greater attention to increasing the volumes of output rather than quality and insuring the effective and rational utilization of the output. "Yet, considering the tremendous scale of the economy," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his 2 March electoral speech, "that last factor assumes a decisive significance. Using it to the fullest extent, with the present level of output we could meet far better the needs of the country for metal, fuel, construction materials, and consumer goods." Such strategy, as confirmed by global and domestic experience, is far more consistent with technical improvements of the production process and its intensification, compared with gross increase of capital investments.

Major corrections must be made also to the traditional concept that the economic results of technical improvements of the production process should be manifested above all and mainly in reducing the share of labor in overall outlays (a labor-saving type of growth). Naturally, with a stressed balance of manpower resources, with every passing year labor savings become an ever more topical problem. However, the main way to resolve it is through savings of materials, i.e., reducing specific shares of fuel, raw materials, materials, and productive capital. This is confirmed by the ratio which has developed in the national economy between labor and material outlays. In industry, for example, it is 1:5. Naturally, such figures do not provide a full and precise idea of the ratio between labor and materials in industry, particularly since material outlays in the cost of industrial output are based on existing prices which include the elements of net income. However, even with such stipulations the ratio we cited is adequate and, we believe, eloquently proves the tremendous importance of economizing on materials. Yet, under the conditions of the current economic mechanism assignments related to the growth of labor productivity are frequently met at the cost material overexpenditures. Because of the scarcity of manpower resources and the worsening of conditions for the extraction of raw materials, it is impossible to maintain the previous growth rates of output of productive capital on an extensive basis. A lowering of the overall economic growth rates becomes the inevitable consequence of this situation.

Equipment and technology which insure the lowering of material and capital intensiveness play a decisive role in labor savings at the present stage of development of production forces. For example, the conversion from the processing of rolled ferrous metals by cutting to pressure processing is very effective. Such a restructuring of the methods for metal processing requires lesser capital investments needed for satisfying identical national economic requirements compared with a growth of the respective volume of rolled metal and its processing with the help of traditional methods. All this proves that it is precisely under the conditions of an acute shortage of labor resources that economic growth achieved primarily through savings of materials, i.e., a capital-saving type of growth, becomes preferable. Naturally, this does not eliminate the problem labor savings. However, it puts its solution on a more realistic base, which in turn leads to entirely specific requirements concerning the equipment, technology, and organization needed for production and wage purposes.

More rigid requirements and criteria must be adopted in defining the economic limits of the application of machines under socialism.¹ Since no specific requirements governing savings of overall outlays are formulated in the course of the designing, production, and utilization of machines, in frequent cases new machines turn out to be less economical than the ones they replace. Occasionally new equipment, including automated machine systems, is applied without adequate economic substantiations only because the production of such machine systems proves to be possible.

The designing, production, and installation of insufficiently effective equipment have brought about a situation in which in the course of the development of long-term forecasts and long-term plans for technical progress, the factor which contributes to the increased volume of output is primarily taken into consideration, while the reduction of specific outlays and the development of an economical reproduction structure are considered to a lesser extent.

III

As was pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress, the revolution in science and technology "requires radical changes in the style and methods of economic activities, a decisive struggle against sluggishness and routine, true respect for science, and the ability and desire to seek its advice and to take it into consideration."

The possibility for conscious planned advancement of production relations is one of the radical advantages of socialism compared with capitalism. The use of this advantage and the implementation of the ripe measures for the advancement of ownership relations (including increasing the level of production socialization), labor division and cooperation, distribution relations, and trade relations represent an initial prerequisite for the elaboration and implementation of interrelated organizational-economic measures favoring technical progress.

Under the influence of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution the process of all-round production socialization is given a new impetus. In the previous stages expanding the sizes of enterprises in town and country was of prime significance as one of the conditions for providing scope for the application of new equipment and technology. At the present time intensified specialization, inter-enterprise cooperation, vertical and horizontal production integration, all-round development of production facilities of intersectorial significance, the production and non-production infrastructure, and other changes in the organizational structure of the national economy aimed at upgrading the level of comprehensiveness in the development of production forces, assume an ever greater significance.

The historical trend noted by Lenin of the interrelated comprehensive development of production forces, in which "a number of scattered production processes merge within a single social production process" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 1, p 177) is manifested most fully under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. First of all, the high level of differentiation among individual production facilities presumes the all-round development of intersectorial production-technological relations, including horizontal relations, insuring the comprehensive utilization of the economic resource of a given area. Secondly, technological opportunities for raising the level of utilization of natural raw materials have increased, as the most effective means for reducing the material intensiveness of public production and substantially reducing the amount of harmful waste and preventing critical environmental pollution. Thirdly, the increased need to develop intersectorial relations dictates the need to create territorial-production complexes which provide the most efficient production-technological cooperation and most economical ways for the shaping and operation of the production and non-production infrastructure.

The country has acquired great experience in production concentration and centralization. About 4,000 production and scientific-production associations have been created in industry, accounting for 47% of the output. In over 8,000 inter-farm enterprises and organizations of various types one or another aspect of the production-farming or transportation activities of kolkhozes and sovkhoses has been socialized. However, we should note that the pace of integration processes and the form of most currently established associations do not as yet fully meet the requirements of scientific and technical progress. The majority of industrial associations are created within the frameworks of existing sectors and subsectors. Under such conditions production concentration does not sufficiently contribute to the development of intersectorial production-technological relations. The time has come to develop more rapidly intersectorial production integration forms. The party and government decree on improving planning and perfecting the economic mechanism presumes the optimizing of the organizational and management structure of the national economy, completing within the next two to three years the establishment of production associations as the basic cost accounting unit in industry, and the systematic implementation of measures related to production specialization and cooperation, centralization of auxiliary and support services, and of management functions of the combined

enterprises and organizations. The level of consolidation of production units and the scale of production associations operating today in industry and other national economic sectors reached, creates the necessary prerequisite for this.

On the basis of its nature and external forms of manifestation, the process of production concentration and specialization appears as a modernization of its organizational and management structure, for which reasons exist to classify it as an improvement of the superstructure. Yet, this is also a process of development of the economic base. Thus, changes in the organizational structure within individual economic sectors prepare conditions for intersectorial integration, which in turn helps the further rapprochement between the two forms of socialist ownership. The reorganization of the organizational production structure thus provides a solution to problems of a more general nature, including that of the development of ownership relations, the nature of the link between the producer and the productive capital, and the further development of democratic principles in management.

Determining the increased dynamism of production forces, the scientific and technical revolution calls for the improvement of distribution relations in which the link between progress in the production process and the level of the people's welfare is manifested most tangibly. "The contemporary production process," the 24th CPSU Congress noted, "faces rapidly growing requirements not only in terms of machines and equipment alone but, above all, the workers themselves, those who create and control these machines and equipment. Specialized knowledge, high-level professional training, and the general culture of a person become mandatory prerequisites for the successful work of an ever growing number of workers. However, this largely depends on the living standard, on the extent to which material and spiritual needs can be satisfied."

Naturally, such requirements cannot be satisfied through separate and partial improvements in the mechanism of distribution and rewarding individual workers who have distinguished themselves. They can be met the more completely the more the nature of the distribution is consistent with the development of production forces. Using the mechanism of material incentive, distribution relations can successfully contribute to the all-round development of the scientific and technical potential with the mandatory condition that changes consistent with the new stage in the development of the national economy are made in the very nature of the distribution of material goods. The radical solution of the problem may be found in upgrading the share and volume of material goods channeled into individual consumption. Corresponding changes must be made in the ratios of material output by accelerating the growth rates of sectors producing consumer goods and services. Changes in such ratios provide an objective base for improving the ways and means for the implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor in terms of wages and bonuses, providing that they are closely linked with the reaching of economic end results.

Technical improvements in the production process are affected by the nature and level of development of trade. Practical experience has indicated that

the extent to which the existing commodity-monetary mechanism is used fully and skillfully in economic practice largely determines the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor and the principle of material incentive and material responsibility for the implementation of plans for the installation of new equipment.

The most general socioeconomic prerequisites for the formulation and implementation of specific measures benefiting the technical renovation of production facilities may be found in the development of relations of ownership, distribution, and trade, i.e., in perfecting economic relations.

The role of the socialist state in resolving economic problems rises on the basis of the development and advancement of the economic base. A higher level is reached in transforming it "into an organization directly performing the functions of managing the country's economy . . ." (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 38, p 442). Progressive changes made in the organizational structure of production, distribution, and conditions governing the exchange of activities contribute to the strengthening of the centralized principle in economic management, while at the same time expanding the rights and possibilities of enterprise collectives and primary management and planning organs.

IV

The study of the trends governing the development of production forces and production relations is the scientific base for the formulation of the most effective means for the utilization of scientific and technical achievements consistent with the nature of socialism. The comprehensive solution of problems of technical improvements of the production process is becoming, to an ever greater extent, the subject of the science of management and planning.

Two approaches to the determination of ways for improving the economic mechanism, capable of insuring the accelerated development and mass application of new equipment and technology, may be found in publications and scientific developments. The supporters of the first trend base themselves on the unity between economy and technology inherent in the socialist economic system and on the historical experience of the operation of the socialist principles of economic management, which from the very beginning were directed toward the technical retooling of the national economy. The supporters of the second proceed from the fact that the contemporary scale and structure of the national economy call for a highly effective management system, especially oriented toward technical progress.

To one or another extent our economy is applying the special mechanism in the guise of various types of bonuses, and lower or higher prices and other means aimed at economically encouraging the installation of new equipment and use of new technology. However, since such rewards and penalties have no essential influence on basic economic indicators their effectiveness is quite problematical, the more so since the extent of such rewards is extremely limited. Furthermore, in a selective and incomplete approach to incentives,

the effect of some indicators and incentives may eliminate the effect of others. This situation gives enterprises and economic organs the right to select the ones they consider the easiest and most advantageous decisions which are not necessarily most effective from the point of view of the interests of the entire society. Thus, the award of bonuses for the installation of new equipment offers a large number of alternatives which make it possible to focus the efforts on meeting current production assignments and neglect the solution of long-term problems.

The desire to develop a special mechanism for the stimulation of scientific and technical progress contradicts, in our view, the very nature of a united and integral socialist economy. It is far more logical to consider the entire bonus system and mechanism for the management of technical progress and its planning a structural component of the entire mechanism related to production end results which can be reached with the suitable help of new equipment and technology. This requirement meets most adequately the stipulation of the consistent and comprehensive development and improvement of the principles of cost-accounting management and planning.

The measures stipulated in the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers decree on the development of cost accounting and on the intensification of the role of economic levers and incentives create favorable organizational-economic prerequisites for the application of the achievements of science and technology in mass production.

The party and government line for developing the economic initiative of labor collectives is developed further by increasing their cost-accounting rights, and establishing economic incentive funds, including a fund for the development of output based on stable norms depending on end results of economic activities. Financing conditions improve substantially both in organizing the building of new enterprises and in modernizing operating ones. Above all, a single fund for the development of science and technology will be set up by ministries and departments to finance scientific research and experimental design work and to implement other measures.

Greater economic possibilities are provided for the accumulation of funds by production associations (enterprises) to be used for the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing production facilities through the specific utilization of profit withholdings, amortization withholdings, and funds earned from sales of written-off assets. Bank loans for the expansion and modernization of assets will be developed. All this will create solid economic conditions for technical improvements of the production process and the concentration and centralization of funds for the implementation of technical plans within associations, sectors, and organizations, and inter-farm projects, and the centralization of auxiliary and support services. Unquestionably, this will contribute to the development of production specialization and cooperation.

Currently a new form of intergovernmental credit is being developed, the so-called financial leasing. With this form of crediting the interested party

leases at very advantageous conditions a set of equipment or an entire enterprise on a 100% credit basis, paid out of its finished product. The unquestionable advantage of this form of exchange of technical innovations is that the lessor, leasing a set of equipment and equipping an enterprise, insures that the used equipment will be maintained permanently on a high technical level and benefit from skilled technical servicing. At the end of the credit term the enterprise (equipment) becomes the property of the lessee (based on residual value) or else the term of the lease is extended. Financial leasing, which is a rather flexible method for the utilization of worldwide scientific and technical achievements, should, in our view, become more widespread.

The decree stipulates measures for the gradual conversion to a system of physical and value indicators insuring the interest of enterprise collectives in improving the technical and economic production indicators. The use of the net output (normative) indicator in the planning and rating of the work of an enterprise and improvements in the procedure for the forming of the wage fund create economic incentives for improving the entire organization of the production process, assisted by the use of new equipment and technology.

The logical development of cost-accounting management and planning methods is the conversion of scientific research, design, planning-design, and technological operations, experimental enterprises, and scientific-production and production associations (enterprises) to a cost-accounting system of organization of the work related to the creation, mastering, and application of new equipment based on orders, and the extension to such scientific-production and production units of a system of bonuses and incentives for the production of new highly effective goods.

The implementation of the decree's stipulations on the further development and perfecting of the cost-accounting organization of output, in our view, urgently raises a number of other problems whose solution determines the successful utilization of scientific and technical achievements. Thus, as production associations become basic cost-accounting units, the need and real possibility appears for the development of horizontal inter-enterprise relations, intersectorial production infrastructure, and improvements of organizational-economic methods for the interrelated solution of sectorial and territorial problems of production organization, including methods for the rational utilization of natural resources.

The constructive elaboration of problems contributing to the development of science and technology presumes the need for a higher synthesizing of the results of scientific research currently conducted in the natural, technical, economic, and other social sciences. The lack of coordination in the study of a number of interrelated problems leads to the fact that the results of the work of some scientific collectives are not considered in the work of others, thus lowering overall research effectiveness.

The system of the USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR State Committee for Science and Technology is a very promising method for the integration of

scientific forces of different specialized areas regardless of departmental affiliation, through the organization of complex councils, including the Socioeconomic and Ideological Problems of the Scientific and Technical Revolution Scientific Council. Practical experience indicates that the potential of this council and of many other similar interdisciplinary bodies is still not being fully utilized. It is not merely a question of the lack of proper initiative but also of the fact that such councils have not been granted real rights to organize the coordinated and interrelated work of scientific institutions on problems demanding the efforts of a number of collectives. The scientific development of problems of technical progress and of improving the practice of the utilization of new equipment and technology deserves, in our view, greater attention and efforts on the part of scientific institutions and state organs responsible for organizing such work.

One of the mandatory conditions for the acceleration of the pace of scientific and technical progress is the all-round study of acquired knowledge and the systematizing of existing views on the theoretical and applied problems of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and, on this basis, the elaboration of a truly comprehensive program for the development of science and the implementation of its recommendations in economic practice.

FOOTNOTE

1. According to K. Marx the limits of the use of machines is determined by the fact that "the work required for their production should be less than the work which their use replaces. However, for capitalism such limits are narrower. Since capitalism does not pay for the labor invested but for the cost of the manpower used, it finds expedient the use of machines only within the range of the difference between the cost of the machine and the cost of the manpower it replaces" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 404). Since the socialist society is interested in saving not only that share of the work which is paid for but all newly created value, occasionally this leads to the conclusion that the criteria of the economy offered by machines are less rigid, even considering this an advantage of socialism. In reality, socialism must formulate more rigid economy criteria concerning new equipment. Naturally, this does not exclude the possibility to use machines for the sake of facilitating labor, even if such machines do not lower outlays. However, the mandatory condition is for most new equipment and technology to be more effective than those they replace.

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ENTERPRISE: SERVICES SECTOR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 34-45

[Article by P. Broditskiy]

[Text] The Communist Party and Soviet state are always paying great attention to the improvement of consumer services. The ever fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people, and the creation of conditions for the molding of the new man largely depend on upgrading the effectiveness of services.

One of the most important directions in the development of services is increasing the quantity and upgrading the quality of services offered the working people directly at enterprises. This direction requires the comprehensive support of the heads of ministries, departments, industrial associations, plants, factories, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses, and the active help of party and soviet organs. Only through joint efforts can the service area fulfill its current task of offering town and country working people maximum convenience, in accordance with their interests and requirements, and reduce the time spent in household projects considerably.

Public Catering

In the very first years of the Soviet system, V. I. Lenin described public cafeterias as the "offshoots of communism" and called for paying universal attention to them. The socioeconomic significance of public catering is determined, above all, by the fact that it helps to reorganize the way of life of the working people on a socialist basis, freeing women for active participation in public production, and increasing the leisure time of the Soviet people. With the contemporary level of labor productivity, public catering reduces time outlays for the preparation of food, compared with home cooking, by a 2.5-3 factor. Such catering, naturally, providing that it is properly organized, makes it possible to restore the work capability of the people on time, creates conditions for recreation, raises labor productivity 7-8%, as practical experience indicates (on the scale of the country this is the equivalent of releasing over two million people), strengthens the health, and insures the more efficient utilization of comestible resources.

In our country public catering has firmly become part of the life of the working people. It has become an important national economic sector directly related to meeting the daily requirements of the people. The network of public catering enterprises is expanding steadily. Currently they employ 2.5 million people. At the beginning of this year the number of public catering enterprises was triple that of 1950. Today over 100 million people use the services of cafeterias, coffee shops, and food stands, or some 40% of the country's population. True, in the cities they are used by three to four times more people than in rural areas. In the immediate future public catering in sovkhozes and kolkhozes will come closer to the level of industrial enterprises where, in recent years, it has been developing particularly rapidly (in the Ninth Five-Year Plan and the first three years of the 10th the number of seats in workers cafeterias rose by 2.5 million or a 1.8 factor).

From the very first years of its life, the socialist state, as we know, has allocated a considerable share of material resources among the members of society free of charge or at reduced prices. Payments from social consumption funds account for over 10% of the earnings of public catering enterprises. A number of enterprises give free food to workers working the night shift or engaged in heavy work. In the future such meals will be organized for secondary school students. Subsequently, gradually, free lunches will be offered to all workers, employees, and university students at their place of work or training.

Ever greater attention is being paid in the plans for the social development of many plants, factories, and construction projects to the building of new and reconstruction of existing cafeterias, and to improvements in public catering. Currently the stipulated norm (an average of 250 seats in the plant's "food shops" per thousand workers in the main shift) has been reached by many enterprises in the automotive and chemical industries, and in power, heavy, and transportation machine building.

Speaking of achievements, we should also note that the pace of increase in the number of cafeterias in a number of sectors is still behind requirements. As early as August 1969 the USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On Improving Further Public Catering at Production Enterprises." It stipulated that by 1974 the construction of new and expansion of existing cafeterias should meet stipulated norms. However, this is far from always the case.

Obviously, we must make a thorough study of the organization of the feeding of workers and employees at each plant, construction project, establishment, sovkhoz, and kolkhoz, and what should be done to improve its organization. Fuller use must be made of allocated funds. Cafeterias must be built and reconstructed out of non-centralized funds over and above the general state capital investments based on the plans for the social and economic development of enterprises. The production collectives must become involved in such work as was accomplished, in particular, at the VEF.

Currently, along with the task of steadily improving the quality of the food and the standard of services, the public catering workers must upgrade

production efficiency and labor intensiveness. The growth rates of labor productivity in public catering are still considerably behind the pace of its growth in the national economy at large. Should such rates remain stable, according to computations, over the next 10 years no less than 2.5-3 million people should become involved in such activities, which is unrealistic. The only solution is to increase effectiveness, improve production on the basis of specialization and cooperation, and insure the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the production of technological equipment will increase by a 1.5 factor. This will substantially influence the growth of labor productivity and the capital-labor ratio in the sector. Along with machines which make it possible to mechanize one or two operations, highly productive general-purpose machines and apparatus are beginning to be used ever more extensively.

Naturally, it is important not only to supply the cafeterias with new equipment but to increase its utilization. Yet, small and medium size enterprises predominate and will continue to predominate in public catering. Here the coefficient of utilization of machines and mechanisms remains very low. This requires the full reorganization of the entire production process in the manufacturing of food on the basis of the social division of labor. Part and technological specialization will be particularly effective. This means that the basic and most labor intensive production operations will be concentrated at specialized, big production facilities. The extensive variety of semi-finished goods they will produce (meat, fish, vegetable, and flour based) and ready-made and semi-cooked foods (refrigerated, deep frozen, or canned) will be supplied to the small and medium finishing enterprises, which will be able to produce tasty and nutritive dishes without major labor outlays.

Currently a large number of new meat combines, meat processing plants, and fish processing complexes have been built and existing ones reconstructed.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan in public catering enterprises the use of meat semi-prepared foods rose nearly 66%; the use of fish products rose over 72%. In the big and many middle sized cities this made it possible to eliminate the shops for their production at public catering enterprises and to use the thus released areas for potato peeling and the preparation of semi-cooked vegetable dishes. However, cafeterias, even those supplied with mechanisms, are not always able to process on a daily basis the necessary quantity of potatoes and vegetables. That is why they are rarely on the menu. The garnishings offered the consumer included noodles, shell pasta, spaghetti, and vermicelli. Yet, the country has practical experience in insuring the centralized supply of cafeterias with semi-cooked meals made of potatoes and vegetables, which makes it possible to considerably lower the amount of labor required for their production.

For example, this problem has been successfully resolved in Berezniki in Permskaya Oblast. Here the facilities of the cafeteria trust have been used to set up a specialized shop in which all processes ranging from loading and

unloading operations to the peeling and packaging of potatoes and root vegetables, have been entirely mechanized. This required a reorganization of warehousing facilities at the base: containerized storage, paved areas for the work of electric hoists and fork-lift trucks, and the reconstruction of the power supply system. From the storage bin potatoes and vegetables are supplied to the conveyor, graded, switched to the cleaning conveyor, and after thorough washing and sulfitation, packaged in 20 kilogram polyethylene bags. They are delivered according to a schedule on a centralized basis to 166 cafeterias and specialized enterprises. As a result, the norms of the daily marketing of vegetables and potatoes have been exceeded by a factor of 6-7. Today no complaints are received concerning shortages of potato and vegetable meals at enterprise or school cafeterias, accounting for the bulk of the public catering institutions in the 185,000 population city.

Thus, practical experience proves that thanks to the rational division of labor and its better organization, labor outlays for the manufacturing of a large variety of dishes may be reduced and nutrition may be made more varied. Something else should be noted as well. The time which cafeteria workers spent in peeling potatoes and cleaning vegetables may now be used for the improvement of their culinary skill.

Industrial methods for the production of semi-prepared food will be developed further in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Compared with 1975 in 1980 their use in public catering enterprises must be increased as follows: meat, 50%; fish, 70%; and peeled potatoes, 25%.

Major tasks face the public catering system in the application and improvement of ways and means of servicing which make it possible to increase the handling capacity of cafeterias by improving the efficiency of their work, and reduce to a minimum the meal time. In recent years considerable successes have been achieved in this direction.

We know that self-serving with payments in advance or afterwards has reduced the time spent for having a meal considerably. The introduction of complete meals against detachable stubs purchased in advance, and subscriptions (for a period of one week, 10 days, or a month) have made it possible to increase the handling capacity of distribution lines by yet another 60%. As a result, the load of production capacities in cafeterias rises; demand fluctuations are reduced and the possibility to develop a proper diet in accordance with professional energy outlays, age, and state of health is established. By the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan, 70% of all plant cafeterias must convert to the selling of such meals.

More effective and essentially new methods for providing services, excluding all lines in cafeterias, have been found, are being applied successfully, and are becoming ever more effective. Trays with meals are placed on mechanized conveyor belts of the Effekt, Progress, Potok, etc, which are heated to the necessary temperature level. Practically all customers purchase their subscription in advance in the shops and can simultaneously pick up their trays from the storage racks.

Such model "food shops," equipped with mechanized food-distribution conveyors may already be found in a number of enterprises in the country. For example, at the Moscow Machine-Tool Building Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze virtually the entire collective--numbering over 5,000 people--may lunch in cafeterias where four Potok conveyor lines have been installed. Whereas in the past the lunch break at the enterprise lasted, as a whole, 3.5 hours, today it has declined by a factor of 3. Five years ago workers waited 40 to 50 minutes in line. Today, they wait no more than two minutes. This has resulted in a drastic reduction of work time lost (no one leaves for lunch ahead of time or is late for work after lunch). The people have the chance to make better use of their break for recreation (reading, playing chess, and walking in the squares and alleys in front of the plant).

Currently some 6,000 such lines have been installed throughout the country. In the course of the 10th Five-Year Plan the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances must manufacture another over 10,000 to meet orders placed by enterprises. Yet, according to the specialists, several hundred percent more such lines will be required. In this connection noteworthy of encouragement is the initiative of Ukrainian industrial enterprises which through their own efforts have built approximately 900 conveyor belts, thus accelerating the completion of new and the reconstruction of existing cafeterias.

So far the level of mechanization of labor intensive processes, auxiliary in particular (loading-unloading, stacking and washing utensils, delivering them to the dispensing area, and filling the plates) remains low. The sector urgently needs specialized small transport facilities, particularly trucks equipped with refrigeration and heating systems, and electrically heated pots containing semi-prepared and prepared meals.

Depending on production conditions and the size of the collective, the main task--supplying hot dishes in a minimum of time--is resolved differently in the various sectors. For example, small and medium sized enterprises are being assigned ever more frequently to big cafeterias. Since by virtue of the specific nature of their work about six million people--above all coal miners, petroleum workers, timber-procurement workers, construction workers, and workers in a number of other sectors--cannot use stationary cafeterias, effective means for providing meals to such scattered collectives are being sought.

Thus, ferrous metallurgy mines are being equipped to an ever greater extent with mobile cafeterias traveling on KrAZ and Bel AZ chasses. At the Krivbassruda Production Association the miners use cafeterias set up in small cars. The production of special heated containers has been mastered in Belorussia, supplying warm food directly to the work places. Such containers are already supplying meals to 35,000 construction workers in Minsk, Brest, Vitebsk, and other cities in the republic. This has had a positive impact on many aspects of the work of collectives. At the Minsk Production Association for Industrial House Building imeni 50-Letiya SSR, the overall savings from their utilization total approximately 2,4 million rubles per year.

The coal miners are installing a hot-food supply system. Over 360,000 miners at 584 mines and seams in the country are supplied on a daily basis with warm food directly underground in their work places in individual thermoses with unbreakable flasks. According to the Donetsk Institute of Soviet Trade, the introduction of this food supply system at Donbas mines has reduced the number of gastrointestinal diseases in miners by 30%; manpower losses in man/days have been reduced 25%.

Unfortunately, this proven container system for supplying hot food to construction workers and workers in other scattered collectives is not being properly disseminated due to the shortage of heated containers and thermoses. It appears that there is no organization in charge of developing them on a centralized basis. The problem of their production remains unresolved as well.

The quality of the meals is the most important indicator of the work of a cafeteria. It depends above all on the skill of the cooks and their attitude toward their work. Eight years ago the following slogan was raised at the Uralmash and Uralkhimash plants: "A Model Cafeteria in Each Plant." It was supported by a number of collectives. As of 1972, every year the AUCCTU Presidium presents industrial enterprises with special diplomas for best organization of public catering. Such diplomas have already been awarded to 340 collectives. The USSR Ministry of Trade and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of State Trade and Consumer Cooperatives Workers Trade Union are also awarding challenge banners and cash bonuses.

Nevertheless, despite the success, the low quality of the preparation of the food remains a major fault in public catering. Many enterprises have built good cafeterias with excellent equipment. Yet they are patronized by only 55% of the working people and many of them have expressed their dissatisfaction with the quality of the meals. The daily activities of food services must be constantly controlled by the party and trade union organizations. The public control commissions and groups must always see to it that cafeterias observe the rules of Soviet trade, and offer a broad variety of snacks. They must participate in making the menus and must organize and sponsor conferences for the customers.

The conclusion of cooperation contracts between enterprise collectives and cafeterias is an effective method for improving the quality of the work of the public catering network. Such contract contain the following reciprocal obligations: prompt repairs of public catering "shops," supplying them with transportation facilities for products and semi-cooked meals, supplying them with electric power, gas, and water, taking measures to upgrade the quality of the meals and to insure their prompt cooking, etc. All this makes it possible to maintain business contacts and upgrades reciprocal responsibilities. Practical experience confirms that wherever public catering personnel enjoy the same attention and concern as the members of the plant collective, the standard of services is higher and the variety of dishes is greater. Unfortunately, there still is no uniform regulation which would equalize the status of public catering collectives to that of workers in basic production facilities and would provide for their material incentive for conscientious work.

Obviously, we must also formulate a system of indicators for public catering enterprises in which the assessment of their activities would depend less on the cost of raw materials and the production of a variety of high-quality meals in demand would be encouraged. So far the plans for cafeterias are drafted essentially in terms of cost. With the existing forms of material incentive this makes them economically interested in increasing the production of goods made of expensive yet low labor-intensive raw materials while, conversely, reducing the sale of inexpensive dishes.

The role of public catering in upgrading the living standard of the people is rising steadily. All necessary measures must be taken to insure that in each cafeteria the customers are served tasty, plentiful, and varied meals, rapidly and at low cost.

Advantages of Farms

The party and the government are doing everything necessary to meet the needs of the population for potatoes, vegetables, meat, milk, greens, and fruit. To this purpose effective measures are being implemented to increase their production in kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the procurements systems are being improved. At the same time the initiative of industrial enterprises, construction projects, and state and cooperative establishments and organizations supplying such goods to their own collectives, to one or another extent, is being encouraged as well. "In our country," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote in his book "Tselina" [Virgin Land], "any possibility and bit of land must be used to increase everywhere the production of farm goods and victuals for our common table. . . . All this must be borne in mind by the party, soviet, and economic organs, and industrial managers. They must develop around the big and small towns strong agricultural bases and have specialized complexes and farms. . . ."

Practical experience has confirmed that the "agro-shops" of enterprises may become an important source for additional supply of food and for procuring a variety of goods from fields and livestock farms to workers in cafeterias and plant stores. As a rule, farms are set up on low-grade, infertile, or hard-to-work land, while little farmland is appropriated for such purposes. The possibility exists for the more efficient utilization of food wastes from public catering and industrial heat. Good results are obtained wherever the collectives of enterprises and organizations display initiative and are truly interested in the creation of such farms.

In February 1977, 900 hectares of farmland (680 hectares of plow land) were allocated to the Kazan' Motor-Manufacturing Production Association in Vysokogorskiy Rayon, in Tatarsiya. A loan was taken from the Gosbank (to be repaid out of profits) for agricultural construction. All buildings other than the hog-breeding complex are being constructed by the enterprise with its own possibilities. In slightly over two years mechanized farms were built for the breeding of cattle and hogs.

Today the association has in its automotive grounds dozens of tractors and trucks, a variety of agricultural equipment, and four grain-harvesting

combines. Their effective use and the adoption of progressive agro-technical measures made it possible to raise, the very first year, up to 16 quintals of grain per hectare where previously 5 to 6 quintals were harvested. Now the "agro-shop" has an adequate amount of hay, silage, and haylage. A strong fodder base has been established as a result of which cattle herds are being steadily increased.

All 45 plant cafeterias and food stands are now fully supplied with meat produced by the association. The menus always list over 20 different inexpensive dishes (a full dinner costs 40 to 50 kopecks). The "agro-shop" will soon begin to supply chickens, vegetables, greenery, fresh fish, and honey. A broiler farm is being equipped for this purpose for 150,000-200,000 broilers per year; assembled hot frames are being installed; swamps and lakes have been cleared and stocked with 20,000 young mirror carp; an apiary with 200 bee hives has been created.

This example proves that with proper organization enterprise subsidiary farms could work effectively. Particularly important here is the choice of the most efficient direction for their specialization, taking into consideration natural and economic conditions and fodder resources. Specialists and scientists must provide effective aid to such farms: They must knowledgeably determine the possibilities of the land and indicate means for its rational utilization; they must suggest agricultural methods developed by science and practical experience, the best animal nutrition ratios, etc.

Naturally, in the final account, the effectiveness of such farming depends on the people and on the manpower supply of such "agro-shops." Frequently settlements with central heating and sociocultural facilities are developed in the big subsidiary farms. This helps to keep the personnel. Naturally, small enterprises cannot afford such outlays. For this reason they must follow another direction: Use additional manpower sources.

Specifically, the subsidiary farm of the Pervomayskiy Glass Plant in Smolenskaya Oblast employs slightly over 20 permanent workers released from other production sectors. Yet, they are helped by the entire collective. In their labor contract with the administration, the workers themselves suggested the inclusion of the following item: Everyone should work in the "agro-shop" three days taken from his free time. During harvest time 50 to 60 people go to the field and both pensioners and school students help. The cafeteria cannot only fully meet its requirements for beef, pork, milk, and cream (dinner costs 50 to 60 kopecks and is nearly free for the night shift), but delivers 200 complete meals to the school and supplies with produce the hospital, the kindergarten, and the nursery.

Characteristically, in such "agro-shops," located in the vicinity of the enterprises, the people work with a feeling of great responsibility and self-discipline. This is not only because control on the part of the administration or the public organizations becomes more effective. They know that through their toil they improve public catering.

Small enterprises which lack the possibility to set up substantial "agro-shops" and supply them with the necessary equipment and build animal husbandry premises may set up such farms on a share-participation basis.

Naturally, so far produce grown in subsidiary farms is not highly profitable everywhere. Some of it (particularly meat and milk) is sometimes produced at a loss. Does this mean that one should rely only on state reserves and abandon such production? Naturally, no. Above all, we must take into consideration the fact that growing population demand for some comestible goods is still not fully satisfied. Furthermore, the experience of progressive "rural shops" of enterprises indicates that with the use of specialists and the proper utilization of existing equipment, the rational utilization of manpower, use of scientific agro-technology, and a proper system for livestock raising and feeding, could not only lower outlays for produce but make its production profitable. Finally, we must also take into consideration the cost of transporting the goods and the possibility of receiving them fresh from the farm, without losses, and richer in vitamins.

Currently, there are over 76,000 subsidiary farms throughout the country run by industrial enterprises, construction projects, hospitals, sanatoriums, schools, and other state and cooperative establishments and organizations. In 1978 they produced over 2.5 million tons of grain, 223,000 of meat, 841,000 tons of milk, 750 million eggs, 800,000 tons of potatoes, and about 500,000 tons of vegetables. This is a substantial addition to the state stocks and to the tables of the working people. In particular, in the enterprises of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, products supplied by the subsidiary farms to its public catering system accounted for the following amounts: meat, nearly 10%; milk, 24%; eggs, 58%; potatoes, 24%; and vegetables, 42%. Some enterprises reached even higher figures.

Discussing some aspects of agricultural production in Siberia and the Far East, in his report to the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Substantial funds must be spent to bring here agricultural produce, a great deal of which could be successfully grown locally. I believe that this situation could be changed so that the needs of the population for produce such as meat, milk, eggs, vegetables, potatoes, and some others may be maximally satisfied out of local production." The industrial enterprises (particularly in the settled areas) are undertaking ever more decisively to resolve this problem, together with the sovkhoses and kolkhozes.

Historically, the situation has developed in such a way that, developing new areas, the extracting industry sectors--coal mining, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and petroleum and gas extraction--rapidly advancing to the north leave behind their supply bases, for which reason they cannot do without their subsidiary farms. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone over 20 million rubles were spent to develop such farms in Surgut, Nefteyugansk, Nizhnevartovsk, and Uray. Approximately the same amount has been allocated for the purpose this five-year plan. Currently the production of such goods has become essentially profitable.

Enterprises in some other remote areas in Siberia and the Far East, experiencing difficulties in the supply of produce, and in the newly developed areas with insufficiently developed agriculture are strengthening their own food-supply facilities. Bearing in mind that most of the likely deposits of basic types of minerals are found in Siberia and the Far East, and that tens, if not hundreds, of new cities, workers' settlements, combines, mines, plants, etc, will be built on this territory, such problems must be resolved on a comprehensive basis as rapidly as possible.

At the November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the possibilities of subsidiary farms are still being poorly used. In the past few years the delivery of produce from the "rural shops" to workers' cafeterias and the commercial network of the country at large has even declined, as follows: meat products, by 11.5%; milk, by one-half; potatoes, by a 2.3 factor; and vegetables, by a factor of 3.2. This is explained with the fact that a number of industrial ministries, enterprises, organizations, and trade union committees are dealing insufficiently with problems of raising the productivity of subsidiary farms and controlling their activities. The rayon and oblast agricultural organs and soviets have paid little attention to them.

In particular, occasionally resolving problems related to the assignment of lots from the state land reserve and state forestry fund, unused farmland, and land belonging to industrial, transport, and other non-agricultural enterprises and organizations may be delayed for a number of months. Raising cattle, the subsidiary farms use food waste, and procure free and coarse fodder. However, the balanced feeding of the livestock requires concentrates, very little of which have been received. Sel'khoztekhnika did not recognize the "agro-shops" for which reason they were unable to order the necessary soil cultivation and harvesting machinery and spare parts. The agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinarians, and mechanics of auxiliary farms must become familiar with the latest achievements of progressive experience. However, they are rarely invited even to attend conferences sponsored by agricultural organs, for they do not belong to any department. In a word, the auxiliary farms lacked civil rights, as the saying goes.

Last year the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On the Subsidiary Farms of Enterprises, Organizations, and Establishments." Now, when the "agro-shops" have been given a legal status, their successful work will depend upon local initiative, organizational work, and the effective aid of ministries and departments.

The Effect of Joint Efforts

In the developed socialist society services play an exceptionally important role and their significance rises with every passing year. "A tremendous area of our social policy," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 16th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, "is related to improving the way of life of the Soviet people, concern for their health and recreation, and offering the possibility to the working people and to their families to use their leisure time sensibly and usefully to themselves and society."

Scientists have estimated that a family averaging three members spends annually approximately 400 hours shopping. In order for the people not to stand in line after the working day, trade must come closer to the place of work. Industrial enterprises and establishments must open cafeterias which accept orders placed in advance. Such services have been long available in some big cities.

In Leningrad the collective of the Tsentral'nyy Store initiated trade based on orders placed in advance by industrial enterprises. In 1978 it filled over 3.6 million orders, 95% of which went to enterprises, totaling an amount in excess of 14 million rubles. At the end of 1978 there were 129 order-placing departments in Leningrad. In one year they met about 11 million orders totaling 58.1 million rubles (including 8.4 million orders for more than 650 industrial enterprises, worth 40 million rubles).

Raising the degree of consumption readiness of comestible goods could save a great deal of time spent in doing work at home. Taking into consideration the higher family income and the increased demand for semi-prepared and prepared foods, and frozen products, the leading trade collectives are now beginning to pay greater attention to opening in industrial enterprises cookery and semi-prepared food stores. Between 1976 and 1978, 845 such stores were opened in the country.

Characteristically, such stores are beginning to supply products to public catering enterprises as well. In this connection we must strengthen and develop economic relations among enterprises, trade organizations, and public catering institutions. The contracts they sign should contain specific stipulations regarding the quantity and variety of semi-prepared and cookery goods produced and marketed by cafeterias and additional deliveries of unprepared comestible goods to be processed for the market by trade organizations. This will make it possible not only to meet the increased demand for products with a high degree of preparedness but to upgrade production effectiveness at public catering enterprises.

Consumer services play an important role in the implementation of the party's extensive program for upgrading the material and cultural standards of the people. We know that until recently the population spent annually up to 150 billion hours--corresponding to the annual work time of approximately 75 million people--in undereffective household work (cooking, cleaning, laundry, sewing and mending clothes, care for children, and other types of household chores). Computations have shown that every new worker in consumer services saves the inefficient time waste of no less than three or four people, mainly women. Lenin emphasized that public consumer enterprises are the means which "can factually free the women and reduce and eliminate their inequality with men in public production and social life" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39. p 24).

Already now consumer services can resolve this tremendous social problem. In the past 15 years they have become a big and technically well-equipped economic sector which has approximately quadrupled the amount of consumer

services. Currently a great deal is being done to bring services as close as possible to the place of work of collectives, and to strengthen the cooperation between production enterprises and consumer services. In accordance with the AUCCTU Presidium, the central and oblast trade union committees, together with ministries and departments, formulated for the 10th Five-Year Plan specific assignments to industrial enterprises and construction projects for building or allocating in workers' settlements, in entrances, and in hostels space for service centers, workshops, and reception points. Plants and factories which concluded contracts with consumer services enterprises are providing great help in their establishment.

This was started by the Bol'shevik Blended Yarn Combine in Rodniki, Ivanovskaya Oblast. On the basis of this contract it built a two-story consumer-services house where a variety of services are offered to the workers. In turn, the consumer service saw to it that the combine's personnel were given the possibility to go to the watchmaker's and shoe-repair workshops, the sewing store, and the barber shop before or after working hours. Experienced craftsmen were hired. Also with enterprise funds the combine's worker's settlement built consumer enterprises, and a clothing store. The reception centers and premises offering consumer services remain open during free days as well. Here is yet another noteworthy detail: As in the case of public catering, the administration, and the party and trade union committees rely for this entire project on the help of the permanent commissions and public control groups.

The initiative of Uralmash, Uralkhimmash, and of other plants and factories which decided to build consumer enterprises with their own funds and their own forces, met with wide support in Sverdlovskaya Oblast. Within a short time they offered consumer services the use of about 300 premises. This initiative met with a certain response on the part of enterprises of the ministries of the chemical, coal, petroleum, gas, and light industries of the Tatar and Bashkir autonomous republics, and of Permskaya, Kuybyshevskaya, Yaroslavskaya, Ivanovskaya, Moscow, and other oblasts. In 1976-1977 alone, the production enterprises built or allocated over 1,000 premises for consumer services.

It is no less important to improve consumer services in the villages. In his report to the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Now the problem can be formulated only thus: Farm managers, party committees, and soviet and trade union organs must display no lesser concern for the satisfaction of housing and living requirements and the higher cultural demands of the rural working people than for the development of production."

Currently complex reception centers (KPP) are functioning in many kolkhozes and sovkhoses, accepting orders for all kinds of services. Some of them are performed by the big specialized enterprises of urban and rayon consumer-services combines. Others are provided by visiting skilled workers. Separate premises have been installed for them in the KPP, with the necessary appliances and control-measurement instruments. The effectiveness of such comprehensive reception centers largely depends on the support they receive from the local economic managers.

For example, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan the Estonian agricultural enterprises assigned for consumer services over 3,000 square meters of area. Currently nearly three-quarters of the reception centers are located in premises appropriated by kolkhozes and sovkhoses. In a number of cases the farms assume some of the expenditures related to the upkeep of such centers: They pay for communal services, charge no rent, and allocate transportation facilities for the consumer services and customers. Bilateral cooperation contracts greatly contribute to the successful work of the KPP. One-half of the farms and enterprises on whose territory such centers operate have such contracts.

Some kolkhozes have begun to set up, on a cost-accounting basis, their own brigades, sections, and even combines providing consumer services (komunkhozes). Such organizations provide the population with a great variety of services whose volume occasionally exceeds that of state consumer services.

For example, the komunkhoz of Neman Kolkhoz in Stolbtsovskiy Rayon, Minskaya Oblast, offers over 30 different types of services, from the laying of water mains to the cultivation of the private plots assigned to the families in a common area. It has been estimated that last year it helped to save about 7,000 man/days. All work is done at fixed rates benefiting the kolkhoz members.

Unfortunately, so far such komunkhozes have not been given a clear legal status. As a result, the bank refuses to give them loans and the oblast plan does not include their requests for construction materials, roofing, or spare parts; Sel'khoztekhnika does not meet their requests for equipment and machinery. Since this service is set up by the kolkhoz it is considered that the kolkhoz should supply it with everything that is necessary. It does, yet as a rule only as a last priority, after meeting the needs of the basic production facilities. Regardless how well a komunkhoz may work, this is not reflected in the least in the indicators of farm activities. For this reason they are paid minimal attention in a number of villages. We believe that it would be more accurate to develop this service as an autonomous cost-accounting enterprise (supplying it with its own material and technical base), under the jurisdiction of republic ministries of consumer services or the communal economy.

The most important problem facing consumer services is to upgrade the quality of the work. The sector has already acquired progressive experience in the formulation and application of quality control systems. Such is the case, for example, at the Minsk Trud Association for Customized Tailoring and Shoe Repairs of the Belorussian Ministry of Consumer Services. However, this example is being disseminated too slowly. No recommendations on this matter have been issued by the USSR Gosstandart.

The existing system of work-rating indicators encourages the consumer services enterprises to fulfill their plans on the basis of the volume of sales. Bonuses are paid only for "gross" production. Incentives for improving the

quality of services are insufficiently effective, as a result of which frequently both managers and collectives are not held responsible for defects or delayed fulfillment of orders. Obviously, a set of other rating indicators must be formulated: labor quality coefficient, work hours convenient for the population, lack of complaints, etc. However, so far no list of such indicators rating the quality and standards of services has been drawn up.

Also awaiting solution are problems of insuring the sector of modern equipment for labor mechanization in basic production, loading-unloading, and warehouse operations. Specialized transportation facilities are very few (particularly all-terrain motor vehicles with heated cabins) for services to geologists, construction workers, petroleum workers, workers in the timber and gas industries, and workers who spend long periods of time working on tracks and in settlements accomodating shift work. This hinders the providing of services to customers at their place of work or residence, and deadlines for the meeting of orders.

The most efficient servicing methods must be developed and applied at the enterprises through the joint efforts of trade and services personnel and anyone assisting them in their work.

Addressing himself to workers in the consumer-goods industry, trade, public catering, and services, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress: ". . . Comrades, the prosperity and mood of the Soviet people greatly depends on you, on your work. Remember this. Work better and with greater initiative, and be in step with the leaders." The better the feeding and servicing of the working people and their families become, the higher living standards become, and the more efficiently the Soviet people use their leisure time for broadening their outlook, raising their children, and engaging in training and sports, the more they will be able to dedicate their forces, knowledge, and experience to highly productive work for the good of the entire society.

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RAYKOM AND LOCAL SOVIETS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 46-52

[Article by A. Gonochenko, first secretary, Trunovskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, Stavropol'skiy Kray]

[Text] As is the case with all agricultural workers in the country, the thoughts of the working people in our rayon are focused on how to achieve further successes in the development of agricultural production and implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, making skillful use of acquired experience and the increased material and technical possibilities. Active practical work has developed in the fourth year of the five-year plan for the implementation of the decisions of the July 1978 party Central Committee Plenum.

Collecting better harvests of grain crops, sunflower, vegetables, fruits, and fodder and other crops, and the production of meat, milk, eggs, and wool require the mobilization of the forces of all working people in the rayon and the maximum utilization of production reserves. In their activities the CPSU raykom and the party organizations rely on state and public organizations. Providing party guidance to the soviets of people's deputies, and to trade union and Komsomol organizations, we are trying to insure their active, efficient, and coordinated work, and make extensive use of their great possibilities to mobilize the working people for the implementation of state plans and socialist pledges.

The CC CPSU decrees "On Measures for the Further Improvement of the Work of Rayon and City Soviets of Deputies of the Working People" and "On Improving the Work of Rural and Settlement Soviets of Deputies of the Working People," the laws on city and rayon soviets and on the status of deputies, the new USSR Constitution, and other documents have provided great opportunities to the soviets whose activities cover virtually all aspects of the population's life.

The rayon party organization tries to create the most favorable conditions for the most complete and outstanding implementation of the tremendous constructive potential of the soviets of people's deputies, socialist democracy, and the Soviet way of life. The level of party leadership greatly

determines the results of the activities of the local soviets. The constant support provided by the party committees and organizations stimulates the persistence and consistency in the implementation of their decisions and planned measures. Taking this into consideration, the party raykom systematically studies the work of the rayon and rural soviets, their executive committees, and the party members elected to such organs of the people's system. Problems related to various aspects of soviet activities are discussed at meetings of the CPSU raykom bureau, at its plenums, and at party aktiv meetings. We prepare for them particularly thoroughly, using the help of the most experienced specialists and managers of enterprises and organizations. We mandatorily include deputies in the commissions in charge of preparing the problems to be discussed. This makes it possible to assess profoundly and objectively the practical work of the soviets, draw up accurate recommendations, and earmark effective organizational measures.

In the last elections for local soviets, the working people elected 383 deputies to the rayon soviet and 6 rural soviets. They included leading production workers, managers of various teams, national economic specialists, and members of social organizations. They were educated and experienced cadres able to resolve all problems facing the working people in the rayon. Such problems are quite important and varied: Within the framework of their rights the soviets control the observance of the law by all kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises, and organizations located on their territory; they coordinate and control their activities in the fields of land utilization, construction, utilization of manpower resources, production of consumer goods, implementation of state plans, public works, and development of the communal economy. Even such a partial list offers a clear idea of how important it is for the party organizations to promote the all-round energizing of the activities of the soviets, and to upgrade their contribution to the economic and social development of the rayon. As a result of daily party work, their role in all realms of life has increased noticeably. Their competency in resolving the economic, social, and cultural problems has increased and so has their influence in the ideological-political, moral, and labor upbringing of the population.

At its July plenum the rayon CPSU committee discussed the tasks of the party, the other social organizations, and the soviets of the people's deputies in the rayon, stemming from the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Specific measures were earmarked to increase the role of the soviets in ideological work and to coordinate the activities of party, soviet, and public organs in the comprehensive solution of the problems of the economic, social, and cultural development of the rayon.

Our rayon has existed for about eight years in its present administrative boundaries. Created as a result of the reduced size of neighboring rayons, it included several multisectorial kolkhozes and sovkhozes, each of which was splintered into a variety of production sectors, scattered throughout the rayon's territory. This complicated management, created considerable difficulties in the utilization of the equipment, the application of

progressive technology, and the training of cadres, and hindered the socio-cultural development of the villages. In animal husbandry, for example, there were nearly 40 commercial dairy farms whose technology and production standards did not meet contemporary requirements. Soil and weather opportunities were greatly underutilized and production from irrigated areas was low. Problems of intra-farm specialization and production concentration, the creation of major inter-farm associations and complexes, and the surmounting of the territorial division of the population and, in this connection, the elimination of small villages, the development of promising villages, the organization of communal services, and the building of housing, new schools, preschool institutions, and cultural centers were placed on the agenda. These were complex problems which had to be resolved simultaneously, comprehensively. This called for a well-formulated and substantiated plan for action which would take into consideration all of our possibilities. It was resolved that, relying on the experience acquired in the country and in our area in planning economic and social development, to formulate and implement such plans in each kolkhoz and sovkhos and in the rayon as a whole. The main burden of the preparatory work fell on the rayon executive committee, its planning commission, and the agricultural administration, as well as on the boards of kolkhozes, the sovkhos offices, and the executive committees of the rural soviets. They coped with this task successfully.

In the course of the first stage, which lasted several years, comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of the kolkhozes, sovkhos, and other production enterprises were formulated, amended, tested, and applied. Then, on the basis of this experience, the rayon party committee and soviet undertook the preparations for and formulation of the rayon plan. This is a major and complex process. By decision of the rayon executive committee a commission was set up which included, in addition to the deputies, party and soviet workers, a group of specialists, farm managers and heads of rayon services of the executive committee of the rayon soviet. The formulated draft plan was discussed by the labor collectives and at citizens' meetings. It contained stipulations recommended by superior organs, plans for farms and organizations, and remarks formulated by the working people. After a comprehensive discussion at a joint meeting of the bureau of the CPSU raykom and the executive committee of the rayon soviet of people's deputies, the plan was formulated as a mandatory decree for all state, economic, party, and other public organizations. Measures for its implementation were approved, indicating the performers and deadlines.

The instructions which the voters gave their deputies became an important part of the plan. Such instructions cover not only a great variety of specific requests formulated by individual voters' groups, but reflect the interests of the population and the public at large. For this reason their implementation is an important part of the work of the soviets. Instructions related to the plan for the socioeconomic development of the rayon are controlled particularly strictly by the executive committees of the rayon and village soviets. The plan includes 264 instructions covering various aspects of life and accepted for implementation by the soviets at their sessions. We direct the deputies toward continually supervising the implementation of instructions, actively participating in their implementation and involving in this work the rural population and the labor collectives.

The law on the status of the deputy reads as follows: "The deputy shall participate in organizing the population for the implementation of the instructions of the electorate and in controlling such implementation by enterprises, establishments, and organizations. He shall work to implement such instructions." That is precisely what most deputies do. Here are two examples. G. G. Prikhod'ko, seamstress at the production association for consumer services, and rayon soviet deputy, received an instruction on the building of a kindergarten for the workers of the local sovkhos in Donskoye Village. At her request this instruction was accepted by the rayon soviet and included in the plan. Currently 50 children are already attending the new kindergarten. With the active help of kolkhoz member L. V. Lotareva, deputy at the Trunovskoye Village Soviet, the premises of the village library underwent capital repairs. Thus, yet one more instruction was carried out and a specific item in the plan for the economic and social development of the rayon was implemented.

The rayon's comprehensive plan became an effective tool for the integrated and systematic approach to the solution of economic, social, and ideological problems. Its value lies in the fact that problems related to upgrading social production effectiveness and improving trade, consumer and medical services, and public education, upgrading the standards of the people, and improving the methods for ideological and educational work are closely interlinked. Actually, a serious and statesmanlike approach to the project would make it impossible to artificially separate the building of a modern dairy complex from the building of housing of its personnel, or planning a rich harvest without concern for the building of roadways leading to the mechanized threshing floor and storage areas.

Today the main task of all soviets of people's deputies in the rayon is the timely, systematic, and full implementation of the comprehensive plan for economic and social development in the 10th Five-Year Plan. This requires the constant stress of the forces of all deputies, active participation in the elimination of arising difficulties, and strict control over the implementation of the measures formulated by the party raykom and the rayon executive committee. At their meetings the soviets, the executive committees, and the permanent commissions systematically discuss problems related to the implementation of the plan, hear reports submitted by individual economic managers, and study matters which hinder the projects. In turn, the deputies inform the voters in their districts on the state of affairs. Such reports are very valuable, for they contribute to upgrading the labor and political activeness of the citizens.

Many executive committees of rural soviets are successfully fulfilling their plans for economic and social development. Here is a brief outline of the activities of the Kirov Rural Soviet, headed by N. V. Krasnikov. The executive committee operates in close contact with the office and party organization of the Sovkhos imeni Kirov. In the first three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, 2,500 square meters of housing were built on the territory under the soviet's jurisdiction. A secondary school for 640 students was built. The village consumer services combine was reconstructed and the clubs

in the three sections of the sovkhos underwent capital repairs. Gas is being piped into the residential houses. A complex of premises and sports and work areas for student brigades is being built on the basis of a special plan. The working people of the Sovkhos imeni Kirov are successfully fulfilling their economic plan for the production and sale of agricultural commodities to the state.

The rayon party committee is continually controlling the activities of executive committees of soviets for the implementation of plans for economic and social development. It periodically reviews such activities at bureau meetings. For example, last January the bureau heard a report submitted by the Executive Committee of the Podlesnenskoye Village Soviet on the implementation of the comprehensive plan. It summed up its experience, pointed out essential shortcomings, and indicated unresolved problems. Its decree was discussed by all executive committees of village soviets and contributed to upgrading the activeness and effectiveness of their work.

Under the conditions prevailing in our rayon, further improvements in the utilization of the land and upgrading its fertility are key problems for the implementation of the program for the development of agricultural production earmarked by the 25th CPSU Congress, and of the production-economic section of rayon's comprehensive plan. Such matters are always kept in the focal point of attention of the rayon party organization. The soviets and their agricultural organs and deputies are systematically and adamantly working to increase the fertility of each hectare of land.

The rayon has 30,000 hectares of irrigated land, i.e., nearly one-quarter of the entire farmland. The rational and effective utilization of the entire irrigated area is particularly important to us, for yields on such land are virtually independent of the amount of precipitation.

This became entirely clear this summer, which was particularly droughty. Irrigation proved its full value. Average grain-crop yields on irrigated soil reached 39 quintals per hectare; Pravoyegorlyksiy Sovkhos averaged 47 quintals of grain per hectare and some sectors reached 55 to 60 quintals.

Irrigated kolkhoz and sovkhos land has now become the main supplier of fodder for the cattle.

Following the recommendation of the rayon party committee, the problem of protecting, rationally using, and increasing the fertility of irrigated land was discussed by the deputies at sessions of the rayon and village soviets, at which good measures were formulated. The deputies acquainted their electorate with the measures taken by the soviets, after which the matter was presented for discussion at village rallies. This created an atmosphere of intolerance toward shortcomings in the utilization of irrigated areas and brought to mind, yet once again, the need for the thrifty and attentive attitude toward all irrigated land. This considerably enhanced farming standards and increased yields from irrigated land.

Today this work is becoming ever more complex and systematic. It includes the training of cadres in mass skills, and the effective utilization of spraying equipment, the quality and deadlines for the cultivation of the soil, sowing, and harvesting. All deputies working in kolkhozes and sovkhoses have become involved in this project. Deputy groups have set up deputy posts which have assumed strict control over all irrigated areas.

Irreconcilability in the struggle against shortcomings and negligence in production, against violations of labor and technological discipline, and for a creative attitude toward the work is the distinguishing feature of every deputy. Striving to justify the trust of the voters, the deputies increase their political and labor activeness, thus contributing to the strengthening of the prestige of the soviets and to their successful work. A number of deputy groups and posts are displaying their initiative in kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and enterprises. They have become an effective method for upgrading the social activeness of the deputies and, through this method, of those who work with them. The party organizations and the executive committees of the local soviets are giving comprehensive organizational and methodological aid to the deputy groups and posts, and are supporting their initiatives.

Practical experience indicates that far from all deputies successfully cope with their many obligations immediately following their election. Taking this into consideration, together with the executive committees of the local soviets, the CPSU raykom and the primary party organization committees and bureaus organize the training of the newly elected deputies, their meeting with deputies of several convocations, and the exchange of best experience. Regular meetings are sponsored between deputies and secretaries of the rayon party committee, and chairmen, their deputies, and members of executive committees of rayon and village soviets, and kolkhoz and sovkhos managers. The deputies receive timely information on the economic-political life of the rayon, village, or farm.

We are particularly concerned with promoting the vanguard role of deputies who are party members. Their activities are always within the field of vision of the party organizations and the CPSU raykom. As a rule, every quarter the raykom sponsors meetings of the party groups of the rayon soviet of people's deputies, at which important national economic problems are discussed. The party committees and bureaus sponsor similar meetings for party groups of village soviets. Party members-deputies submit at party meetings and bureau and committee sessions reports on their activities. Thanks to this work and their profound understanding of their high duties as the people's choice, all party members in the soviets have assumed an active position. They have launched a number of valuable initiatives and perform in an exemplary way their obligations as deputies.

The daily attention paid by the party, the organizational work of the executive committees of local soviets, and participation in resolving the vital problems facing the working people in the rayon contribute to broadening the political outlook of the deputies and to their gaining of the necessary

experience in sociopolitical and state work. The activeness of the deputies at sessions has increased noticeably. For example, in 1978 64 out of 75 deputies of the rayon soviet participated in the discussions. This figure is considerably higher compared with the first year following elections for the local soviets. The number of speakers at village soviet sessions is even higher. We have virtually eliminated the phenomenon of having always the same people participate in the debates. All this develops in the deputies an active practical position and trains them in the struggle for resolving the complex problems of the building of communism. This is vividly confirmed by the deputies' production indicators. Thus, all the deputies elected to the kray, rayon, and village soviets are leading workers. Many good things could be said about every one of them. For example, not only the rayon but the kray is well familiar with the labor valor of deputies Hero of Socialist Labor shepard Ye. V. Pinchukov, milkmaid T. P. Chetverik, mechanizer P. G. Shnurko, milkmaid M. A. Chernovaya, vegetable grower A. Ye. Spasenova, and tractor driver L. N. Strel'nikova.

The intensive and well-organized activities of the deputies, deputy groups and posts, and permanent commissions contribute to upgrading the level of organizational and political work of the soviets and their executive organs and subdivisions within the apparatus of the rayon soviet executive committee, such as agricultural administration, public education, health care, culture, communal economy, trade, and finance.

At the beginning of the article I described the specific and complex problems facing the new rayon. Today, thanks to the adamant work of the rayon party organization, the soviets of people's deputies and the public organizations, and the constant help of the kray departments, the party's Central Committee, and the Soviet Government, a number of problems have already been resolved. The intra-farm specialization and production concentration have been completed. Ten of the 13 rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses have definitely specialized in the production of vegetables, fodder, and cattle raising. In the area of dairy livestock growing, the number of small underproductive farms has been reduced by one-third and preference is being given to big and mechanized livestock farms. This has made it possible to begin the reorganization of animal husbandry, truck gardening, and fruit growing on an industrial basis, and noticeably to increase the production of meat and milk. The complex for the production of beef, recently created at the Donskoy Sovkhoz, is supplying the state annually with 4,500 tons of meat, or 95% of the rayon's volume of procurements. Inter-farm economic relations and the management system of kolkhozes and sovkhoses are improving.

In the first three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan we coped with the state assignments for the procurement of the basic types of agricultural commodities. We successfully implemented the measures earmarked in the comprehensive plan for the economic and social development of the rayon. The average annual volume of gross output has risen 26%, while labor productivity rose 22%. Crop yields have increased. The plan for the first three years of the five-year plan for the sale to the state of meat, milk, eggs, wool, potatoes, and vegetable and melon crops and fruits was overfulfilled. The plan for the first four years of the five-year plan for such commodities will be overfulfilled as well.

This year the kolkhoz and sovkhoz working people fulfilled their nine-month plan for meat on 1 September--one month ahead of schedule--having sold 31% more meat to the state compared with the same period in 1978. On 1 September the nine-month plan for milk sales was fulfilled 92%; by that time the rayon fully fulfilled its annual plan for the sale of wool and eggs. The party organizations, and the soviets of people's deputies, together with the entire population, are successfully struggling for the development of the necessary reserve of fodder for public animal husbandry and for laying a good base for the 1980 crop.

The program for sociocultural and consumer construction is being implemented as well. A 150-bed rayon hospital, hotel, and kindergarten were commissioned. Eighteen kilometers of gas mains were laid and over 2,000 housing units were supplied with gas. Over 11 kilometers of water mains were laid and over 30,000 square meters of housing was built (excluding individual construction). Over 600 families of mechanizers, animal husbandrymen, and national economic specialists moved into new premises. The wages of workers and kolkhoz members rose by 20 rubles.

Yet, we are experiencing major difficulties in social, cultural, and consumer construction. In particular, the plans for state capital agricultural construction, related to expanding the size of irrigated land and the building of new animal husbandry complexes, do not include the building of housing, medical and children's institutions, trade and consumer services enterprises, clubs, and culture houses. This hinders the hiring of cadres for the new consolidated production facilities. However, neither the kray nor the central agricultural and planning organs are resolving such an obvious problem. We believe that this question requires the close attention of such organs, for it is precisely related to the shortcomings described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his November 1978 Central Committee Plenum speech.

The working people in our rayon, like all agricultural workers in Stavropol'skiy Kray, surmounting the difficulties created by the drought, are working in a united and organized fashion for the implementation of the decisions of the July and November 1978 CC CPSU plenums, the 1979 national economic plans and socialist pledges, and the five-year plan as a whole.

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THIS MUST NEVER BE REPEATED

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 53-64

[Article by Prof I. Zemskov on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II]

[Text] World War II, prepared by the forces of international imperialist reaction, and unleashed by fascist Germany in Europe and militaristic Japan in Asia, was the most blood-shedding and destructive of all wars ever known by mankind. It involved the participation of 61 countries. There were 51 million people killed. The Soviet Union suffered the biggest human casualties--20 million--and the material damages it suffered exceeded the damages suffered by all the other participants in the war.

The victory over the fascist aggressors, in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, had a tremendous influence on the entire course of postwar development. As a result of the defeat of the most reactionary imperialist forces favorable conditions were created for the further acceleration of the global revolutionary process. People's democratic and socialist revolutions took place in a number of European and Asian countries. The world socialist system was established. The defeat of Hitlerite Germany and its satellites and of militaristic Japan gave a powerful impetus to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. Under the circumstances of a major weakening of the capitalist system, and the fast development of the USSR and the other socialist countries, and the active support of the international communist movement, this movement put an end forever to the imperialist colonial system.

For over three decades the peoples of Europe have lived in peace. The adamant struggle waged by the USSR and the other socialist countries in the postwar years for the preservation and consolidation of the peace and security of the nations was crowned by a major success--the convening of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Helsinki in the summer of 1975. The signing by all its participants of the Final Act, which contains the pledge to build relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, marked the definitive international-legal codification of the results of World War II.

In an effort to regain its lost positions and hinder the social progress of mankind, imperialism is trying to counterattack the liberation movement. It is engaged in subversive activities against the members of the socialist comity, energizing aggressive military blocs, and urging on the arms race. It is the source of the constant threat to international security. This means that the struggle for peace remains the most urgent task of our time. As to the Soviet Union, the main objective of its foreign policy was, and remains, the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of the peace and friendship among the peoples.

The scientific study of the reasons for the appearance of World War II serves the interests of the peace and remains topical. Reactionary bourgeois historiography is constantly resorting to their falsification in an effort, above all, to conceal the fact that imperialism was the culprit for this monstrous crime. The study of this problem is important and necessary also because in the postwar years new generations have grown who must know how wars break out, the reasons and nature of World War II, and the real culprits for its outbreak.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the need for a comprehensive study of the origin of wars. He said that it is necessary to study the politics which precede the war, politics which have led to it, who benefited from it, "what was the reason of the war and what classes prepared and directed it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 32, p 76).

The history of prewar international relations proves that the war originated within the capitalist system, under the conditions of the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and the drastic aggravation of all its economic and social contradictions.

Starting with the middle of the 1930's, the struggle between the two groups of imperialist countries--Germany, Italy, and Japan, on the one hand, and Britain, France, and the United States, on the other--intensified considerably. The first group--the bloc of aggressive countries--grossly violating all norms of international law, was openly preparing for a new division of the world, in the hope of capturing the colonies and markets owned by Britain, France, and the United States, and achieve world domination. Both groups, while fiercely fighting each other, also concocted plans for resolving through military methods the basic contradiction of the age as well--the contradiction between capitalism and socialism.

The ruling circles of the leading Western powers tried to reach an agreement with the aggressive countries, Nazi Germany above all, at the expense of the Soviet Union. Everyone knows, states the familiar reference "The Falsifiers of History," that Germany initiated preparations for war immediately following Hitler's advent to power. Everyone knows that the Hitlerite regime was created by the German monopoly circles with the full approval and financial support of the ruling camp in Britain, France, and the United States (see "Fal'sifikatory Istorii (Istoriches'kaya Spravka)" [The Falsifiers of History (Historical Reference)], Moscow, 1952, p 8).

The U.S., British, and French imperialists hoped to achieve immediately two objectives: first, to preserve their colonial possessions and great-power positions, and, second, to destroy the hated Soviet Union, the first socialist state. That was why they helped Germany to arm itself and helped to strengthen the fascist dictatorship in Germany, Italy, and other countries. The British, U.S., and French imperialists encouraged the Hitlerite aggressors in their aspirations toward Austria and Czechoslovakia, taking them ever closer to the Soviet borders, and rejecting all suggestions made by the Soviet Union on jointly rebuffing the fascist aggressors.

The British ruling circles were the inspirers and initiators of the pro-fascist, anti-Soviet, and anti-national policy. Its makers were Chamberlain, Simon, and Lord Halifax. Initial soundings to determine the possibilities and conditions for concluding an Anglo-German accord were undertaken by Britain as early as the beginning of 1937 (Historical-Diplomatic Archives of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Record of the talk between British industrialist Rickens and Papen, 9 February 1937).

Britain began to pursue a particularly persistent pro-fascist and anti-Soviet policy after Chamberlain became prime minister in May 1937. In November he sent Lord Halifax to conduct talks with Hitler. A record of the talk conducted in Obersalzberg, which took place on 19 November in the course of discussions, proves that the British Government was satisfied by the fact that Hitler had turned Germany into a "Western bastion against Bolshevism" ("Dokumenty i Materialy Kanuna Vtoroy Mirovoy Voyny" [Documents and Materials of the Eve of World War II], vol 1, Moscow, 1948, p 16). Halifax' statements show that the British Government was ready to agree to the remaking of the political map of Europe in favor of Germany and, in particular, to satisfy its aspirations concerning Austria, Danzig (Gdansk), and Czechoslovakia, providing that this would take place gradually and "without shocks," with London's approval (ibid, p 35). This implied Hitler's agreement to conclude a comprehensive Anglo-German accord which would guarantee Britain the safety of her colonial empire. However, Hitler avoided giving a specific answer.

At the beginning of March 1938 the Chamberlain Cabinet presented to Berlin its proposals on the colonial problem. They did not call for the return to Germany of its former colonies. Hitler did not even answer them.

The results of the November talks between Halifax and Hitler were discussed by the British Government with the French Cabinet and approved by the latter. Anglo-French cooperation, conspiring with the aggression of Italian and German fascism, began with the very establishment of the Committee for Non-Intervention in Spain, where Italy and Germany had intervened with a view to defeating the republic and establishing General Franco's fascist regime.

Consolidating itself in Spain, fascism threatened France from the rear. After that, Hitler began to prepare for the seizure of Austria, knowing that he would meet no opposition on the part of Britain and France. On 12 March Hitler's Wehrmacht occupied Austria and that country, whose independence had been previously guaranteed by Britain and France, vanished from the map of

Europe. Neither the London nor the Paris governments did anything to condemn this act of aggression. Furthermore, under their pressure the question of the "Anschluss" was not even raised in the League of Nations. The U.S. Government as well did not condemn Hitler's aggression.

The Soviet Union was the only country to sharply condemn the aggressor. On behalf of the Soviet Government, on 17 March 1938 the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs issued a statement which was subsequently transmitted to the governments of Britain, France, and the United States (see "Dokumenty Vneshney Politiki SSSR" [Documents of USSR Foreign Policy], vol XXI, Moscow, 1977, p 128).

The USSR expressed readiness "to participate in collective actions to be decided on jointly with them and whose purpose would be to stop the further development of aggression and the elimination of the increased threat of a new world war. . . . Tomorrow may be too late," the Soviet Government emphasized. "Today, however, the time for this can be avoided if all states, the Great Powers in particular, assume a firm and unequivocal position toward the problem of the collective safeguarding of the peace: (ibid, p 129).

However, these constructive proposals on the formulation of a common program for the organization of the security and struggle against fascist aggression were rejected by the British and French governments, as they failed to meet their plans and intentions. At the very same time, the British Government, in an effort to direct this aggression to the east, decided to use Hitler's aspirations toward Czechoslovakia to initiate talks with Germany on a broad Anglo-German agreement. Chamberlain, Halifax, and particularly, Wilson, Chamberlain's most trusted associate, constantly emphasized in their talk with German Ambassador Dirksen and other members of Hitler's government that "the solution of the Czechoslovak problem" could be achieved only with British agreement. However, the Chamberlain government made conditional its agreement for this seizure on the conclusion of an Anglo-German accord which would guarantee Britain the safety of her colonial empire. During his talk with Kordt, the German charge d'affaires in Britain, Wilson said: "If the two of us--Great Britain and Germany--agree on the settlement of the Czech problem, we would simply eliminate the opposition of France and Czechoslovakia itself to this solution of the problem" ("Dokumenty i Materialy . . . ," vol 2, p 48).

At a time when Hitler's policy of blackmail and threats addressed at Czechoslovakia were assuming an unparalleled scale, Halifax was presenting to Wiedemann, Hitler's aide de campe, a plan for an extensive Anglo-German exchange of summit visits. He stated that "the most beautiful moment of his life would be when the fuhrer would drive on the side of the king along the Mall (a London street leading to the Royal Palace--the author) during an official visit to London" (ibid, p 179). The Daladier-Bonnet Cabinet fully supported Chamberlain in his desire to reach an agreement with Germany at the expense of Czechoslovakia, as confirmed by Anglo-French proposals of 19 September submitted to the Benes Government as an ultimatum. However, the making of this Anglo-French deal with Hitler was complicated by the fact that

Czechoslovakia had mutual aid treaties with France and the Soviet Union, which had repeatedly declared its readiness to give Czechoslovakia military assistance in repelling aggression. On 25 May 1938 the Soviet Government confirmed that should Czechoslovakia be attacked the USSR will give it the necessary aid. Similar statements were made by the USSR on 25 June and 22 August (see "Novyye Dokumenty iz Istorii Myunkhena" [New Documents from the History of Munich], Moscow, 1958, pp 42-43, 59, 60, 66). The Soviet Union was ready to give Czechoslovakia military assistance even should France decline to meet its obligations as an ally, but providing that Czechoslovakia itself would defend itself and turn to the USSR for help.

The Soviet Union backed its readiness to help Czechoslovakia with substantial defense measures as a result of which 30 infantry divisions were concentrated on the western border of the USSR and tanks and airplanes were in a state of combat readiness. In two military districts alone--the Belorussian and Kiev--246 bombers and 302 fighter planes were concentrated. Thus, in the tragic days of Munich, the USSR "clearly proved its loyalty to its duty as an ally" (L. I. Brezhnev).

The four-power Munich conference (Britain, France, Germany, and Italy) to which Czechoslovak representatives were not admitted, decided the fate of Czechoslovakia.

Even though officially not participating in the Munich conference, the United States fully approved its results and Chamberlain's actions. In the course of his visits with Hitler, Chamberlain surrendered Czechoslovakia to be torn to pieces by Nazi Germany.

"Munich" in fact meant that Britain and France had abandoned the idea of creating a collective security system, and had taken yet another step toward a conspiracy with the aggressor.

The Soviet Union firmly condemned the Munich agreement, emphasizing that it had opened the way to a new world war.

In their 9 October 1938 appeal, the communist parties of 10 European countries and the communist parties of the United States and Canada, stated: "The Munich treason did not save the peace but only threatened it, for it struck at the alliance of the forces of peace in all countries . . ." (KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL, No 10, 1938, p 126).

In British eyes the decisive feature of the conclusion of the Munich deal with Germany was its anti-Soviet direction. That is precisely the way Racziński, Polish ambassador to Britain, assessed "Munich" in his report to Warsaw, dated 16 December 1938 ("Dokumenty i Materialy . . .," vol 1, pp 344-356). The same assessment was provided by a number of bourgeois scientists, including the noted British historian Willer-Bennet. The meaning of the Munich accord, he wrote, was to destroy Czechoslovakia as an independent military, political, and economic factor, and to prepare conditions for further German expansion toward Poland and Russia (see FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Oct 1946, p 38). The London and Paris governments were clearly directing the fascist aggression in the direction of the Soviet Union.

The first months which followed the Munich deal confirmed the entire near-sightedness of the anti-Soviet hopes of its participants. The Hitlerites unceremoniously broke the agreement. On 15 March 1939 they occupied all of Czechoslovakia, including Prague, after which they seized Klaipeda. However, neither Britain, France, or the United States took any measures to stop the fascist aggression. Encouraged by this impunity, Nazi Germany formulated a plan for the attack of Poland. On 11 April 1939 Hitler approved the "Plan Weis," which called for the invasion of Poland any time after 1 September 1939. On 28 April he proclaimed the abrogation of the Anglo-German 1935 naval agreement and the 1934 German-Polish pact.

As a result of the actions of the aggressor a most acute political crisis broke out in Europe: The political atmosphere became extremely tense and intergovernmental relations were extremely stressed. The military-political alliance concluded between Germany and Italy in May 1939 (the "Iron Pact") proved that the fascist countries were preparing to unleash a world war. The pro-fascist policy of a conspiracy with the aggressor, promoted by Britain and France, with U.S. support, had taken the world to the brink of a military catastrophe.

The Soviet leaders took into consideration the complexity and tension of the international circumstances. In the Accountability Report to the 18th party congress, presented by J. V. Stalin on behalf of the VKP(b) Central Committee on 10 March 1939, it called for "remaining vigilant and preventing our country from being dragged into conflicts by the provocateurs of war who have become accustomed to have some one else pull their chestnuts out of the fire." The 18th party congress included among the most important foreign political tasks strengthening the peace and business relations with all countries, and the development of peaceful, close, and good-neighborly relations with all neighboring countries sharing a common border with the USSR; support of the peoples who were victims of aggression and fighting for the independence of their country; firm resistance to the war mongers who are trying to disturb the inviolability of Soviet borders.

Guided by the Leninist principle of the support of peoples who are victims of aggression, the USSR took up the defense of the peoples of Czechoslovakia. It was the only country to condemn the Hitlerite aggression against that country (note of the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, dated 18 March 1939. IZVESTIYA, 20 March 1939).

Unsatisfied with his seizures, Hitler demanded of Poland to agree to transfer Danzig to Germany and grant extraterritorial status to the highway and railroad across the Polish Corridor. Meanwhile, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, the Western countries were "throwing under Hitler's feet ever new victims, nursing the hope that he would lead his hordes to the east, against the socialist country."

In such extremely stressed and complex international circumstances, the Soviet Union continued to pursue its peaceful foreign policy. It tried to rally the efforts of all peace-loving countries with a view to the defense of the peace

and to restraining the fascist aggressors. On 17 April 1939 the Soviet Government sent to the governments of Britain and France a draft plan for mutual aid among the USSR, Britain, and France, based on the principle of equal rights and obligations for its members. The most important articles in the pact read as follows:

- "1. Britain, France, and the USSR are concluding a mutual agreement for a 5- to 10-year period with the mutual obligation to provide each other immediate comprehensive aid, including military assistance, in the case of aggression in Europe against any of the contracting states.
- "2. Britain, France, and the USSR pledge to give comprehensive, including military, aid to the Eastern European countries located between the Baltic and the Black sea, and bordering the USSR, in the case of aggression committed against such countries.
- "3. Britain, France, and the USSR undertake to discuss within the shortest possible time and to determine the size and forms of military aid provided to each of these countries in accordance with items one and two" ("SSSR v Bor'be za Mir Nakanune Vtoroy Mirovoy Voyny (Sentyabr' 1938 g-Avgust 1939 g). Dokumenty i Materialy" [The USSR in the Struggle for Peace on the Eve of World War II (September 1938-August 1939). Documents and Materials]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1971, pp 336-337).

It was also proposed for Britain, France, and the USSR to undertake the obligation "following the outbreak of military operations not to enter into any talks whatever or make peace with the aggressors separately and without the common agreement of the three powers" (ibid). The Soviet proposals called for the conclusion of military convention along with the political agreement.

However, it was only on 8 May, i.e., three weeks later, that London answered. The British Government once again offered to the Government of the USSR to undertake "should Great Britain and France become involved in military operations in accordance with their assumed obligations, to provide immediate assistance, should this be deemed desirable, in a nature and conditions to be agreed upon" ("SSSR v Bor'be za Mir . . . ," p 383).

Answering the British aide memoire on 14 May, the Soviet Government pointed out that the "British proposals do not include the principle of reciprocity toward the USSR, placing it in a uneven position, for they do not stipulate any obligations on the part of Britain and France to give guarantees to the USSR in the case of a direct attack against it on the part of the aggressor, whereas Britain, France, and Poland have such a guarantee on a reciprocal basis" (ibid, p 395). This was the predatory game of British and French diplomacy, clearly manifested in the course of the lengthy talks on the conclusion of a mutual aid pact.

In the report submitted by the Soviet Government on the international situation and the foreign policy of the USSR to the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (25-31 May 1939), a detailed presentation was made of the

course and difficulties of Anglo-Franco-Soviet talks, related to the conclusion of a mutual aid pact. The doubt was also expressed of the seriousness of the intention of London and Paris to conclude a mutual aid agreement with the Soviet Union based on the principle of reciprocity.

The USSR Government expressed a legitimate concern on the subject of secret British and French intentions. Could it happen, the report emphasized, that their desire to limit aggression to some areas may not be an obstacle to unleashing aggression in other areas? Such questions were raised in some bourgeois press organs abroad. That is why we must remain vigilant.

An analysis of the development of the talks is found in the correspondence between the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the representatives of the USSR in London and Paris. Noted in the correspondence are differences in defining the concept of "indirect aggression," since both the British and the French were resorting to all possible sharp practices and unseemly subterfuges. It was reported that the military part was an inseparable component of the military-political treaty, as was the draft treaty under discussion, and that the Anglo-French suggestion of beginning by reaching a "political" agreement, and only after that move on to a military agreement, was categorically rejected. This Anglo-French proposal split the single treaty into two treaties and conflicted with the basic proposals submitted by the Soviet side on the simultaneous conclusion of the entire treaty, including its military part, which was the most important and most political part of the treaty. It was noted that without a specific military agreement as a structural part of the entire treaty, the treaty would turn into a meaningless declaration unacceptable to the USSR (see "SSSR v Bor'be za Mir . . . ," p 496).

Displaying restraint and patience, the Soviet Government pursued the talks. However, the position of the Anglo-French side created major doubts that London and Paris indeed wanted to conclude with the USSR a treaty based on the principle of reciprocity and equal obligations. This was realized by some bourgeois politicians as well. Thus, in July 1939 Lloyd-George stated that, "Lord Halifax visited Hitler and Goering. Chamberlain embraced the fuhrer on three consecutive occasions. . . . Why is it that a mere foreign office official has been sent to represent us in a far more powerful country which is offering us help? Only one answer is possible to this. Mr Neville Chamberlain, Lord Halifax, and Sir Simon do not want an alliance with Russia."

The documents of the German and British secret archives clearly answer the question of the reasons for the deliberate dragging of the talks with the USSR. The reason was that most-secret Anglo-German talks were initiated in June 1939. England offered to Germany to conclude an alliance which would have represented the creation of an Anglo-German entente. As Dirksen, an active participant in these talks, wrote, the cherished objective of the agreement suggested by Chamberlain was for Britain to abrogate "guarantees it had given to some countries within the German sphere of interests. Furthermore, Great Britain would have exerted its influence on France asking it to abrogate its alliance with the Soviet Union and its obligations in South East

Europe. England would also terminate its talks on a pact with the Soviet Union" ("Dokumenty i Materialy . . . ," vol 2, p 219). Furthermore Wilson stated that "the conclusion of a non-aggression pact would enable Britain to be free from obligations toward Poland" (ibid, p 75). The secret talks lasted nearly three months. Britain did everything possible to conclude a treaty with Hitler on a new division of the world and on the establishment of an Anglo-German aggressive military-political alliance on the basis of which Nazi Germany would unleash a war against the USSR. For this reason, even though agreeing to engage in talks with the Soviet Union on the conclusion of military convention which would become a structural part of an Anglo-Franco-Soviet mutual aid treaty, the Chamberlain Government tried to delay their initiation and, once initiated, to hinder their progress. Furthermore, the British military mission was sent to the USSR without written plenary powers, and reached Moscow only on 11 August.

Unlike this, the USSR Government appointed as the head of the Soviet delegation K. Ye. Voroshilov, people's commissar of defense, who was empowered not only to conduct the talks on a military convention but to sign it should the talks be completed successfully (see "SSSR v Bor'be za Mir . . . ," pp 535-536).

The strictly secret directive given the British (and the French) military mission proved that the Chamberlain Government had no intention whatever to sign a military mutual-aid convention with the USSR to repel German-fascist aggression ("Documents of British Foreign Policy 1919-1939," 3rd series, vol VI, p 763). Furthermore, the delegation was forbidden to discuss the matter of Soviet troops crossing Romanian and Polish territory and the defense of the Baltic countries (ibid, p 764).

The unwillingness shown by London and Paris to conclude a pact with the USSR is confirmed by the "diary" of General Dumenko, found among captured archive materials, containing his notes and impressions of the most important meetings and records of sessions, as recorded by the French mission (Historical-Diplomatic Archives of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Diary on the Stay of the French Military Mission in Moscow in 1939"). It became clear at the 13 August session that the British and the French had no plan for joint operations with the Soviet Union against a common enemy. The Soviet side alone presented a detailed military plan which called for joint actions by the armed forces of the USSR, Britain, and France in all possible cases of aggression.

B. M. Shaposhnikov, chief of general staff, presented a plan for the deployment of the Soviet Armed Forces on the western borders of the USSR. Accordingly, should aggression break out in Europe, the Soviet Army was ready to supply 120 infantry and 16 cavalry divisions, 5,000 guns, 9,000-10,000 tanks, and from 5,000 to 5,500 combat aircraft. The fortified areas along the entire western border of the USSR could be made combat ready in four to six hours, while the armed forces could be concentrated in 8 to 12 days (see "Istoriya Vtoroy Mirovoy Voyny. 1939-1945" [History of World War II, 1939-1945], vol 2, Moscow, 1974, pp 144-146).

Any alternative of the plan for engaging in joint operations against fascist Germany presumed that the Soviet troops would cross Romanian and Polish territories. For this reason, the Soviet delegation raised this main problem, without whose solution the talks became meaningless. It was clear to everyone that victory over fascist Germany could not be won without the powerful land army of the Soviet Union. However, the formulation of this question threw into great confusion the British and French military missions. Dumenko's "Diary" states the following on the subject: "This raised the curtain. We had agreed between us, from the very beginning, that we would not discuss the entry of the Russians into Poland. Now, however, the question had to be discussed, for it was difficult to avoid Marshal Voroshilov's iron logic. . . . After such an attack all that was left was to end the session, which was done in the midst of great excitement. Emerging into the garden where little groups were gathering, Admiral Drax said: 'I would assume that our mission has ended.'" Those same words are cited by the American historian Mosley, who used British sources (see L. Mosley, "Utrachennoye Vremya. Kak Nachalas' Vtoraya Mirovaya Voyna" [Lost Time. How World War II Began]. Translated from the English, Moscow, 1972, p 292).

Nevertheless, the British and French missions went on with their game: They resorted to all possible tricks to establish the appearance that the talks were continuing.

Exposing the maneuverings of the British and French delegations, on 21 August K. Ye. Voroshilov stated that he was not willing to have another break in the meetings. He explained that should a positive answer be received to the question of the crossing of Soviet forces into Polish territory, the meeting should be convened as early as possible. However, no answer followed from London and Paris. It was thus that by the fault of the British and French governments that the talks lost all meaning, for which reason they were terminated.

On 16 August V. M. Molotov informed American Ambassador Steinhardt on the Moscow talks conducted by the military missions ("SSSR v Bor'be za Mir . . .," p 605). However, the U.S. Government pretended that this had nothing to do with it. In fact, this was the equivalent of an approval of the policy of conspiracy with the aggressor pursued by Chamberlain.

At the same time, the then reactionary Polish ruling clique was doing everything possible to wreck the Moscow talks by extending its previous anti-Soviet course and categorically rejecting the demand of the USSR to allow Soviet troops to cross its territory. Thus through its provocatory anti-Soviet policy it played into the hands of the fascist aggressors and helped to wreck an Anglo-Franco-Soviet agreement.

By refusing to conclude a defense alliance with the USSR, Britain and France doomed Poland to inevitable defeat. Warsaw's position suited London perfectly, for it believed that the Poles could be blamed for the failure of the talks. Furthermore, the seizure of Poland by Germany would bring about war between Germany and the USSR. American historian Shuman claims that in the West:

"everyone preferred the death of Poland to its defense by the Soviet Union. Everyone hoped that as a result of this war would break out between Germany and the USSR" (F. Shuman, "Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad," New York, 1946, p 376).

The VKP(b) Central Committee and the Soviet Government soberly assessed the international circumstances and clearly realized the threat of the arising world war. The USSR was doing everything possible to prevent it. Under the established conditions the preservation of the peace was of prime importance to the Soviet state. In this case our government also took into consideration that in the Far East, as of May 1939 a war against Japan was already essentially under way in the area of the Khalkhin-Gol River. Thus, at that time the USSR faced the real threat of waging simultaneously war against two powerful imperialist countries, in the East and the West, under the circumstances of complete foreign political isolation.

The Soviet state was faced with the most serious task of preventing the formation of a united imperialist front to wage war against the USSR with a view to its destruction and the satisfaction of the aspirations of the aggressive powers at the expense of the Soviet Union. "Our party and Soviet people," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "well remembered Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's warning that imperialism may unleash a second war against the Soviet Union at all times, and took measures to upgrade the economic and defense power of the country."

The Soviet Government concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany, making this decision only when it became convinced of the impossibility of creating an anti-Hitlerite coalition due to the unwillingness of the British and French governments to make a defense alliance with the USSR opposing Hitlerite aggression. General Pallas, the French military attache in the Soviet Union, who had taken part in the Moscow talks, wrote in his 23 August 1939 report to Paris that, "I continue to believe that to the USSR the solution of the problem through an agreement with Germany is merely a way to avoid a worse end and, perhaps, a means for pressure aimed at the faster creation of a firm, well-united coalition, which as I have always believed is the wish of the Soviet leadership" (see ISTORIYA SSSR, No 3, 1962, p 23).

K. Ye. Voroshilov, the head of the Soviet military mission, gave an extremely clear answer to the question of the reasons for the conclusion of a treaty with Germany, in his 27 August 1939 interview: "It was not because the military talks with Britain and France were broken that the USSR concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany. On the contrary, the USSR concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany as a result, among other things, of the fact that the military talks with France and Britain resulted in a dead end by virtue of insurmountable differences" ("SSSR v Bor'be za Mir . . .," pp 642-643). Consequently, the British and French unwillingness to conclude a political and military alliance with the USSR not only undermined the foundations of their security but led the outbreak of World War II.

The non-aggression treaty with Germany gave the USSR additional time to strengthen its defense potential and to prepare the country to repel the

aggression. The Communist Party and Government of the USSR called upon the Soviet people to be vigilant and to strengthen even more adamantly the defense power of our state. No less important was also the fact that the Soviet-German treaty prevented the creation of a single anti-Soviet front by the capitalist states. By concluding a treaty with Germany, the Soviet Union wrecked the treacherous intentions of the "Munich people," who wanted Germany and Japan to declare war on the USSR, assigning themselves the role of a cheering outsider. However, they themselves were forced to enter the war and experience the blows of the fascist Wehrmacht.

The Munich policy pursued by Britain, France, and the United States, as well as the 1939 events are quite instructive. They prove that the policy of conspiracy with the aggressive fascist countries, headed by Hitlerite Germany, pursued at that time by the leading Western powers with a view to the destruction of the Soviet Union, turned out to be fraught with severe consequences to the cause of peace and to themselves. Hitlerite Germany and the other aggressive countries turned their weapons first of all against Britain, France, and a number of other Western countries.

Because of the nearsighted anti-Soviet position held by the Western powers, the struggle waged by the USSR to restrain fascist aggression did not succeed in the establishment of a collective security system. However, the imperialist plans aimed at strangling the homeland of socialism were wrecked. The Soviet Union marched in the vanguard of the struggle for peace, against fascism, and against imperialist war, and for democratic freedoms and social progress. Its peace-loving foreign policy earned it high prestige throughout the world.

On 22 June 1941 fascist Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union. The different circles in Europe and America adopted varying attitudes toward this event. One day following the Hitlerite attack on the USSR, the noted senator and, subsequently, U.S. president, H. Truman, said: "If we see that Germany is winning we should help Russia. If Russia is winning, we should help Germany so that they may kill each other as much as possible" (NEW YORK TIMES, 24 June 1941).

The Soviet Union assumed the main burden of the armed struggle against the Hitlerite war machine. The Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the preparations for the creation of anti-fascist coalition whose main participants were the USSR, the United States, Britain, and France. "The Great Patriotic War," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26 October 1973 world peace congress, "was to us, the Soviet people, a struggle not only for the freedom and independence of our homeland. It was also a battle for the salvation of world civilization, and for a future, just peace."

The results of World War II proved that any attempt to put an end to social progress and crush socialism is senseless. In present times the piratical adventures of imperialism could end only in failure. Yet, the history of World War II teaches the nations to be vigilant, promptly to expose criminal aggressive plans, tirelessly to fight against their implementation, and to firmly defend the cause of peace.

A tremendous distance separates the international positions of our country in the 1970's from the positions which existed on the eve of World War II. Qualitative changes have taken place in the international status of the Soviet Union and in the entire sociopolitical aspect of the world. "An end has been put to the capitalist encirclement of the USSR. Socialism has become a world system. A powerful socialist comity has developed. The positions of world capitalism have weakened substantially. Tens of young countries have appeared in the place of the former colonies, opposing imperialism. The international prestige and influence of our country have risen immeasurably" (L. I. Brezhnev).

The historical changes which occurred in the ratio of forces in the international arena in favor of peace, democracy, and socialism, made it possible to raise in a qualitatively new fashion problems of international security. The 24th and 25th party congresses formulated a realistic program for the struggle for peace and international cooperation, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples. As was pointed out by A. A. Gromyko, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, the foreign political course of the Soviet Union proves the "tremendous increase of the possibilities of Soviet foreign policy, the global expansion of the realm of its activities, and the vital importance of its objectives and tasks to the destinies of all nations and the entire world."

Indeed, the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems are becoming an ever stronger norm of international relations. The policy of detente is consolidating its dominant role. The question of disarmament and of the elimination of material means of warfare is being urgently raised.

Certain successes have been achieved in a number of directions of the struggle for restraining the arms race. The Soviet people and the broad world public opinion are deeply satisfied with the results of the Vienna meeting between L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and U.S. President J. Carter. The conclusion of SALT II between the USSR and the United States not only marks an important step forward in normalizing Soviet-American relations and the entire international political climate, but opens new opportunities for putting an end to the quantitative and qualitative growth of nuclear missile armaments, thus bringing closer the implementation of the supreme objective of nuclear disarmament. The Vienna meeting proved that on the basis of the strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security, and with goodwill, a balance could be achieved between the interests of both sides, thus promoting the strengthening of universal peace, restraining the arms race, and developing mutually profitable cooperation.

The Soviet Union is fully resolved to advance on the path of peace, and to do everything possible to exclude war forever from the life of mankind. "Signing this treaty," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said on 18 July in Vienna's Hofburg Palace, "we are helping to defend the most sacred right of all men-- the right to life."

BEASTLY FACE OF FASCISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 65-74

[Article by army General V. Tolubko]

[Text] An ever greater distance separates us from the time of World War II. Over the past decades a great deal has changed in the world. However, we must not forget those who prepared the war and the crimes committed by fascism, the more so since new generations of people have been raised and, in a number of capitalist countries, the United States in particular, the young people are frequently even unaware of who fought whom in World War II.

As to the Soviet people, the Great Patriotic War will never be erased from their memory. The Soviet people strive toward peace. This is not only because our country experienced all the hardships of war, having lost millions of sons and daughters. They know that the building of a communist society requires durable peace on earth and are well aware of the even fiercer nature of a war unleashed by aggressive forces.

Delirious aggression and man-hating criminal thoughts are imbedded in the very nature of capitalism. Long before the appearance of fascism, V. I. Lenin had studied the two methods of bourgeois class rule--violence and "liberalism"--which "either alternate or become interwoven in a variety of combinations" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, p 67). In his work, "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism," he exposed the features inherent in monopoly capitalism which determine the trend toward reaction along all lines, and the tremendous growth of the bureaucratic and military-police apparatus aimed at suppressing the revolutionary actions of the proletariat and the broad popular masses, and at annexations and a fierce struggle for the division of the world.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, which inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind, under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism and the fast upsurge of the revolutionary movement, in order to protect its class rule, in a number of countries the imperialist bourgeoisie has abandoned the old, no-longer-suitable parliamentary forms of government, replacing them with open militant tyranny. It is noteworthy that fascist movements and regimes have earned the support of the monopolies above all

precisely in the capitalist countries where the manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism was particularly strong and where a solution of acute social contradictions through revolutionary methods was ripening.

The monopoly bourgeoisie in Germany, Italy, and a number of other capitalist countries considered suitable only a system which, using all possible means, would deal mercilessly with the communist and labor movements and the revolutionary masses, destroy the traditional bourgeois-democratic freedoms which hindered it, insure the unrestricted growth of profits, and prepare conditions for the establishment of world domination. "The advent of fascism to power," noted G. Dimitrov at the Seventh Comintern Congress, "is no simple substitution of one bourgeois government by another, but the replacement of one governmental form of bourgeois class rule--bourgeois democracy--with another form--open terrorist dictatorship."

The seizure of power by the fascists meant the establishment of unrestrained omnipotence by the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialistic elements of financial capitalism. In Hitlerite Germany, where fascism manifested itself in its "classical" aspect, this open terroristic dictatorship was characterized by beastly chauvinism and racism, a governmental system of political banditry, organization of provocations and tortures against participants in the revolutionary movement, medieval barbarism and bigotry, and unrestrained aggression against other nations.

Seizing the power in the country, the Hitlerite clique immediately undertook bloody reprisals on all its political enemies, the destruction of bourgeois-democratic procedures, and the dismembering of all political parties, trade unions, and public organizations other than the fascist.

Germany entered the path of unrestricted terror, militarization, and blossoming of state-monopoly capital. Its territory was covered by a thick grid of jails and concentration camps, crowded with communists, social democrats, and other real or potential opponents of the Hitlerite system. The dark clouds of Nazi robbery raged over the country.

A powerful widespread party-state mechanism of violence was established to suppress the anti-fascist resistance. In it the so-called "security detachments" of the fascist army--the SS--the state secret police--the Gestapo--and the security police--the SD--played in it the main role. These punitive-terrorist organizations consisted of dyed-in-the-wool throat cutters and merciless executioners, beasts with a human face. Their tasks stemmed from the general plan of the Hitlerite leadership and consisted of the physical destruction both of the opponents of fascism within the country, as well as of entire nations abroad. The leading and most inhuman organization was that of the SS. It was the SS who committed the most severe crimes of German fascism, mass murders in concentration camps, and merciless reprisals against the civilian population and prisoners of war.

Along with a terror unparalleled in scale and cruelty, the fascist government applied a refined system ideological and organizational measures aimed at

conquering the minds of the broad German masses. As a result, most of the population became prisoners of a nationalistic and chauvinistic passion, lost their healthy orientation in the events, and began blindly to support the Nazi system.

Mercilessly suppressing the revolutionary and democratic process within the country, the Hitlerite leadership charted a course toward the accelerated militarization of the "Third Reich" and its all-round preparation for war. It raised over the world the bloody knife of aggression and, in 1938, aimed it at Europe. Austria and Czechoslovakia became the first victims of German fascism. World War II broke out with the attack on Poland on 1 September 1939. Before attacking the Soviet Union, fascist Germany seized Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, a considerable part of France, Greece, and Yugoslavia. No single conquered country was able to seriously oppose the aggression. The blood of helpless people was being shed everywhere.

Encouraged by their exceptionally easy victories in Europe, the bosses of the "Third Reich" decided that there was no force on earth to stop them on their way to global domination. The economy of the empire and of almost all its allies was mobilized and channeled into providing material and technical support for the aggression against the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The circumstances developed in such a way that, fooled by Hitlerite propaganda, the German philistines saw the war not in terms of ruination and sorrow but as a source for personal enrichment at the expense of the incalculable calamities and deprivations of other peoples. Suffice it to say that the German Supreme Command guaranteed to all military servicemen in the fascist hordes the right, after the war, to be given vast landed estates on captured Soviet territory.

The Hitlerites planned to defeat the Land of the Soviets with the same lightning speed as the countries of capitalist Europe. Their aggressive plans contemplated an entire set of monstrous and man-hating political, economic, and strategic objectives. The single federated state of the USSR was to be dismembered and totally eliminated. All occupied territory was to be converted into German provincial colonies. The Hitlerites intended to destroy the socialist state and social systems, abolish the USSR Constitution and all Soviet legislation, and deprive the Soviet citizens of even most basic rights. They were to be replaced by the directives of the fascist system of terrorism, provocations, reciprocal guarantees, and hostages, without granting the people the right to defend their very lives. All captured material resources were declared the possession of the fascist empire. Factories and plants were to operate on the basis of the capitalist system with forced labor. All arable and farm land was proclaimed German ownership. So-called "communal farms" were to be established on the basis of the kolkhozes. "State farms," headed by fascist farm fuhrers, were to be organized instead of sovkhoses and machine-tractor stations. A comprehensive slavery-serfdom system was established for the peasants. All crops were to be confiscated and immediately

shipped to Germany or placed locally at the disposal of the Wehrmacht. This doomed the peasant population to destruction. "Unquestionably," someone said at a Hitlerite conference on economic problems, held on 2 May 1941, "should we be able to siphon off from the country everything that we need, tens of millions of people would die a hungry death."

Soviet art and literature, and the higher and secondary education systems were to be destroyed. Primary education was to be strictly controlled by the German administration. The enslaved people need no education, the fascist rulers stated. Most basic knowledge would be entirely adequate for them--to know how to sign their names and count to no more than 500 (see "Porazheniye Germanskogo Imperializma vo Vtoroy Mirovoy Voiny Stat'i i Dokumenty" [The Defeat of German Imperialism in World War II. Articles and Documents]. Voenizdat, Moscow, 1960, pp 226-227).

The fascist aggressors intended to destroy the majority of the Soviet population which had fallen under their yoke, or to resettle them in remote areas of Siberia. The remaining among the living in the occupied European part of USSR territory were to be Germanized and turned into slaves of the "Third Reich." Communists, leaders of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, Red Army political workers, the progressive intelligentsia, and the Jews, Gypsies, and the mentally ill were to be totally eliminated.

With the icy calm of the medieval Inquisition, the rulers of the Hitlerite Reich planned to subject the death punishment through the most terrifying means the peaceful Soviet population, even for insignificant violations of the occupation system. Prisoners of war were to be shot under any pretext, or simply without one.

Field Marshal Kaitel, chief of staff of the Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces, issued the following instruction to the aggressors: "In order to nip discontent in the bud, most cruel measures must be immediately applied, even for the slightest reason. . . . It should be borne in mind that human life in countries to which this applies is totally worthless, and that a feeling of fear can be created only through the use of extraordinary cruelty. As reprisal for the life of a single German soldier, in such cases, as a rule, 50 to 100 communists must be executed. The method of execution must be such as to increase the feeling of fear" ("Nyurnbergskiy Protsess nad Glavnymi Nemetskimi Voyennymi Prestupnikami" [The Nuremberg Trail of the Main German War Criminals]. In 7 vols. Vol 4. Gosyurizdat, Moscow, 1959, p 587).

In addition to their immediate obligations, the Wehrmacht soldiers and officers were assigned punitive functions as well. It was their obligation to be merciless toward Soviet citizens. Any crime or mass reprisal was allowed on captured territory. In particular, anyone who would display even the slightest resistance and would be suspected of sympathizing with the communists could be shot on the spot without trial or investigation. No single Hitlerite soldier could be prosecuted for the commission of a crime. At the 30 March 1941 conference of the Wehrmacht command, Hitler cynically

summed up the fact that "it is a question of a struggle for destruction. . . . In the East cruelty itself is something good for the future" (F. Halder, "Voyennyy Dnevnik" [War Diary]. Translated from the German. Vol 2. Voenizdat, Moscow, 1969, pp 430-431).

As we know, fascist Germany and its European satellites attacked the USSR on 22 June 1941, treacherously, without a declaration of war. The Soviet Union joined a mortal conflict imposed upon it by the worst enemy of mankind--German fascism. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people for the honor, freedom, and independence of their homeland began.

As the fascist forces moved within the country's territory, the Hitlerite plans for the enslavement of the Soviet people began to be methodically implemented. The administrative map of the USSR was being redone. The occupied republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons became Reichkomisariats, general commissariats, okrugs, rayons, and volosts. They were headed by reichs commissars, general, okrug, and rayon commissars, volostburgmeisters, and rural elders. Everything Soviet was destroyed. The "new order" was being imposed through the fire and the sword.

Let us immediately point out here, that defending their socialist homeland, in answer to the Hitlerite crimes, the Soviet people in temporarily occupied territory launched a merciless struggle against the German-fascist aggressors. This nationwide resistance began from the very first days of the enemy's invasion of our country and continued with growing persistence under the leadership of the communist party through the forces of the guerrilla formations, the clandestine organizations, and the local population.

About two million Soviet patriots actively participated in the guerrilla and clandestine armed struggle against the aggressors. Their heroism, courage, and staunchness were infinite. Through their selfless actions they spread fear and confusion in the enemy camp, caused tremendous harm to the occupation forces by killing, wounding, and capturing about 1.5 million Hitlerites and their accomplices, triggering over 18,000 wreckages of enemy echelons of troops, combat materiel, and other freight, and destroying a great quantity of various armaments, depots, and engineering equipment, and other targets.

In the summer of 1943 guerrillas controlled over 200,000 square kilometers of Soviet territory occupied by the Hitlerites--the size of Britain, Denmark, and Belgium put together. A legal Soviet system operated in partisan areas and zones. Here millions of Soviet citizens were hiding from the reprisals of the punitive forces. Guerrillas and clandestine workers destroyed enemy staffs and garrisons, disorganized the work of the railroad transportation system, blocked the shipping of material values to the Reich, or of Soviet people to fascist slave labor, and freed prisoners of war and concentration camp inmates. Workers, peasants, and employees sabotaged the economic measures planned by the occupation powers and prevented the rebuilding and commissioning of electric power plants, factories, plants, and mines; the peasants concealed their crops, cattle, and poultry. The population tried secretly to preserve and support the organizational structure of the soviets, which had

existed before the war, as well as industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses. It eagerly listened to and disseminated any news on successes achieved by the Soviet forces at the front.

The armed struggle of the guerrillas, the active efforts of the clandestine workers, and the adamant and comprehensive resistance of the population were of great help to the Soviet Army in its combat operations against the troops of the fascist aggressors.

The big horde of "fuhrers" and officials of various grades, and plunderers and executioners followed the advancing Hitlerite forces like a pack of wild animals. Goering, demagogically hiding behind alleged interests of the nation, instructed this horde as follows: "You have been sent there not to work for the prosperity of the peoples intrusted to you, but to extract everything possible. . . . That is what I expect of you. . . . Like pointers you must go wherever anything may be found that the German people may need. Such objects must be taken out of the warehouses and shipped here with lightning speed" ("Nyurnbergskiy Protsess" In 7 vols. Vol 3, pp 425, 427).

The occupation troops, economic staffs, economic inspection and teams, fascist commissars, and farm fuhrers laid their predatory hands on the people's property and undertook immediately to ship it to the Reich. Trains loaded with strategic raw materials, industrial equipment, food, and cattle rolled to Germany. As we know, not all of them reached their destinations. The heroic struggle of the Soviet patriots behind enemy lines wrecked many of the plans of the Hitlerite command.

The aggressors created unbearably heavy living conditions for the Soviet citizens on the temporarily occupied territory. All able-bodied population was mandatorily recruited for labor duty for the Reich. Slave-labor conditions prevailed. Even in industrial enterprises and agricultural work dangerous to the health the duration of the working day was 14 to 16 hours; miserable wages were paid.

All possible unbearable taxes, requisitions, and penalties were mercilessly imposed on workers, peasants, and employees. Income, military, and poll taxes, insurance and hospital fees, inheritance and building taxes were imposed. "Unnecessary" doors and windows, furniture, transportation facilities, cattle, dogs, and even cats were confiscated.

Exhausting slave labor, inhuman privations, and hunger led to the rapid exhaustion of the physical strength of the people and undermined their health. Mass diseases broke out comprehensively and epidemics raged. There was a shortage of medical personnel, hospital beds, and medicines. The overwhelming majority of the sick were left without most basic medical aid and, essentially, at the mercy of fate. All this resulted in an exceptionally high mortality rate among the civilian population.

The forced mass herding of Soviet citizens to do slave work in Germany turned into a real tragedy. People were grabbed as they slept, in the streets, in

movie theaters and market places, at work in enterprises, fields, and gardens, loaded into freight cars and, under guard, sent abroad, thousands of kilometers away from the homeland. As reported by the German authorities themselves, in 1942 alone about two million people were shipped out of the occupied territories.

In Germany they were placed in so-called "labor camps," surrounded by barbed wire, and kept under guard. They were categorically forbidden to leave the camp, speak to people of German nationality for any reason other than work, or with other foreign workers and prisoners of war. They walked only in line and under armed guard. They worked also under the muzzles of submachine guns and the rifles of the guards, doing essentially most heavy work. Various types of punitive work was imposed upon them for even the most minor infraction of the rules or non-fulfillment of production assignments on time. They were deprived of hot food and thrown in jail. They lived in packed, damp, and dirty, and cold barracks. They slept in two to three tiered bunks infested with parasites. They were constantly plagued by skin diseases and epidemics. Medical services were virtually nil. They were fed a starvation diet. Food was distributed twice daily. The first meal was a watery soup, rarely containing a few grams of beef whose human consumption had been banned by veterinarians. No work clothing was issued. They worked and slept in the clothes had come with.

The Soviet prisoners of war, shipped to the Reich with a view to compensating for the shortage of manpower, lived under even worse conditions. The Geneva Convention notwithstanding, most of them were employed in the war industry, in mines, and other most labor-intensive types of work. They were denied all the rights which international laws granted prisoners of war, and kept in concentration camps as ordinary inmates. They were forced to work to total physical exhaustion, starved, subjected to most refined torture, sent to solitary, given to the Gestapo, and shipped to death camps. They were fired upon without warning.

On temporarily seized territory criminal methods were used against the Soviet people to insure their unconditional obedience of the fascist authorities. SS, Gestapo, field police, Sonderkomando, and Einsatzgruppen of executioners and murderers operated in all cities and worker settlements. Any Hitlerite military commandant, official, or officer was the "legislator" and "judge" on his land. People were detained, sent to concentration camp, hurled into Gestapo jails, shot, and hanged for leaving work, walking in the street during curfew, reading anti-fascist leaflets, listening to Moscow radio broadcasts, or other violations of the blood-shedding occupation regime.

From the very first day of the war the monstrous fascist machinery of the mass destruction of the Soviet civilian population began to operate strictly according to plan and at full capacity. As confirmed by the cannibalistic reports of the leaders of the Einsatzgruppen Stalleker, Naumann, Rasch, and Olendorf to their Berlin masters, in the first four months of the war over 135,000 civilians were tortured, shot, or hanged in the Baltic area and many parts of Belorussia; on 12 October 1941 there were over 51,000 executions in

Kiev; at the end of March 1942, 91,678 people were killed in the southern parts of the Ukraine and the Crimea (see "Nyurnbergskiy Protsess" In 3 vols. Vol 3, Gosyurizdat, Moscow, 1966, pp 355, 363-365).

On the way to their execution, those sentenced among the adult population were subjected to cruel tortures: They were hanged upside down with hands tied behind their backs from trees and the cross-beams of gallows. They were crucified with nails on wooden crosses. Many of them had their ears, fingers, and toes cut off, their eyes put out, and five-pointed stars cut or branded on their chests. The breasts of women were cut off. After such and other fanatically cruel tortures, the prisoners were shot or hanged. The infamous "death vans" were not neglected either. . . .

Cruel death awaited children as well. The Hitlerite executioners killed them together with their parents, in groups or singly, in children's homes or hospitals, in Gestapo jails and special concentration camps, pierced with bayonets, thrown alive into fires, buried in pits and ravines, or poisoned. Thus, in only two months, in the Yanovskiy Concentration Camp for Children alone, in L'vov, about 8,000 killed.

The "Darkness and Fog" Hitlerite directive of 7 September 1941 applied to those among the people who had fallen into the bloodied hands of the SS and other executioners, but were not destined to die in their native land, and together with hundreds of thousands of their killed compatriots, lie somewhere in a deep ravine, pit, or, finally, a trench they had dug themselves. Both Soviet civilians and war prisoners affected by this directive were shipped in cold freight cars, without water or food, for several days, to be destroyed far beyond the homeland, in the death camps of Oswiecim, Majdanek, Treblinka, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbruk (for women), Mauthausen, and many others. Nothing was reported to their relatives as to their fate. All in all, over four million inmates of various nationalities were killed in Oswiecim, about 500,000 in Majdanek, over 800,000 in Treblinka, 56,000 in Buchenwald, 100,000 in Sachsenhausen, 93,000 in Ravensbruk, and over 122,000 in Mauthausen.

The fate of the people in the death camps depended entirely on the mood of the camp and superior administrations. Whenever they wanted to get rid of the inmates as rapidly as possible and without unnecessary trouble, they were taken off the freight cars, lined up, and under the pretext of medical processing, under the sound of an orchestra, were sent to gas chambers disguised as "steam baths," "bathing rooms," and "hot showers." Zyklon-B ampules were thrown through special openings in those premises and in a few minutes "in one session" no less than 200 people would die. Meanwhile the victims waiting for their turn were impatiently awaiting their "bath" or "shower," in order to warm up, wash up, and sleep properly in the camp barracks, not even suspecting that that was to be their final trip.

The moment the last signs of life vanished from the chambers, special SS commandos, wearing gas masks, went in. They extracted the gold teeth and caps from the victims, removed rings, and cut the hair of the women. The thus "processed" corpses were then piled on trucks and sent to the crematoriums and burned. The ashes were taken to the fields and used as fertilizer.

This went on day after day, month after month, and year after year. The average daily "productivity" of the Oswiecim death combine was 10,000 to 12,000 inmates.

The fate of some inmates and war prisoners was different. The healthiest and strongest, young or middle aged inmates were registered in the camp records. Individual numbers were tattooed on their left arm and they were sent to barracks. These people to whom nature had given a mind, a humane attitude toward the world around them, and the creators of material and spiritual values were turned into working cattle. They were sold wholesale or retail at advantageous prices to firms and concerns, doomed to long hours of slave labor, tortured, subjected to forbidden medical experiments, and, finally, killed. In the hands of the "experimenters" and various medical executioners, the inmates were turned into guinea pigs. On assignment, firms and concerns tried on living people various chemicals, poisons, gasses, and vaccines. Numerous experiments were conducted inoculating diseases, bone transplants, extraction of spinal and bone marrow, freezing and burning bodies with phosphorous, sterilization of men and women, etc.

The Hitlerite executioners paid particular attention inmates with most expressive faces, beautiful lips and teeth, or tattooed or impeccably clean skin. From their treated heads the executioners made little statues and paper holders as decorative items for the offices and desks of highly placed SS; their skins were used to make book bindings, lamp shades, and ladies' gloves and purses.

There are no statistical figures to cover the fascist atrocities committed on civilians and prisoners of war. Humanity has witnessed the monstrous crimes of conquerors such Genghis Khan and Timur, and Conquistadores. However, never before had mankind been exposed to anything resembling the doings of the SS, Gestapo, and other fascist murderers of the 20th century. In terms of extent, cruelty, and variety of barbaric executions, the Hitlerite executioners exceeded hundreds of times all executioners of all times and nations. During the occupation of a number of parts of the USSR and the establishment of the "new order" in them, the fascists killed millions of Soviet citizens. A large number of people were shipped out of the country and destroyed in concentration camps. Millions were exiled to Germany by force.

Pursuing its mirage of global domination, German fascism brought to the nations, on its bloody bayonets, incalculable suffering and calamities, destruction and hunger, grief and death.

The Soviet people withstood in the most severe trials of the struggle against Hitlerite tyranny. Showing mass heroism, the Soviet people, led by the communist party, won a great victory over the hated enemy, defended the honor and freedom of their socialist homeland, and saved mankind from fascist slavery. The Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and its allies.

The victory in the war proved the greatness and insurmountable strength of socialism and the patriotic and international exploit of the multinational Soviet people rallied around the communist party. It had a most profound impact on the course of world history.

The results of the great victory were protected and strengthened thanks to the systematic and active struggle waged by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, the international communist and workers' movements, and all progressive and peace-loving forces.

Guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union is steadfastly following the course of peace and detente.

In the great battle for peace the Soviet people and all peace-loving forces are facing the fierce opposition of the enemies of detente, including those who failed to learn the necessary lessons from the defeat of the aggressors in World War II.

The defeat the aggressive fascist bloc and the death sentence passed on fascism by the international military tribunal, in Nuremberg, in 1946, unfortunately did not bring about the total elimination of the brown plague.

In our days many bourgeois historians are trying to whitewash fascism. Thus, the British historian A. Hamilton claims that there was no fascism whatever but that there was only a myth of fascism. His colleague, S. Wulf, suggests that fascism be forgotten and that this word hated by all mankind be deleted from the political glossary. American historian E. Weber states that, allegedly, the fascists either were or wanted to be revolutionaries.

All such fabrications by reactionary historiography are totally imbued with the aspiration to rehabilitate fascism. Their purpose is to draw the attention of the peoples away from the growth of neo-fascism today.

Characteristically, when the long cold war proclaimed by Churchill began in 1946, the extreme reactionary forces and fascist elements raised their heads and identified themselves and their objectives not only in West Germany and Italy but in a number of other capitalist countries, including countries within the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

In the postwar years, gradually a widespread network of right-wing fascist or semi-fascist organizations developed in them. Their influence and strength fluctuate depending on changes in the domestic and international political circumstances.

In the present conditions of the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the neo-fascist forces are extensively using the so-called strategy of tension, organizing murders, kidnapping, and other subversive actions.

Characterizing the contemporary imperialism, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said the following at the 25th CPSU Congress: "The experience of the revolutionary

movement of recent years has clearly confirmed that should the real threat to the domination of monopoly capital and its political figureheads arise, imperialism is capable of anything, rejecting all appearances of democracy. It is ready to violate the sovereignty of the state and all legality, not to mention humaneness. Slander, the stupifying of the public, economic blockade, sabotage, the organization of hunger and destruction, bribery and threats, terrorism, the organization of murders of political leaders, and fascist-style pogroms are the arsenal of the contemporary counterrevolution, which is always allied with international imperialist reaction."

The reactionary military, conspiring with the neo-fascists in promoting coups d'etat, exerts great influence on the domestic and foreign policies of some countries.

A number of fascist ideas and methods have been adopted by extreme right-wing circles of a number of other countries. This is confirmed by the example of the racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia, the unbridled mass terrorism of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea, the crimes of the Chinese military in Vietnam, and the neo-fascist acts of terrorism in the developed capitalist countries.

Nevertheless, since World War II fascism has been unable to regain its positions. The overthrow of the fascist regimes in Portugal and Greece, the fall of the Falange in Spain, and of the anti-people's bloody Somosa dictatorship in Nicaragua offer convincing proofs of its weakness. The greatest obstacle to fascism is the powerful united front of the peoples of the socialist countries, the international communist movement, and democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

However, we cannot claim that the possibility that fascism may arise in one or another capitalist country today has been entirely eliminated. The socio-political processes (growth of state-monopoly capitalism, intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, and economic and political upheavals), which, in their time, gave birth to fascism, are continuing in the contemporary capitalist society as well. Consequently, the danger of fascism remains. The struggle for its elimination, maximum vigilance toward the intrigues of fascism whose beastly face can never be erased from the memory of the peoples is the important task of anyone who supports the peace, democracy and socialism.

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NEW DOCUMENTS OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 75-84

[Documents prepared for publication by Colonel Yu. V. Plotnikov and P. F. Shkorubskiy, Institute of Military History, USSR Ministry of Defense]

[Text] In World War II, led by the Communist Party, the Soviet people and their armed forces made a decisive contribution to the universal-historical victory over fascist Germany. The winning of this victory took years of fierce blood-shedding struggle in the course of which the entire Soviet people and their great soldiers displayed the highest courage and mass heroism.

By crushing the German-fascist army they not only defended the freedom and independence of their socialist fatherland but honorably fulfilled a great liberation mission, comprehensively helping the peoples enslaved by Hitlerite Germany in their struggle for salvation from the fascist yoke.

The exploit of the Soviet people in the front and the rear, and their disinterested and selfless aid to the peoples of Europe created and will continue to create in our friends and all progressive mankind feelings of profound gratitude and admiration. Neither time nor the efforts of the bourgeois falsifiers of history can erase from the people's memory the determining role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and its allies. "...No one can or will be allowed to forget," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "that the people of our time owe to a tremendous extent their very existence and freedom to the heroic Soviet people, Soviet state, and great socialist system!"

The selection of documents from the Great Patriotic War, presented to the readers, reveal the nature of combat and material aid which the Soviet Union gave the peoples of a number of European countries and their attitude toward it. The materials make it possible to realize, yet once again, the highly humane nature of the Soviet people, their loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and to their international duty.

These documents, published for the first time, are stored at the Central Archive of the USSR Ministry of Defense, and the Central Museum of the USSR Armed Forces. They were prepared for publication by Colonel Yu. V. Plotnikov and Colonel P. F. Shkorubskiy, associates of the USSR Ministry of Defense Institute of Military History.

Document No 1.

From the Letter by the Commander of the First Polish Corps to the Supreme Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the USSR

22 August 1943

Moscow, the Kremlin

On the eve of the departure to the front by the First Polish Division imeni Tadeusz Kosciuszko, on my behalf and on behalf of the division's officers and soldiers allow me to express to you my warm gratitude for the concern and attention you gave to our Polish armed forces in the USSR.

We thank you, citizen marshal, and your government for organizing and arming our division and for the implementation of our dream to participate in the struggle against the German oppressors of Poland. We shall never forget this. A warm gratitude to the great Soviet ally who, in a difficult time, has given us real aid will remain forever alive in the heart of the Polish people. We are happy to have the opportunity to fight side by side with the heroic Red Army, whose officers and soldiers covered themselves with glory with the historical victories in the struggle for Stalingrad, Orel, and Belgorod.

Our blood, shed on the front in the struggle against the common enemy, will cement forever the friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

I assure you, citizen marshal, that the Polish Division imeni T. Kosciuszko, which is going to the front, as well as the new units left behind to complete their military training, will do everything possible at the front to be worthy of our incomparable comrades in arms--the Red Army soldiers. In the battles we shall be inspired by that same burning hatred for the German aggressors and that same love for the homeland which are inspiring the Red Army in the struggle against the Hitlerite monsters, waged under your command.

Long live the battle alliance between the Polish and Soviet peoples!

Long live the brotherhood in arms between the Polish armed forces and the Red Army!

Commander of the First Polish Corps Major General Zygmunt Berling

Translated from the Polish

Copy to TsAMO SSSR [Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense], f. [Archive] 19, op. [List] 11,539, d. [File] 43, ll. [Sheets] 3, 4.

Document No 2.

On Help to the Warsaw Insurrectionists

From the Report of the Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front to the Supreme Commander in Chief

2 October 1944

With a view to helping the insurrectionists in the city of Warsaw, from 13 September to 1 October 1944 the front's aviation made 4,821 flights, including: 2,435 for supply drops; 100 for suppressing the enemy's anti-aircraft defense in Warsaw, in the area of the drops; 1,361 bombing and enemy troop strafing raids in Warsaw at the request of the insurrectionists; and 925 as cover for the areas helped by the insurrectionists and reconnaissance of enemy positions to help the insurrectionists.

Within the same period the front's aviation dropped to the insurrectionists in Warsaw the following: 45 mm guns, one; submachine guns, 1,478; 50 mm mortars, 156; antitank guns, 505; Russian rifles, 170; German rifles, 350; carbines, 669; 45 mm shells, 300; 50 mm mortar shells, 37,216; antitank gun shells, 57,640; rifle cartridges, 1,312,600; TT cartridges, 1,360,984; Mauser cartridges, 260,600; Parabellum cartridges, 312,760; hand grenades, 18,428; German hand grenades, 18,270; medicines, 515 kg; telephone sets, 10; telephone exchanges, 1; telephone elements, 10; anode lead batteries, 22; telephone cable, 9,600 meters; and various supplies, 131,221 kg.

Furthermore, the artillery of the First Polish Army fired to suppress the enemy fire power and personnel in the interest of the insurrectionists; the antiaircraft artillery of the First Polish Army and the 24th Antiaircraft Artillery Division of the Supreme Command Reserve protected the areas held by the insurrectionists from enemy aviation raids.

In order to help the insurrectionists of Zolibog district in their evacuation to the eastern bank of the Vistula River, on 1 October 1944 as many as 100 boats were sent to the western bank of the Vistula and proper fire cover was provided for the evacuation.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Rokossovskiy, commander of the First Belorussian Front

Lieutenant General Telegin, member of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

Colonel General Malinin, chief of staff of the First Belorussian Front

Copy to USSR TsAMO SSSR, f. 233, op. 2307, d. 33, ll. 231-232.

Document No 3.

Appeal to the Romanian Population Liberated from German-Fascist Yoke by the Red Army

14 April 1944

Romanians!

Pursuing the defeated enemy retreating into Romania, the Red Army forces have entered your land. The Red Army is executing the order of its supreme commander in chief of pursuing the German and allied Romanian forces to their defeat and surrender. The Hitlerite aggressors and your luckless rulers are frightening you with the entry of the Red Army into Romania.

You have nothing to fear.

The entry of the Soviet troops on Romanian territory was caused by the exceptional necessity of the war. The Red Army does not set itself the task of annexing to the Soviet Union any Romanian soil or change the existing Romanian social system. V. M. Molotov, people's commissar of foreign affairs, declared this to the entire world on behalf of the Soviet government, on 2 April 1944.

The sole objective of the Red Army is to inflict a definitive defeat to the German armies and to destroy the rule of Hitlerite Germany in the countries it has enslaved, including yours.

The Red Army has entered Romania not as a conqueror but as the liberator of the Romanian people from German-fascist oppression. The Soviet military authorities do not intend to destroy the Romanian order and introduce their own in the areas they have occupied.

The private property of the citizens will remain inviolable and will be protected by the Soviet military authorities. All local and civil self-administration authorities which existed before the coming of the Red Army shall be retained.

Citizens!

The Red Army command calls upon you to remain calm and orderly and accurately obey the wartime rules formulated by the Soviet military authorities. Remain in your places and go on with your peaceful labor! Insure the uninterrupted work of industrial, trade, communal, and other enterprises and establishments;

Peasants! Continue with your farming calmly!

Workers and artisans! Boldly go to your machine tools in plants and workshops!

Merchants and entrepreneurs! Continue to do your work without fear!

Employees! Insure the normal work of all offices and administrative organs!

The clergy and the believers can pursue their religious ceremonies unhindered.

Romanians!

Hitlerite Germany has lost the war. The position of the German-fascist army is hopeless--it is on the eve of defeat. Through your comprehensive assistance to the Red Army you will speed up the final defeat of the German-fascist army and thus bring closer the time of termination of the war on your soil.

Marshal of the Soviet Union I. Konev, commander of the Second Ukrainian Front

Lieutenant General of Tank Troops, I. Susakov, member of the Military Council of the Second Ukrainian Front

Copy of TsAMO SSSR, f. 240, op. 2839, d. 39, ll. 22-23.

Document No 4.

Appeal of the Military Council of the Third Ukrainian Front to the Bulgarian People and the Bulgarian Army

7 September 1944

Bulgarians!

The Red Army does not intend to fight the Bulgarian people and their army, for they consider the Bulgarians a fraternal people.

The only task of the Red Army is to defeat the Germans and to speed up the advent of universal peace. To this purpose the Bulgarian government must stop serving the cause of the Germans, break immediately all relations with the Germans, and come to the side of the coalition of democratic countries.

Furthermore, the Red Army is trying to obtain that all German soldiers and officers who found shelter in Bulgaria be immediately interned and delivered to the Soviet forces as prisoners of war.

Furthermore, the Red Army is trying to secure that all German vessels who have come from northern ports to Bulgaria be immediately delivered to the Soviet Union; should it turn out that some of them have been scuttled, the Red Army demands that the possibility to refloat them be granted to the navy of the Soviet Union.

The state of war may be terminated and armistice talks begun only with the implementation of these conditions.

Army General Tolbukhin, Front Commander

Copy to the TsMVS SSSR [USSR Central Museum of the Armed Forces], Document f., B-4/2565

Document No 5.

On the Cessation of Military Operations in Bulgaria

To: Comrade Kuznetsov, people's commissar of the navy

Comrade Tolbukhin, commander of the Third Ukrainian Front

Comrade Oktyabr'skiy, commander of the Black Sea navy

9 September 1944, 1900 hours, Moscow

Considering that the Bulgarian government has broken relations with the Germans, declared war on Germany, and requested the Soviet government to initiate armistice talks, in accordance with the instructions of the State Committee for Defense, the General Headquarters orders:

Operations for the occupation of settlements as planned shall be terminated at 2100 hours on 9 September 1944; military operations in Bulgaria shall be terminated as of 2200 hours on 9 September 1944 at the positions of the part of Bulgaria occupied by our forces.

Report execution.

General Headquarters

J. Stalin

Antonov

Copy TsAMO SSSR, f. 243, op. 2912, d. 128, l 257.

Document No 6.

Marshal Tito's Letter to the Soviet Command

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Tolbukhin, commander of the Third Ukrainian Front

20 October 1944

Please inform the following to the troops under your command operating in the direction of Belgrade:

I express my thanks to the troops, officers, and generals of the Red Army units who, together with the units of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, liberated our capital Belgrade.

Your heroism and persistence, displayed in the fierce battles for the liberation of Belgrade, will always be remembered by the peoples of Yugoslavia as the unforgettable heroism of the Red Army troops.

Your blood and the blood of the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, shed in the joint battle against the common enemy, will forever cement the fraternity between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the people of the Soviet Union.

Long live the invincible Red Army!

Marshal Tito

Translated from the Serbo-Croat.

Copy TsAMO SSSR, f. 243, op. 2,912, d. 136, l 428.

Document No 7.

On the Supply of Grain Products to Belgrade

From the Order of Comrade Shebunin, chief of rear forces of the Red Army to the chief of the rear forces of the Third Ukrainian Front, for urgent delivery to Lieutenant General Kolesov¹ and Lieutenant General Milovskiy.²

1 November 1944, 0845 hours

Comrade Stalin has ordered that by 20 October 1944 50,000 tons of grain products, as allocated for Yugoslavia by decision No 6,596 of the GKO [State Committee for Defense] of 24 September 1944 to be delivered in their entirety to Belgrade as aid to the Yugoslav population. Consequently, I hereby order:

1. Immediate measures must be taken for the urgent shipment and delivery to Belgrade, along the Danube River, of 22 barges of grain, totaling 13,496 tons, shipped from the ports of Rani and Ismail. The days of delivery of these barges to be reported to me by no later than 3 October 1944.

2. The grain, totaling 13,496 tons, loaded in barges--eight barges with 7,128 tons in Ismail and nine barges totaling 3,484 tons in Rani--shall not be unloaded but urgently shipped to Belgrade along the Danube River. To this effect, should the barges have been unloaded, the front rear forces shall load them immediately.

The plan for the dates on which the grain will be shipped is to be reported to me by 3 October 1944.

3. Out of the 50,000 tons of grain for Yugoslavia, as stipulated in Decree No 6,500 of the GKO the grain will be supplied as follows: 8,925 tons from Panchevo; 15,595 tons from Petrovgrad; and 1,254 tons from Vrashatsa. Total: 25,774 tons.

Khrulev

Original document TsAMO SSSR, f. 243, op. 2,912, d. 107, ll 79-81.

Document No 8.

Acknowledgment of Thanks for the Aid Provided by the Soviet Aviation to the Yugoslav Armed Forces

Letter by the Chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army to the Commander of the 17th Air Army

15 May 1945

From 4 October 1944 to 15 May 1945, by order of Comrade J. V. Stalin, marshal of the Soviet Union and supreme commander in chief, the air Group of Soviet Union and People's Hero of Yugoslavia Guards Major General of Aviation Vitruk (consisting of the 10th Guards Attack Aviation Voronezh-Kiev Red Banner Orders of Suvoro and Kutuzov Division, the 236th Fighter Aviation L'vov Red Banner Division, and the Ninth Aviation Base District) were placed at the disposal of Marshal Broz Tito, supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army.

Within that period Comrade Vitruk's air group carried out combat assignments together with the Yugoslav armies; at the same time, it trained our young aviation. Units of Comrade Vitruk's air group participated in all the operations of the First, Second, and Third Yugoslav Armies, and particularly distinguished themselves in the battles for the liberation of our capital Belgrade and in pursuing the enemy following the liberation of Belgrade; in the battle against the German forces withdrawing from Balkan

toward Visegrad, Sarajevo, and Brod, and in the direction of Visegrad, Sokolac, and Vlasenica; in the battles in which the enemy tried on two occasions to make a breakthrough in the Srem sector of the front (January-February 1945); in the battles for wiping off enemy bridgeheads on the right bank of the Sava River, in the Bijeljina and Brcko area; in the battles against the fortified 22nd German Infantry Division in the direction of Sokolac, Vlasenica, Drinjaca, Zvornik, Bijeljina, and Brcko; in the battles against the German forces which crossed the Brava River in March 1945 in the Dolni Miholjac and Valpovo area, and in the battles waged in the general offensive mounted by the Yugoslav army (from the beginning of April to 15 May 1945).

The flying forces of the air group waged combat operations under complex weather conditions and mountain-forest areas in the zone of combat operations. It carried out its assignments directly at the front end of our forces, thus rising the spirit and morale of our troops, and insuring the successful implementation of the tasks set our ground forces.

Despite the lack of necessary experience in interaction between our forces and the aviation, and of efficient communications, no case of air strikes against friendly troops in the advance of our units was recorded.

Thanks to its selfless combat efforts in January and February 1945 when the enemy launched an offensive on the Srem sector of the front, through its uninterrupted operations the air group wrecked the enemy offensive. The enemy was stopped and, with active air support, thrown back to his initial positions.

In March 1945 the enemy crossed the Brava River and occupied bridgeheads in the area of Dolni Miholjac and Valpovo, bridgeheads which were wiped off within a short time with the active assistance of Comrade Vitruk's air group, together with the Third Yugoslav Army.

In the operations of the First, Second, and Third Ground Armies, in the general decisive offensive mounted by the Yugoslav army at the beginning of April 1945, through its successful and effective operations the air group contributed to the fast and successful breach of the enemy's defenses.

As a result of the uninterrupted and effective operations of the air group at the front line and its communications assistance, the enemy suffered severe losses in equipment and manpower, thus providing tremendous support to our advancing ground forces of the Yugoslav army.

Through their heroic combat efforts, the units of Comrade Vitruk's air group inspired our ground forces to exploits, as was daily noted by commanders of ground armies who highly rated the combat operations of the air group on the battlefield.

Along with intensive battles waged for the liberation of Yugoslav territory from the German aggressors, within a short time the air group trained and retrained flight-technical personnel, and staffs of the Yugoslav air formations and units which, at the present time, can engage in combat operations and command units by themselves.

All in all, three attack air regiments, three fighter air regiments, an air force base area, and staffs of large units and units were trained and set up.

Through the tireless efforts of the entire personnel of the air group in training and sharing the experience of the heroic aviation of the Red Army a strong base was laid for the further development of the Yugoslav army air force.

Particular gratitude and thanks are expressed to the personnel of the air group staff headed by their commander Hero of the Soviet Union and People's Hero of Yugoslavia Guards Major General of Aviation Vitruk who dedicated a great deal of work, persistence, great special skills, and combat experience in the creation of the Yugoslav army air force. They honorably carried out their assignment for which, on behalf of the Yugoslav Army General Staff, we express our profound gratitude.

Our people will remember forever the air force heroes of Comrade Vitruk's air group who gave their lives in the struggle for the freedom and independence of Yugoslavia.

Death to fascism and freedom to the people!

Chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army

Translated from the Serbo-Croat

Copy TsAMO SSSR, f. 40, op. 11,549, d. 251, ll 126-127.

Document No 9.

Announcement by the Commander of the Norwegian Troops in Finnmark, Colonel Dal, Broadcast by Radio London

To be announced by no later than 3 April 1945

Jonas Lee³ has issued an address to the Norwegian police, stating that, allegedly, the fatherland is now in extreme danger. He fears, he states, that it will be flooded by the Bolshevik hordes.

Over a period of five months I worked jointly with our Soviet allies, for which reason, better than anyone else, I could mention what this threat

is worth. In the course of the five months during which Soviet troops have been on Norwegian territory we have learned to respect their discipline, tremendous combat power, and will to win. We became personally acquainted with them, on a human basis, and we like them.

Jonas Lee's scarecrow is stupid agitation triggered by brains which realize that everything is lost but are desperately trying to find any justification for their treasonable activities. The Jonas Lee record is old, worn out, and hoarse, and would hardly convince anyone. Nevertheless, allow me to state that the agreement concluded between the Norwegian and Soviet governments on Russian help for the liberation of Norway is strictly temporary and absolutely identical to corresponding agreements concluded with Great Britain and the United States.

Actually, we must be grateful to the Soviet army and to it alone for the fact that today a part of our country has been liberated and that, in general, possible living conditions exist in parts of Finnmark. Confusion and panic broke out among the German troops when the Russians launched their offensive. Had the Germans had time for destruction, as planned together with the traitor Jonas Lee and others, today Finnmark would have been a desert and decades would have been required to rebuild it.

Today Jonas Lee calls for joining a new police company which should go to the front to replace other forces. He states that the Norwegian police and Norwegian SS volunteers have accomplished great exploits on the front.

Yes, we have noticed that the traitors are helping the enemy to fight against their own compatriots. With the help of Norwegian traitors Norwegian soldiers fighting for the freedom of Norway lost their lives. We know the names of these traitors and shall not forget them at settlement day. That day is not distant. The defeat of the Germans is approaching and we can clearly see judgment day for their Norwegian lackeys.

Any Norwegian who has still not understood this and, therefore, would respond to Jonas Lee's appeal, will be punished. The only possible punishment is death.

So, gentlemen, choose! Meanwhile, in joint brotherhood in arms, Soviet and Norwegian troops will continue to struggle for the definitive and the full liberation of Norway.

We shall come soon.

Translated from the Norwegian

Copy TsAMO SSSR, f. 363, op. 6,230, d. 40, ll 132-133.

Document No 10.

List of Property Delivered to the Norwegian Military Mission for the Period from 10 December 1944 to 1 April 1945

14 May 1945

Food.....	1,803,199.00 rubles
Motor vehicle transport.....	4,810.00 rubles
Rifle cartridges.....	21,067.20 rubles
Pistol TT cartridges.....	<u>10,961.60 rubles</u>
Total:	1,840,037.80 rubles ⁴

Colonel Polyakov, chief of rear forces, 14th Separate Army

Original TsAMO SSSR, f. 40, op. 11,549, d. 224, 116.

Document No 11.

Letter by Interim Head of the French Military Mission to the USSR

To General Dubinin, commander of the group of officers at the Red Army
General Staff

Moscow, 5 July 1943

On behalf of the commander in chief of the armed forces of "Fighting France," General de Gaulle, I beg of you to be presented to Marshal Stalin, people's commissar of defense, so that I may express to him our warm gratitude for the high rating given the officers of the Normandy Squadron and the awards presented to five squadron officers.

On this occasion, we must recall everything which our pilots owe to the outstanding Soviet material facilities granted them, thanks to which they gained confidence in their forces and in the authority of the Soviet command controlling their operations.

We are very grateful to all those who took part in the creation of the Normandy Squadron--the first battle unit of "Fighting France" in the USSR, and to all those who made it possible for our pilots to fight the common enemy honorably and successfully.

The awards given to the officers of the Normandy squadron will give them great incentive in future battles; they will enhance the spirit of competition among their comrades.

To all flight personnel of "Fighting France" they will prove the brotherhood in arms which links them with their heroic Red Army comrades in the fierce struggle they are waging shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy.

To all French people fighting the aggressors, this will be a symbol of unity with the Russian people, a consecration of their common will to fight the hated enemy wherever he may be, for the full liberation of their homeland.

(Mirles)

translated from the French

Copy TsAMO SSSR, f. 40, op. 11549, d. 122, l 166, and 166 back.

Document No 12.

Greetings of the Military Council of the Third Belorussian Front to the Personnel of the Normandy Regiment

To the Commander of the Normandy Unit of "Fighting France" Major Delfino

29 November 1944

The front military council congratulates you and the entire personnel of your unit, most warmly, on the occasion of awarding the name "Nieman" to your regiment. Joining you and the entire personnel, we are proud that in the heroic battles with the enemy, your regiment raised officers such as Marcel Albert and Rolland de La Pouappe, awarded the highest award of the Soviet Union--the title of Hero of the Soviet Union with the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star medal. The Soviet people will never forget the heroic exploits performed by you and your entire unit in the joint struggle against the German-fascist aggressors. We congratulate through your unit the entire personnel of the great Free French people and their heroically fighting army for the final defeat of Hitlerite Germany. We wish you new combat successes in the great noble cause of the liberation of mankind from fascist tyranny.

Chernyakhovskiy

Makarov

Copy TsAMO SSSR, f. 35, op. 11,275, d. 355, l 123.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ya. S. Kolesov was deputy chief of rear forces of the Red Army.
2. M. P. Milovskiy was chief of staff of the rear forces of the Red Army.

3. Jonas Lee was a minister in Quisling's cabinet in Hitlerite-occupied Norway.
4. Furthermore, the command of the 14th Separate Army delivered to the Norwegian Military Mission food, armaments, and ammunition worth 599,303.92 rubles between November and 10 December 1944 (TsAMO SSSR f. 40, op. 11,549, d. 224, l 17).
5. Referring to the Order of the Patriotic War First and Second Class awarded to five French officers by 2 July 1943 Ukaze of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

5003

CSO: 1802

VICTORIOUS PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM ON GERMAN SOIL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 85-94

[Article by Eric Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council; article published simultaneously in the SED Central Committee journal EINHEIT, No 9-10, 1979]

[Text] The 30th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic--the first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil--will be celebrated on 7 October 1979. In these three decades, under the leadership of the SED, our people covered a distance of profound revolutionary changes in all areas of social life. This was a path of adamant toil and uninterrupted fierce class confrontation with imperialism. It was successfully covered and the achievements were considerable. Already now it is possible to state that socialism on German soil as well has proved its superiority over capitalism.

The founding of the GDR was a turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe as a whole. Today it is already absolutely impossible to imagine the modern world without the GDR. Our state did everything possible to see to it that war may never again originate on German soil. Its 30-year-old history is also a convincing proof of the vital force of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The 30 years of life of the GDR represent three decades of creative toil of millions of working people.

The task of further building a developed socialist society in the GDR, based on the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress, and thus the creation of prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism, became possible as a result of the radical changes which were made for the good of the working class, the cooperated peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all working people. Over the past three decades socialism proved itself in our country as well to be a social system consistent with the true interests of the people, guaranteeing all citizens social insurance and confidence in the future, freedom, democracy, and human dignity.

New, Socialist Germany

Within that 30 year period the GDR implemented the right of the people to political, socioeconomic, and national self-determination. As a prestigious state of the workers and peasants, politically strong, economically healthy, and acknowledged in the international arena, our republic is inviolable regardless of all the attacks mounted by its enemies. Its existence is the live embodiment of the law of progress of our age, the age of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The GDR embodies the new, the socialist Germany. Its founding is closely linked with the victory of the Great October Revolution. Appearing as the result of World War II and postwar developments, it established forever friendship ties with the Soviet Union and became an inseparable part of the great comity of free nations which are implementing the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Entire generations of revolutionary workers, humanists, democrats, fighters in the antifascist resistance, and the best sons and daughters of our people dreamed for such a German state. It was for such a state that they fought. The GDR is implementing the behest of the fighters of the great Soviet Army who gave their lives for the liberation of mankind from fascist enslavement.

The victorious establishment of socialism in the country where Marx and Engels were born began with the founding of the GDR. For the first time on German soil a state appeared which had drawn the proper lessons from history and had uprooted imperialism and militarism. The exploitation of man by man was eliminated. The good of the people became the supreme principle of party and state policy and of the daily toil of millions of people. To use Lenin's words, production and its growth are organized "to insure the complete prosperity and free and all-round development of all members of society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 6, p 232). With the steady enhancement of the material living standards of the people grow their cultural level. The SED program, adopted at the Ninth Congress, earmarked the clear future of our development until the beginning of the next millennium.

The 30 years of life of the GDR were years of struggle for peace and socialism. At the time when our republic was proclaimed, many of its cities and villages were still in ruins. The life of the people bore the marks of the war, the reactionary obscurantism left from fascism, confusion, and blind submission to fate. The capitalist world hoped to strangle our republic with the help of diplomatic and economic blockades.

Looking at the GDR today, and at its achievements, one can clearly imagine the scale of the changes which took place over the past three decades. The GDR welcomes its anniversary in circumstances of worldwide international-legal recognition. It is a member of the United Nations and of its specialized organizations. A total of 128 states maintain diplomatic

relations with our republic. Its constructive approach to the solution of the problems of the struggle for peace, detente, and disarmament is known. For example, the achievements of its national economy, socialist education system, health care, culture, protection of motherhood and childhood, successes in physical culture and sports, and the extensive opportunities existing for the recreation of the working people have earned international recognition.

That which the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all working people in our country were able to accomplish in 30 years, under the guidance of the SED, gives us feelings of satisfaction and pride. These successes indicate what the creative forces of the people who rejected the chains of capitalist rule and became the masters of their destiny are able to accomplish. A great deal of adamant toil and many sacrifices were needed for the GDR to rise to the level it has reached today. This upsurge could be accomplished because of the unity between party and people, the indivisibility of their interests and objectives, and the existence of loyal friends such as the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries on which the GDR can always rely.

Three decades are a short historical period, the more so when it is a question of the founding and successful development of an entirely new state. Such a development became possible in the GDR because it is based on the most progressive social system ever known to mankind--socialism as the first phase of the communist society.

Serving the People

Led by our party, together with its allies the working class made skillful use of the political system in accordance with social development laws. This applies, above all, to the establishment and strengthening of socialist production relations, as was required by the development of production forces. From the very beginning, and to this day, our party has not ignored even for a moment these major problems.

Whereas in the initial years of the republic's existence socialist ownership in industry and, subsequently, in agriculture was developing its essential features, today it has factually turned into the ruling form of ownership. On this basis, and applying the Leninist theory of the process of socialization of labor, we are deliberately and systematically improving socialist production relations. In industry, for example, this is manifested in the creation of combines under the direct jurisdiction of the ministries. The combines bear high national economic responsibility. Similar work is being done in agriculture, taking into consideration the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

We take into consideration the dialectical link between quantity and quality in development. Also in the process of creating the material and

technical base of socialism. The economic structure of the initial period, distinguished by major disproportions, deformed by the severe destructions caused by the war, has now developed into a type of national economic structure in which socialist industry, socialist agriculture, and other sectors constitute an overall balanced organism. The importance of this achievement is tremendous. It is the base of all social progress in the GDR. The creation of the material and technical base consistent with the requirements of the contemporary stage of socialist development is related to profound quality changes which influence the increased effectiveness of the entire national economy. It is precisely this that explains the fact that our republic in which the number of people employed in the national economy has increased only insignificantly over the past 30 years, is now producing a national income higher by a factor of seven compared with the year of its founding.

Today, compared with 1949, the production forces have reached an immeasurably higher level. Developing together with socialist production relations, they have shown a progress which might have hardly seemed possible to some. Thanks to the work of our people and the stable development of its economy, the GDR became one of the 10 most industrially developed countries in the world. Whereas in 1949 our national income equaled approximately 22 billion marks, in 1978 it had exceeded 161 billion. In 1949 the per capita national income was about 1,200 marks; in 1978 it was 9,600. Whereas in 1949 the marketable industrial output produced by the country in one working day equaled 100 million marks, by 1978 it equaled 1 billion. In 1949 capital investments totaled 2.8 billion marks; in 1978, 50.8 billion. Retail trade rose from 13.8 billion to 92.5 billion marks.

With every passing decade our country was making major progress. This is confirmed by the substantial successes achieved in the improvement of working and living conditions. Thus, housing construction reached an unparalleled scope in the 1970's. Gradually, it became the core of our sociopolitical program. We have set ourselves the target of building and modernizing 3.5 million housing units between 1971 and 1990. This is a tremendous assignment, bearing in mind that we were able to begin the systematic building of housing only in 1952. Whereas the year the GDR was founded 29,800 housing units were completed, the number rose to 167,800 in 1978, 111,900 of which new and 55,900, modernized. Between 1971 and 1975 609,000, rather than the planned 500,000 apartment units were built and modernized. The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan calls for the building of 750,000 housing units. On the initiative of the trade unions, their overall number will reach 850,000. These facts indicate that we are implementing what we planned: the successful answer to the housing question as a social problem by 1990.

The achievement of equality between men and women confirms the profound social changes accomplished in our society. Even people who could not be suspected of being sympathetic to our state are forced to acknowledge that in our country the status of women in society has changed radically. In

1978 87.6 percent of working-age women were employed. The principle of equal wages for equal labor is being implemented. The level of skills of the women is rising steadily and, to an ever greater extent, they are assuming leading positions in all fields of social life. At the same time, concern is being shown for the family and, above all, for working mothers. For the first time in the history of our people the mother of a newborn child is given half-year leave for pregnancy and maternity. Furthermore, as of the second child, she is given paid leave until the child has reached one year of age. The effectiveness of this policy is confirmed by the fact that starting with 1975 the birth rate has been rising considerably.

An important objective of the labor movement such as insuring equal education opportunities for all has become reality in the GDR. Today all our children, raised in nurseries and kindergartens, are given a solid education in polytechnical 10-grade schools. Everyone has been guaranteed the opportunity for a good vocational training and, subsequently, a job. Since the founding of the GDR 1.2 million young people were able to acquire secondary and higher specialized training. In 1950 our state spent about 1.1 billion marks on the socialist education system, including higher and secondary specialized schools. The amount rose to 3.6 billion by 1960 and to 9.5 billion by 1978. Whereas under socialism the young people are guaranteed social insurance and offered bright prospects, the broad masses of the youth under capitalism are proclaimed a "generation without a future," and labeled a "problem group." They are doomed to drug addiction and crime, and their civil rights are violated. Some 40 percent of the 20 million unemployed in 24 industrially developed countries in the capitalist world, i.e., nearly 8 million, are people under 25. In the capitalist countries of Europe alone over six million young people are deprived of the right to work and vocational training.

The development of culture and the arts in the GDR also proves the tremendous creative forces which socialism releases, and puts at the service of the entire people, enriching their spiritual life. Our state is displaying constant concern for the development of this area, allocating considerable material funds for the purpose. Thus, whereas in 1950 312 million marks were appropriated for such purposes, the amount rose to 649 million in 1960, and to nearly 2.2 billion marks in 1978. Folk art is successfully developing. Problems of the cultural development of the working people are a permanent component of the collective contracts signed by each enterprise. All this is inseparable from the steady improvement of the material life of the population in our country. It is precisely this interrelationship that is of great importance to the establishment of the new, the socialist way of life. The men of culture and the arts in our country have made a noticeable contribution to the development of the socialist national culture and, thus, to the treasury of world culture. The great humanistic and revolutionary heritage of our people is being constantly protected and enriched.

Let us particularly note that as a result of the revolutionary changes in life the people themselves and their status in society have changed. This, according to the admission of foreign guests, is the most outstanding feature they find in the GDR.

The Question of Power is the Main Question of Any Revolution

Two circumstances, above all, played a decisive role in the strengthening of the GDR in the past 30 years of its existence. First, the merger of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This put an end to the division of the working class and brought about its unity on a revolutionary basis. Second, the working class, allied with the peasantry and the other working people, the working class established and strengthened its political rule through the GDR. It created a socialist state of workers and peasants as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. We have thus practically implemented the basic lessons of the history of the international and the German labor movements. We took the necessary steps to the implementation by the working class of its historical mission. In its further activities, our party always applied Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory in terms of the specific conditions of our country. It used the experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, for which reason it was able to lead the working class of our country to the establishment and exercise of its political rule.

Lenin taught that, "...The entire attention must be focused on the next step...mainly: Finding methods for the transition or approach to a proletarian revolution" (Poln. Sobr. Soch., vol 41, p 77). That is why, at the beginning of the development of the single revolutionary process in 1945, our party put on the agenda not the socialist revolution but antifascist-democratic changes, directing them against monopoly capital and large land holdings, under the slogan of "For the Expropriation of War and Nazi Criminals." It was guided by the Leninist stipulation that in order to surmount the domination of monopoly capital the revolution does not mandatorily have to immediately establish a dictatorship of the proletariat and immediately assume a socialist nature, but may begin as a democratic and anti-imperialist coup d'etat. Our party believed that the most important thing was to teach the working class to manage all areas of social life and establish a broad alliance with the peasants, the intelligentsia, and the urban middle classes. It organized and developed friendly cooperation among the parties and mass organizations participating in the National Front.

The establishment of a socialist state system was the most important act in the transition to a socialist revolution and, at the same time, a decisive prerequisite for the socialist reorganization of all areas of social life, for the question of power, as we know it, is the main one of all revolutions. We acted with the awareness that the solution of the new

historical problem--the ruling of the state and, therefore, governing the entire political, economic, spiritual, and cultural development of the country--faced the working class itself and its party with considerably stricter requirements.

The 30 year experience of the GDR proves that the building of socialism is possible only when the working class holds the political power and reliably protects it. Whatever the forms of the seizure of power may be, "The prerequisite for the establishment of a socialist system is the seizure of political power by the working class. In this case it allies itself with the other working people." This general law of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, formulated by the SED in 1946 in its "Principles and Objectives," have always been taken into consideration by us in accordance with the changing international situation and our international responsibilities.

Strengthening of the Economy

From its very first steps the worker-peasant system in the GDR paid great attention to the socialist planned economy. With its help, within a relatively short time, we were able to eliminate the destructions of the war and undertake the dynamic development of the economy. Despite the natural differences of each stage, we can clearly trace the common features which determined the nature of our actions throughout the entire period. The SED always relied on the power of the working class and all working people, and on socialist competition which steadily grew and qualitatively improved. We could rely on the solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, and on the systematically intensifying socialist economic integration. At the same time, we had to repel the uninterrupted attacks of the imperialist enemy who had resorted to economic blockade, open sabotage, currency speculations, and trade in people. Threats, blackmail, and attempts to impose upon us "councils based on the positions of a market-monetary economy" failed. Our party has always sought and found the solution of new problems on the basis of the socialist planned economy and the further development of democratic centralism in the management of the national economy.

The entire course of development of the GDR proves that our party has always tried to show more extensively the advantages of socialism, put them in the service of man, and remain loyal to our responsibility to the world communist movement. Naturally, such a profound and extensive process of the revolutionary reorganization of the old and the establishment of new social relations does not develop without problems and difficulties. The results it brings to the people are not always immediately and entirely visible. We can consider as a characteristic feature specifically of the 1970's the fact that the advantages of socialism are being manifested ever more completely and are serving the good of man to an ever greater extent. Currently, our main task is the maximum determination of the possibilities inherent in socialist production relations. The development of the material

and technical base must be ensured to the extent to which it would be consistent with the contemporary production forces and the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution, for it is a question of the growth of the material and cultural standards of the people and the creation of the necessary prerequisites to this effect.

Considerable reserves have already been discovered for increasing the productivity of the national economy, and we are continuing to increase them. In some cases, in terms of scale and quality, they are unparalleled with ones. Let us take as an example the fact that in 1976 one percent increase in the production of power carriers, raw materials, and materials important to the national economy yielded a growth of industrial commodity output within the industrial ministries of 1.9 percent, i.e., nearly doubling the figure. In 1975, however, one percent increase in the production of power and materials resulted in a 3.4 percent increase in commodity industrial output. This became possible only thanks to the mobilization of tremendous reserves. This is a promising way.

Today the GDR has a powerful economy with a modern management system. Our economy can resolve the problems of both the present and the future. In accordance with the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress we are improving it tirelessly. Conditions for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and for upgrading its economic and social effectiveness, on the basis of the creation and subsequent development of powerful combines, have been improved considerably. The range of activities of the combines has been broadened. At the same time, possibilities have been created for the central economic organs to concentrate even further their efforts on the development of strategic problems on the scale of the entire national economy. It is precisely thus that the advantages of our socialist system are being utilized even better.

Our party made a profound study of the requirements facing the economy in the course of building a developed socialist society. It pointed out as the main objective the need for further upsurge of the material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of the high growth rates of socialist output, its increased effectiveness, scientific and technical progress, and higher labor productivity. The tie between economic and social policy assumed a new quality which, precisely, characterizes our further progress. A closer interconnection was established between production and the needs of the people. Our party drew important scientific conclusions on the basis of the level reached in social development. The implementation of this major task accelerated social progress and thus brought into motion a considerable potential for production growth.

This enables us to successfully continue to implement the broadest possible sociopolitical program in GDR history. A mandatory prerequisite for its implementation is the substantial increase of the productivity of the economy, and its planned growth, above all, through production intensification. In accordance with the requirements raised by the building of a

developed socialist society and the conditions of our country, the SED firmly followed this main way. It is necessary today to raise the pace of intensification and obtain more rapidly results of national economic significance. Growth possibilities are determined by quality factors. Increasing the national income precisely by increasing material savings and the fuller utilization of working time and equipment is the direction followed by our economic policy.

Therefore, science and technology assume a leading position in our strategy. The purpose of the party's policy, aimed at the good of the people, is to insure good results along this way in the future as well. However, to an ever greater extent this depends on the ability to develop a modern technology, master it, and extensively apply it in the national economy. The development of microelectronics clearly indicates that in this area our party has assumed proper positions. The achievements in this area, consistent with world standards, make it possible to obtain substantial results in many national economic sectors. A close tie has been established between superior accomplishments in individual areas and the comprehensive application of scientific and technical progress.

The further building of a developed socialist society, in accordance with the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress, calls for steady improvements of various realms of social life. The creation of a powerful economy at a high scientific and technical level is of key significance. It is only with such industry and agriculture that we shall be able to use most profitably the high level of education and production experience of the GDR working people and, on the other hand, insure a material base for the development of all aspects of life.

Allied with the Soviet Union and the Other Fraternal Countries

With each five-year plan we are intensifying our fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity. The high level of this unity today is directly linked with the level of maturity of socialism in our country and the dynamics of its progress. Our main partner in economic cooperation is the Soviet Union which has a powerful scientific and technical potential. At the initial period, when our country was experiencing difficulties, Lenin's country sent to us food and tractors while Soviet party members trained their German class brothers the elements of socialist management. This comity has always been a vitally important condition for economic stability and prosperity of our country. Today as well our cooperation is being purposefully developed. The elaboration of a program for specialization and cooperation, on a long-term basis, also contributes to this.

The fact that as member of CEMA, which recently celebrated its 30th anniversary, our republic has strong ties with the most dynamic economic area in the world is of determining importance to it. The long-term CEMA target programs earmark the main ways of cooperation over the next decade.

Major problems of our times such as mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, and availability of energy and raw materials also require the further intensification of economic integration. It is in that spirit that the GDR participates in CEMA work. It is guided in this by the basic interests of our people and is making its contribution to the strengthening of the entire socialist family of nations.

Essentially, peace and a system of workers and peasants, and peace and socialism are one and the same. Such is the real base for the fact that the socialist GDR is proving to be an important international factor. Life has confirmed that the successes achieved by our republic in the world arena rest on the same base as the strengthening of its internal stability--the steady strengthening of the fraternal union with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist family of nations. It is only as the result of our joint and coordinated efforts in the world arena that Europe is experiencing the longest peaceful period in its history. The vicious circle in which a postwar period alternated with a period of preparations for a new war and, in the final account, a war, the constant culprit for which was German imperialism, has been broken. Despite the fact that the most aggressive forces in the FRG, the United States, and other imperialist countries, ignoring the interests of the nations, waged for years a cold war against socialism, a war which caused great harm, it nevertheless became possible to achieve a turn toward detente. The GDR as well did a great deal to achieve this, together with the Soviet Union and its other Warsaw Pact allies. Assessing the results of three decades, we are proud of our contribution to the cause of peace. Life has confirmed the conclusion of our party that a war-free future is of the greatest importance to the all-round strengthening of the socialist fatherland--the GDR.

The implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, determining the course and foreign political measures of our republic, has yielded good results for all nations. To the extent to which the international conditions for the building of socialism and communism in our country have improved, the possibilities of the struggle for national and social liberation in the world have broadened. At the same time (how could it be otherwise?) the struggle has become fiercer against forces which would like to return to cold war times which, it seems to them, promises greater opportunities for achieving aggressive and counterrevolutionary imperialist objectives. The problem of war and peace has become the main problem of our time. With their particular international responsibility by participating in its solution in favor of peace and of the interests of all mankind, for the GDR is at the crossroads of two social systems--socialism and imperialism, and the Warsaw Pact organization and NATO.

At the present time the termination of the arms race, the limitation of armaments, and the adoption of specific disarmament measures are the key problems for achieving a reliable durable peace. We highly value the

results of the Vienna meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and J. Carter, and the conclusion of SALT II as an important landmark on the way to further detente and disarmament. In accordance with the decisions of our Ninth Congress, sparing no efforts, the GDR will continue to do everything possible for international development to be crowned by new positive results in the field of peaceful coexistence, serving detente and stabilizing and moving it ahead.

Naturally, we cannot ignore the fact that the NATO bloc has raised its military expenditures to astronomical heights and that, under a variety of pretexts, it is so zealously trying to develop and adopt all the new types of armaments. In the face of such military preparations, clearly directed against the socialist countries, we have no choice other than to always maintain on a proper level GDR defense capability in accordance with the general agreements among Warsaw Pact members.

The foreign policy of our socialist state is fully dedicated to a noble and humane objective: Peace must become the norm of the life of the peoples. We link with this our active support of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, whose struggle for freedom, independence, progress, and better life is part of the struggle for a lasting peace and for the happiness of mankind, a struggle waged in the present age of universal transition from capitalism to socialism.

In three decades our people have covered a long road of historical changes. Along with changes in living conditions under socialism, every one of us changed as well. Our party's program, adopted at the Ninth Congress, earmarks, along with the further building of a developed socialist society, the prospects for the building of communism. We can justifiably say that socialism is being successfully implemented on German soil.

5003

CSO: 1802

VICTORY OF THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 95-102

[Article by O. Ignat'yev, Managua-Moscow]

[Text] Our airplane is flying to Nicaragua where, on 18 July, something about which the courageous people of that country who had preserved their great and unabated aspiration to freedom, after long years of black reaction, had passionately dreamed of and heroically fought for, arms in hand.

The wave of the nationwide uprising swept off the face of the earth one of the most odious, hated, and corrupt dictatorships in Latin America. The military-police system of the Somoza family, which had ruled Nicaragua for nearly half a century, placed, nurtured, and fostered by Washington had fallen. At the cost of tremendous sacrifices, the armed people defeated the omnipotence of the oligarchy. This victory clearly confirmed a law of the current stage of historical development, the fact that tyrannical systems, supported by bayonets, and by the military and political props of imperialism, are doomed.

The Nicaraguan exploit was a reflection of the growth of revolutionary processes in the Latin American continent and of the steadfast aspiration of its peoples toward true independence. It is indicative that the triumph of the just cause of the Nicaraguans was preceded by the victory of the progressive forces in Grenada, the Dominican Republic, and St. Lucia. In turn, the events in Nicaragua will, unquestionably, provide an inspiring stimulus to the struggle waged by the Latin American peoples against imperialism and its proteges.

An important factor which contributed to the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship was the solidarity in support of the struggle waged by the Nicaraguan patriots on the part of the progressive world public opinion. This solidarity greatly contributed to the wrecking of the criminal plans of imperialism which tried to organize an open military intervention to save the bankrupt tyrant.

...We see in the distance the outline of Managua, the Nicaraguan capital and, several minutes later, the airplane lands on the airfield. This is my second visit to Nicaragua. I recall my first one, 10 years ago, when I found myself here accidentally, a technical trouble having developed on the plane from Caracas to Mexico City. From that day I remember the impressions I gathered in the course of the short trip around Managua organized by the airline. Mount Tiscapa rises in front of the eyes, crowned by buildings surrounded by a massive wall. "On that hill," the guide explained, "is the residence of the president, Gen Anastasio Somoza." "National guard" soldiers, dully looking at the foreigners, armed with automatic weapons, were guarding the barrier blocking the road leading to the peak of the hill. We then drove by one of the city districts, thickly covered by "casuchas"--shacks made of old planks, pieces of tar paper, and rusty iron sheets. I also remember a word written on the wall of a house not far from the center of Managua. Apparently, an attempt had been made to paint over it. The black letters underneath, however, were clearly visible and one could read the word "Sandino."

Toward the end of the 1920's Augusto Cesar Sandino headed the country's patriotic forces and launched the armed struggle against the American interventionists who were then occupying Nicaragua. On 21 February 1934 he was treacherously captured and shot. The murder was committed under the direct instructions of Arthur Bliss Lane, United States ambassador to Nicaragua, while the order was given by Anastasio Somoza Garcia, the general commanding the "national guard" and father of the now overthrown dictator.

The name Sandino became a banner of the struggle waged by the Nicaraguan patriots against the dictatorship of the Somoza family and its North American patrons. Only last year the American newspaper THE WALL STREET JOURNAL clearly wrote that "The United States has always been closely linked with this distant country of earthquakes, gambling casinos, and cock fights. We organized its national guard, trained it, and armed it. We trained General Somoza at West Point and disarmed his political enemies because he had offered stability. It was from there that we began the Bay of Pigs invasion. The portrait of a recent United States ambassador may be found on one of the Nicaraguan bank notes."

Washington has always looked at Nicaragua as its patrimony, and as an important military-strategic bridgehead at the junction between North and South America, an area from which the U. S. military have frequently staged punitive operations to suppress the liberation movement in neighboring countries. The Pentagon spared no funds for the upkeep of Somoza's "national guard." Between 1971 and 1977 alone weapons supplied to it cost the U.S. taxpayers \$32 million. It was precisely the "national guard," drilled by American advisers and equipped with American weapons that was the support of Somoza's regime and of the American magnates throwing their weight about in the country.

Together with the Somosa clan the North American monopolies dominated all sectors of the local economy for decades, eagerly plundering its natural resources and exploiting its people. Let us take as an example one production sector alone, the food and agricultural products processing industry run by an entire group of American companies. This included Bus Fisheries (fishing industry); Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corporation (tobacco); General Mills (flour milling); MJB Corporation (instant coffee); Nabisco (bakery goods); Quaker Oats (children's food); Standard Fruit and Steamship Corporation (bananas); and United Fruit Company (vegetable oils). Similar lists could be drawn for the chemical, timber, and ore mining industries, transportation, banking, etc.

Turned into an appendix of U.S. monopolies, Nicaragua was the poorest and most backward country in the Western Hemisphere. Following are a few statistical data on the situation of the working people. There were some 40,000 families of totally unemployed; in the countryside illiteracy reached 90 percent; there were only six physicians per 10,000 population (the population of Nicaragua is 2.4 million); 300,000 people lived in hovels. The foreign debt of the country exceeded \$1 billion.

Unrestrained terrorism ruled the country and basic human rights were violated. The jails were overcrowded. Opposition leaders were tortured and murdered. Everywhere the "national guard" throat-cutters engaged in wild violence, insulting and degrading the people. Cruel repressions were the daily practice of Somosa's rule.

A revolutionary situation developed in Nicaragua despite the fact that the actions of the working people were suppressed with exceptional cruelty. The anger of the impoverished toiling masses and the discontent of the bourgeois strata unrelated to the North American monopolies turned against the ruling clique and its United States patrons.

In the hard grip of the dictatorship, the Nicaraguans sacredly preserved the traditions of the liberation struggle whose foundations were laid by Augusto Cesar Sandino. In 1958 Ramon Raydales, his fellow worker, tried to organize a guerrilla movement in the northern part of the country. Detachments of punitive forces of the "national guard" destroyed his small unit and killed him.

Sandino's flag was taken up by other patriots. In 1961 a few youngsters set up a clandestine revolutionary organization which, a year later, took the name of Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF). Carlos Fonseca Amador became the leader of the front. He was killed by the executioners on 8 November 1976.

When at the end of the 1950's Carlos Fonseca Amador, Tomas Borje and their comrades decided to undertake the organization of guerrilla units they had neither a clear program for action nor extensive ties with the broad popular

masses. Here is what I was told by Miguel Castaneda, one of the leaders of the foreign policy committee of the SNLF: "Our front was made of a group of people who launched the armed struggle on the urging of their conscience ... It was that conscience that provided the first impetus leading them into active action. They did not formulate a specific strategy for the struggle. They did not define its end objectives. They had no clear political program. They were simply ashamed of the fact throughout the world Nicaragua was considered Somosa's estate and that the country was looked upon as a preserve of American imperialism. That is why they decided to fight, to prove that the people of Nicaragua were neither suppressed nor crushed by the long dictatorship."

Because of differences, in the 1960's the Nicaraguan patriots acted separately from each other. There was no coordination of efforts or a single platform, not to speak of a common program. All this enabled the dictatorship to remain in power.

Between 1962 and 1964 most of the guerrillas died in the fights against the "national guard" detachments. The living began preparations for the new stage of the struggle, whose beginning could be traced to 1967, when the guerrillas began to combine the armed struggle with political work among the population. "At that time," recalls Plutarco Hernandez, one of the Sandinista leaders, "the people already knew us, acknowledged us, and followed our struggle with interest and sympathy."

In 1970 the SNLF proclaimed its program which stated that "The Sandinista National Liberation Front is a military-political organization whose objective is the overthrow of the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the dictatorship, the seizure of political power in the country, and the formation of a revolutionary government based on the alliance between the working class and the peasantry with the participation of all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces in the country."

In May 1977 the Front proclaimed its "Military-Political Platform of the SNLF for the Abolishment of the Dictatorship." This was its second, expanded and intensified program. "There is," it stated, "an alliance between workers and peasants ready... to begin the struggle with a view to overthrowing the Somosa gang."

Explaining the type which the future leadership of the country should be, in its opinion, the Front pointed out that, "The overthrow of the Somosa dictatorship and the forming of a revolutionary-democratic government is the immediate task of the Sandinista people's revolution. Such a government...will fight for national sovereignty and against imperialist economic and political influence. It will organize a Sandinista workers-peasants army which will replace the 'national guard' and will be able to defend the interests of the revolution... The land will be given to those who work it. This is part of the problems which must be resolved by the revolutionary people's democratic government. Workers, peasants, students, and

the revolutionary intelligentsia will be its social base." The section of the program which discussed the means for the overthrow of the dictatorship stated: "We are ready for civil war, for it is prepared by the local reactionary classes opposing the revolutionary process. This will be a revolutionary war."

Whereas at the initial stages of the Sandinista movement its leaders relied almost exclusively on the immediate undertaking of armed action against the dictatorship, paying inadequate attention to ideological-political work not only among the population but within its own ranks, in subsequent years exceptionally great importance began to be ascribed to the dissemination of revolutionary ideology. The Sandinistas undertook the publication of clandestine newspapers and journals such as ROJO Y NEGRO, TRINCHERA, and SANDINISTA. A network of clandestine political training circles was set up. The printing and dissemination of leaflets, reports, and other materials on the activities of Sandinista detachments, was set up.

Several months following the proclamation of the military-political program of the SNLF, 12 noted members of the Nicaraguan intelligentsia, entrepreneurs and religious circles published a manifesto which included the main items of the Sandinista program. The "Group of 12," as it became known, was part of the Broad Opposition Front which was being established at that time. It firmly proclaimed that no solution could be found to the crisis without the participation of the SNLF, a crisis into which Somoza's dictatorial regime had led the country.

A manifesto of yet another Nicaraguan political bloc--the Movement of the United People--appeared in July 1978. The movement had rallied a large group of forces opposing Somoza, including 23 different political and social organizations. In its essential aspects the program of the movement was similar to the Sandinista military-political program.

Thus, in the second half of 1978, the dictatorial regime was opposed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, Movement of the United People, and Broad Opposition Front. Steps were taken to promote the further consolidation of anti-Somoza forces which were still disunited.

Under those circumstances a general strike broke out in Nicaragua on 25 August 1978. Industrial enterprises, transportation, and trade came to a stop. The strikers demanded Somoza's immediate resignation. On 27 August the people began to set up barricades in the third biggest city in the country, Matagalpa. The punitive forces used firearms against the patriots. Sandinista detachments came to the help of the population. For all practical purposes the city was in the hands of the mutinied people. On 29 August Somoza bombed Matagalpa and, several days later, the Somoza forces captured the city and launched mass reprisals. Somoza hoped to frighten the people. However, the opposite happened: The excesses of the punitive forces were the last drop which ran the cup of the people's patience over. A spontaneous uprising began which lasted until 20 September.

On 21 September the "national guard" suppressed the last centers of the armed resistance of the Nicaraguan people. The punitive forces completed their "omega" operation. Its results were about 5,000 killed and over 7,000 wounded. The overwhelming majority among them were civilians. The bishop of Leon Manuel Salazar Espinosa, stated: "What the governmental forces did to the civilian population is undescrivable." Somosa threw at the people thousands of "national guard" soldiers and units consisting of North Americans, counterrevolutionary Cubans, and mercenaries from Central American countries. The second largest city in the country--Leon--lay in ruins. Masaya, the city of textile workers, was also virtually destroyed. Chinandega, a center of the cattle breeding and dairy industry, was occupied by the punitive forces which killed and looted indiscriminately.

Fearing persecution, tens of thousands of people left the country. Most of them found shelter in neighboring Costa Rica where, according to the Red Cross, over 100,000 Nicaraguans had sought asylum. At the beginning of 1979 I had the occasion to visit Costa Rica and toured the areas bordering Nicaragua.

Following are my 3 February notes of one of the talks with Nicaraguan refugee Jose Santo Cordero: "I would like to tell you of the crimes committed in Nicaragua, to which my friends, acquaintances, and relatives have become victim. An adolescent, a distant relative of my wife, lived in the Riguero district in Managua. He was arrested at the sports stadium, and thrown into a 'national guard' jeep. In the jeep they began to beat and torture him, and it was there that he died from the tortures. The body of the youngster, with a smashed face, was taken to his house and thrown in the yard. Three other people were arrested with him and were also tortured to death.

"It would be impossible to list all the names, there are too many of them. There were many cases in which the 'national guard,' bursting into a house, would order everyone to come out and those who refused would be pushed out by force, put against a wall and machine-gunned on the spot. There were men, women, and children. Everyone. At best, they said: Those over 15 stand on one side and those under 15, on the other. However, if any boy of 12 or 13 would look older than his age he too would be put together with the adults and shot.

"Can you imagine what our situation was? All of us are ready to fight and will fight to the end, to the total elimination of the Somosa dictatorship and the destruction of the 'national guard,' this gang of criminals."

In the spontaneous September 1978 uprising the overwhelming majority of the country's population rose against the Somosa dictatorship. However, the Sandinista forces were still not under a single command. There was no interaction among the units fighting not only in different parts of the country but even within the same city. It was only when the uprising became a fact that the Sandinista decided to call upon the people to rise

to the struggle to overthrow the dictatorial regime, put an end to the "national guard" excesses, and prevent, following Somosa's departure, the establishment of a "Somosa rule without Somosa." However, at that time they failed to implement those plans.

At the beginning of 1979 the struggle in Nicaragua entered a new stage. On 2 February the patriotic forces in the country established organizationally the National Patriotic Front. A while later the unification of the different current within the Sandinista movement under a single leadership, both political and military, was announced. Immediately after that the patriots began preparations for a decisive attack on the dictatorship.

On 31 May the joint national leadership of SNLF called for a general strike and for the beginning of a general uprising aimed at overthrowing Somosa. The call was supported by the representatives of all opposition groups.

Military successes came soon afterwards. Armed SNLF detachments liberated two big cities--Leon and Matagalpa--and continued to press the dictator's forces. New revolutionary power organs were set up on the liberated territories. On 17 June a provisional democratic government for the national revival of Nicaragua was set up, which included representatives of all opposition forces.

The struggle of the Nicaraguan patriots met with broad response on the continent. Volunteers wishing to fight on the state of the Nicaraguan patriots began to register in a number of Latin American countries. A group of Panamanians, headed by the country's former deputy minister of public health, went to Nicaragua. The Carlos Luis Fallas column consisting mainly of members of the Costa Rican National Vanguard Party, operated on the southern front. A group of members of the Costa Rican Socialist Party as well was with the column which numbered about 200 people. Naturally, a hundred soldiers from neighboring countries were merely a small particle of the many thousands strong army of Nicaraguan patriots. However, their activities offered clear proof of international solidarity. Manuel Mora Sals, the commander of the Costa Rican column, said: "We have come to fight shoulder to shoulder with our Nicaraguan brothers, for we are members of the same family. Their cause is our common cause and our communist party is the party of internationalists. Our duty is to be on the side of any nation fighting for its freedom."

The Nicaraguan Socialist Party--the party of the Nicaraguan communists--actively participated in the struggle against the dictatorship. "Our party," said Alvaro Ramirez, one of its leaders, "did extensive work among the working class in the country despite the bloody reprisals and the terrorism of the dictatorship, with the help of the trade unions. From the beginning of the armed struggle against the dictatorship many Nicaraguan communists joined the detachments of the SNLF."

The military victories of the patriots, and the increasing international isolation of the Somosa regime triggered great concern among its North American sponsors. Realizing that the soil was burning under the feet of the dictator, along with secret deliveries of weapons Washington launched active efforts on the diplomatic front. Cyrus Vance, U.S. secretary of state, called for convening a conference of the Organization of American States (OAS) "for reaching an armistice in Nicaragua, stopping the delivery of weapons, and settling the crisis." The Somosa government hastened to proclaim that it was "ready" to welcome inter-American armed forces to "maintain peace in the country." It became clear that the United States would try to send to Nicaragua, under the banner of the OAS, its punitive forces to defeat the patriots.

However, the United States failed. Realizing that its resolution, which called for factually sanctioning armed intervention in civil war on Somosa's side, under the pretext of sending "inter-American forces," had no chance to pass, the American delegation did not even dare to put the question to a vote. A resolution was passed by absolute majority emphasizing that the solution of the Nicaraguan problem "is the exclusive matter of the Nicaraguan people." The maneuver aimed at rescuing the doomed tyranny diplomatically thus ended in infamy.

At the beginning of July the forces of the SNLF surrounded the Nicaraguan capital on three sides. The agony of the dictatorial regime began. On 16 July Somosa escaped from his bunker on Tiscapa Hill to the United States, giving the power to his relative Francisco Urcuyo. However, the luckless heir remained in power slightly over 24 hours.

In the night of 19 July the Provisional Democratic Government of the National Rebirth of Nicaragua entered Managua. Several hours earlier 33 foreign journalists, 5 of them Soviet, had flown here from Costa Rica.

In the first days of free Nicaragua the center of Managua was crowded with exultant people. At noon a meeting dedicated to victory, attended by thousands of people, was held on the main square. It was addressed by members of the government and commanders of military units. At 0300 the first three decrees of the people's system were proclaimed: on the expropriation of all property owned by the Somosa family, the disbanding of the "national guard" and the disbanding of the Somosa congress.

At that time the radio was the only source of official information. One could hear the radios broadcasting until late at night in all rooms of the Intercontinental Hotel, where the journalists had been housed. In the evening, Radio Sandino Station, broadcast on the national network the text of greetings sent by L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, who greeted the heroic Nicaraguan people on the occasion of their victory. "The Soviet Union," the message stated, "guided by the inviolable principles of its peaceful foreign policy, based on respect for the sacred right of each nation and

country to choose its own way of development, expresses its readiness to normalize diplomatic relations and develop comprehensive relations with Nicaragua for the good of the peoples of both countries..." The greeting was received with great satisfaction in the country. Daniel Ortega, member of the Provisional Junta, stated: "We hope that Soviet-Nicaraguan relations will be normalized, strengthened, and provide an even greater support to our revolution."

A time of national rebirth is beginning on Nicaraguan soil. However, the building of the new life must be started virtually from scratch. Going through Rivas and Granada, and visiting Masaya and the workers' districts of Managua, we were impressed by the size of the destructions caused by the barbaric bombing of Somosa's air force. According to the Red Cross, about 80 percent of Nicaragua's industrial enterprises were destroyed. One-third of the population have no roofs over their heads. The state treasury has been plundered by Somosa and his clique. This year, according to the most optimistic estimates, the harvest will not exceed 60 percent of the annual average.

In an effort to lead the country on the path to progress, the provisional government has already passed a number of decrees of great importance to the future. First, all of Somosa's property was nationalized. It accounted for approximately one-third of the industrial and agricultural potential of the country. Somosa owned about two million hectares of arable land alone! The agrarian reform proclaimed by the government provides a solid base for a beginning. Secondly, all private banks were nationalized. Thirdly, a decision was passed to create a people's army. It will be known as the Sandinista People's Army. Umberto Ortega, one of the nine members of the SNLF leadership, was appointed as its commander in chief. The decree "On the Guarantees and Rights of the Nicaraguans," passed by the new government, was a major gain of the people. It proclaims that all citizens in the country are equal in the eyes of the law. It bans discrimination based on origin, color, language, religion, or views. Nicaraguans have been granted the freedom of speech and assembly, the right to create political parties and trade union organizations, and the right to work. The Nicaraguan people, the decree notes, have the right to the full and free determination of their political, economic, and cultural development. The state will guarantee the direct participation of the people in the main affairs of the country.

Having gained their freedom, the Nicaraguan patriots faced yet another responsible assignment: to defend the revolution against the encroachments of domestic and foreign reaction which has not laid down its arms and will try to undermine the new system, divide the ranks of the patriotic forces, and violate their unity which developed in the struggle against the tyranny.

...Dawn was breaking over Managua. On the peak of Tiscapa Hill, where the dictatorial regime's den had been, two flags had been hoisted--the red-black flag of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the flag of the Republic of Nicaragua.

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IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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[Article by I. Mikhaylov on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the U.S. Communist Party]

[Text] Sixty years ago, in September 1919, two autonomous organizations were created simultaneously--the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. In May 1921 they merged within the single party of the American Communists. Its appearance became the natural, the legitimate result of the entire development of the U.S. labor and socialist movements. The powerful upsurge of the class struggle of the working people, the growth of widespread anti-imperialist and antiwar feelings in the country, and the powerful influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the entire course of world events were the most important objective factors which predetermined the desire of the progressive workers to rally on the basis of the ideas of scientific socialism. The creation of a progressive political Marxist-Leninist organization became the greatest achievement of the U.S. working class.

From the very first years of its existence, the party systematically and decisively supported the basic interests and progressive ideals of the working class and all working people. It was always in the thick of class battles. It tirelessly struggled for social justice, against racism in all its manifestations, against monopoly rule, and in defense of democratic rights and freedoms. Ch. Rutenberg, J. Reed, and A. Wagenknecht played a most important role in the period of the party's establishment. In the subsequent stages a historical contribution to guiding the activities of the party was made by William Z. Foster, J. Ford, E. Dennis, E. Flinn, B. Davis, and many other.

In the fierce class battles which broke out in the United States in the period of upsurge of the labor movement after World War I, the communists acted as organizers and active participants in the biggest strikes of steel, mining, railroad, textile, and garment workers. These strikes had a major influence on the entire course of development of the workers movement in

the country. During those years the party gained experience in guiding mass actions and learned the art of political and economical struggle. At the same time, it faced the fierce attacks of reactionary forces which tried to crush the party both through repressions as well as subversive activities, including actions from within. The surmounting of the right wing opportunistic threat trained the party for the future class battles. The 1930's were a particularly important period for the U.S. Communist Party. They called for a maximum stress of forces and persistence in the struggle for the interests of the toiling people. The global economic crisis of 1929-1933 revealed, more than ever before, the gap separating the working class from the capitalist class. It aggravated the class confrontation. In the circumstances of open class confrontation the U. S. Communist Party proved its ability to head the masses in their struggle against poverty and hunger.

At the peak of the crisis the communists became the leading and organizing force of powerful actions mounted by the unemployed, which spread throughout the country. In the course of the growing strikes they invariably fought for strengthening the unity of the working class, for uniting all its battle and progressive forces, and for surmounting the capitulationist ideology of the AFL trade union leaders. At that time the party made a tremendous contribution to the creation of mass industrial trade unions which rallied millions of workers in the leading industrial sectors and became the base of the entire organized labor movement in the United States. The communists were the most skillful and selfless leaders of the big strikes and union organizers in tens and hundreds of enterprises. The party's prestige and influence rose to a qualitatively new level. Thousands of workers, union activists, and mental workers of all possible kinds joined its ranks.

The active struggle waged against racism and racial and national oppression, and the principled position taken in support of demands for full economic, political, social, and cultural equality of the black population earned the U.S. Communist Party deserved prestige among the Negro movement and resulted in a broad cooperation with its different detachments. A number of activists within this movement joined the party.

It was precisely at that time, in the difficult class battles and the battles against racism, that the U.S. communists proved in practice the universality of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the vitality of the principles of proletarian internationalism. They dealt serious blows at the ideology of "American exclusiveness." They laid a solid foundation for their subsequent activities. It was then that G. Hall, H. Winston, and many other communists, to this day actively working in the party, acquired their training.

In the exceptionally complex international circumstances of the 1930's, when German fascism and Japanese militarism were accelerating their preparations for a world war, the American communists engaged in extensive political

work in an effort to develop in the broad public an understanding of the threat to mankind of the fascist plague. They explained the need for the creation of a collective security system to oppose the aggressive countries and for joint efforts with the Soviet Union--the bulwark of peace and independence of the nations. The struggle waged by republican Spain for freedom was adopted by the American communists as well. Over 3,000 Americans fought in the international brigades, and many of them bravely died on Spanish soil.

In World War II the U.S. Communist Party made an important contribution to developing and strengthening the cooperation between the peoples of the United States and the USSR in the course of the joint struggle against fascism. Fifteen thousand communists served in the armed forces of the United States, fulfilling their patriotic and antifascist duty.

After World War II American imperialism became the center of world reaction. It formulated aggressive plans against the USSR and the other socialist countries and launched the cold war. Under those circumstances, the U. S. Communist Party headed the struggle waged by the progressive forces in the country against the antinational and adventurist policy of the ruling circles. In the postwar years it invariably opposed the imperialist and aggressive aspirations of the reactionary forces. It worked for an end to the cold war and against the arms race, and for the peace and security of the peoples.

Throughout its entire history the party has had to surmount tremendous difficulties. It has been subjected to the constant pressure and fierce persecution by the reactionary circles. The infamous "Palmer raids" and the "anti-Red crusades" of 1919 and 1920 are clearly remembered. For a long time the party operated clandestinely. Thousands of party members and left wingers were sent to jail and hundreds were deported. However, the party experienced a period of particularly fierce repressions in the McCarthy period. A number of anticommunist laws were passed aimed at banning the party. Between 1949 and 1956 18 court trials were held against communists. Over 150 communist party leaders were arrested and sent to jail for long periods. However, the reaction was unable to crush the party.

In the various stages of their activities the communists experienced several periods of difficult intraparty struggle against revisionists and liquidationists who tried to lead them away from the struggle for the basic interests of the toiling people. This struggle assumed a particularly acute nature in 1944-1945 and 1956-1957. The party firmly rebuffed the opportunists and defeated them politically and organizationally. However, the reactionary strikes of the 1950's substantially harmed the party and considerably weakened its influence in the trade unions and the various mass organizations and movements. The actions of the revisionist elements worsened the situation even further. The party faced the task of eliminating the consequences of the reactionary offensive.

The 17th Party Congress, held in 1959, inaugurated a new stage in party activities. The party took a course toward surmounting its isolation, energizing its work among the masses, and upgrading its role in the struggle waged by the working class and the black population, in the actions of the young people for their rights, and in the growing popular movement for peace, democracy, and social progress. This led to a considerable increase in its influence in the political life of the country, making it a most prestigious force in the progressive movement of the United States.

The 18th Congress of the American Communists, held in 1966 approved a draft new program which was subsequently ratified at the following congress in 1969. The document provided a profound analysis of the growing socio-political crisis of U.S. imperialism and earmarked the prospects of the struggle for social progress and against the rule of monopoly capital. The creation of a coalition rallying all democratic forces against monopoly power was formulated as a strategic objective. The party emphasized that in the course of antimonopoly actions prerequisites will develop for the mobilization of the broad popular masses in the struggle for a socialist reorganization of society, and that only a strong communist party, armed with the outlook of scientific socialism, could play a leading role in this struggle.

The party's active participation in the 1972 and 1976 electoral campaigns was of exceptional importance to the upsurge of its work. The communists used the elections to broaden their influence and disseminate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Gus Hall, the party's secretary general, was nominated candidate for president. Henry Winston, the party's national chairman, was the head of the elections committee. The Americans were able to become directly familiar with the positions of the communists on problems of U.S. domestic and foreign policy. Over 900,000 people signed petitions for the registration of communist party candidates for the elections. Despite the considerable restrictions of U.S. electoral legislation, in 1976 the party was able officially to register its candidates in nearly 20 states. These efforts established a bridgehead for the further participation of the communists in the electoral campaign which, under U.S. conditions, is one of the most important forms of the party's political activities.

Ever since its establishment the Communist Party has held a principled class position toward the foreign political course followed by the United States. The communists call for the implementation of a foreign policy which would be consistent with the peace loving expectations of the American people. They firmly oppose the militarism of aggressive U.S. circles and are working for the unification of peace loving forces. The communists played an exceptionally important role in the struggle waged by the broad American public against the aggressive war waged by the United States in Vietnam. They have firmly held the positions of solidarity with the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The U.S. Communist Party systematically promotes the development of relations between the United States and the USSR, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It favors their extensive constructive cooperation in the interests of universal peace. The communists firmly expose the opponents of detente and the supporters of the cold war who, under a variety of pretexts, are trying to hinder the detente process and further improvements in Soviet-American relations. The communists are consistently explaining to the broad popular masses the true objectives of the arms race. In the DAILY WORLD, PEOPLES WORLD, and POLITICAL AFFAIRS, their printed organs, they are exposing the activities of arms manufacturing corporations, and the fatal influence of the military-industrial complex on the country's economy, politics, and ideology. They actively oppose the manufacturing of the neutron weapon and actively work for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and for the soonest possible ratification of SALT II, emphasizing that the actions of the most reactionary forces in the United States are harming, above all, the national interests of the American people themselves.

In its theoretical and practical activities the U.S. Communist Party is invariably demonstrating its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the international ideology of the proletariat. It is making its contribution to the creative development of the theory of scientific socialism. It favors the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist movement. It firmly supports the principles of proletarian internationalism. The American communists firmly and consistently condemn the ideology and practice of Maoism, and the hegemonistic course followed by the Beijing leaders, and their rapprochement with the reactionary imperialist forces on an anti-Soviet basis.

The 22nd National Congress of the U.S. Communist Party, held on 23-26 August 1979 in Detroit, became a major landmark in the party's activities. It proved that the party is becoming an ever more influential force in the country's sociopolitical life. For the first time the congress was attended by representatives of 30 fraternal parties, including the CPSU.

The congress paid great attention to the study of today's global developments. Its documents emphasized that the global revolutionary process has become irreversible and that the forces moving it forward are the main factors determining the course of development of mankind.

Analyzing contemporary capitalism, the communists reached the conclusion that it has reached a level at which it can no longer resolve one of the most important problems facing mankind. It is an economic system going from one crisis to another. Inflation and high level unemployment have become its typical phenomena. The breakdown of the colonial system and the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against neocolonialism leads to the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

The congress's conclusion that the imperialist forces, even though retaining the typical aggressive nature, are forced today to switch to defense to an ever greater extent, and that the world revolutionary process is narrowing further and further the range of imperialist influence is of major political significance.

Assessing the processes occurring within the United States itself, the congress formulated a broad program of socioeconomic demands and called upon the party members to work more actively among the working class, particularly among the workers in basic industrial sectors, to comprehensively contribute to the radicalizing of the labor movement and the strengthening of the positions of left wing forces in it, and to promote their unity and strengthened interaction with the broad masses in the unions, and the development of a movement among the rank and file union membership against the policy of class cooperation. A consideration of the tasks of the struggle against racial and national oppression, to which some 50 million Americans are being subjected, and which has been an inseparable feature of American capitalism from the time of its appearance, and a structural component of its class exploitation system, assumed an important place. At the present stage of development of state-monopoly capitalism, the oppression it exercises has become more refined and concealed. The struggle for total and unconditional economic, political, social, and cultural equality is today inseparable from social progress. It is indivisibly linked with the class confrontation and the struggle against the state-monopoly system. It is a key problem in the general struggle for democracy.

The delegates and guests to the congress of the American communists enthusiastically welcomed the greetings of the CPSU Central Committee which stated, in particular, the following: "Having covered a great 60 year old road, your party is carrying high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the great traditions of the working class of the United States, fulfilling the role of the leading fighter for the political, economic, and social ideals of the toiling people."

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CSO: 1802

LOYALTY TO IDEALS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 108-109

[Article by V. Sedykh]

[Text] On 20 September 1979 the outstanding leader of the French and international communist movement Marcel Cachin would have been 110 years old. This outstanding son of France was born one-and-a-half years before the Paris Commune. His entire conscious life was illuminated by the great ideals of socialism, for whose triumph the predecessors of the new society which was established in the USSR and, subsequently, in many other countries, under the direct influence of the historical victory of the October Revolution, fought in the spring of 1871.

The offspring of a modest family, thanks to his rare talents and industriousness, M. Cachin was able brilliantly to graduate from the university in Bordeaux and, subsequently, to become one of the most erudite French political and social leaders.

Entering the French Workers Party in 1891 he underwent the difficult training of the class struggle. As party activist, editor of a number of provincial workers newspapers, deputy mayor of Bordeaux, municipal councilor in Paris, head of the trade union of transportation workers in Paris, and parliament deputy, gradually, Marcel Cachin became a noted leader of the socialist movement. He took part in the congresses of the Second International in Amsterdam, Stuttgart, and Basel. He met with Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg, Klara Zetkin, and other noted leaders of the international workers movement. In 1912, together with the delegates to the Basel congress Cachin called upon the socialists to prevent the outbreak of the war. Two years later, when the worldwide conflagration broke out, nearly all socialist parties voted in favor of military credits, openly supporting "their" bourgeoisie, thus betraying the interests of the working people. The Russian Bolsheviks, Lenin's party, remained flexibly loyal to the principles of Marxism and proletarian internationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a tremendous impact on the labor movement in France and other countries. As M. Cachin wrote, "The Bolsheviks proved to the entire world that the working class is the most powerful lever

of progress. Thus, by the very fact of its existence the Soviet system strengthened in the proletariat of all countries the feeling of their own power. This was the greatest contribution made by the Russian proletariat to the world proletariat! That is why the proletariat of all countries stretched their hand toward Soviet Russia and joined the third, the Communist International."

Under those circumstances Marcel Cachin's trip to Russia, in the summer of 1920, as representative of the French Socialist Party, and his participation in the work of the Second Comintern Congress, and his talk with Lenin, were of particular importance. At the end of December 1920, following the appeal of M. Cachin, P. Vaillant-Couturier and their like-minded supporters, the revolutionary majority of the SFIO congress in Tours passed the historical decision to join the Communist International, thus creating the French Communist Party which continued and increased the best traditions of the toiling people of the homeland of the Paris Commune.

It was precisely on this event that M. Cachin's daughter--Marcelle Herzog-Cachin--focused her main attention in the letter published here, kindly sent to us in answer to our request to share with us her recollections on her father.

Also of great interest are recollections on Marcel Cachin by the noted leader of the communist movement Georges Cogniot (1901-1978). This touching story, also published for the first time, was recorded by me on tape in 1975 when I worked as PRAVDA's correspondent in Paris.

Both documents clearly remind us of the entire zeal of the revolutionary to whom Maurice Thorez dedicated the following heartfelt words: "His entire life was spent in the selfless and loyal service to the cause of socialism and tireless struggle for a better life of the toiling masses, for freedom and peace, and for the independence and greatness of France." He also said: "To the extent to which he was loyal to France he was loyal to the ideas of proletarian internationalism."

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1. For details see the article "Historical Encounter," KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1977.

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HE WAS ALWAYS TRUE TO HIMSELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 109-111

[Article by Marcelle Herzog-Cachin, written on 24 March 1979]

[Text] When Marcel Cachin reached Moscow in 1920 he already had 30 years of active work in the ranks of the former French Socialist Party, which was a member of the Second International. He was 50 years old. For the two previous years he had headed the newspaper L'HUMANITE, founded by Jaures. His life was entirely dedicated to the single objective of building socialism. He joined the French Labor Party at the age of 20. It was a small party founded by Jules Guesde, and Paul Lafarg, Marx's son-in-law. At that time this was the only Marxist party in France and its creators became Marcel's teachers and instructors, exposing him to socialism and Marxism. This was in the 1890's.

In 1904, at the Amsterdam International Congress, this party proclaimed its solidarity with all other socialist and related parties of that time, forming with them the French section of the Workers International (SFIO).

The following question arises: How did Marcel Cachin—a convinced socialist who had no quarrel with his party even in World War I, when it cooperated with the French bourgeoisie, how did he gradually reach the conclusion of the need to separate himself from his party, abandon the SFIO traditions and the party's political errors and merits, and ignore the past and everything in which he had spent many years of his life?

There are several answers to this question.

Marcel Cachin was always honest with himself. He possessed the rare ability to look at the facts directly in the face, without prejudice, and see them in their totality. He could understand the logic of history.

In the summer of 1917 Cachin visited both Moscow and the Western Front. It was there that he saw, for the first time, the soviets of soldiers, workers, and peasant deputies and, something which to him was unheard of, the fraternizing between Russian and German soldiers.

It was after that that he realized the meaning of the October Revolution. His meetings with the Bolsheviks and, above all, with Lenin, were a revelation to him. It was precisely then that he realized how important it was for the French labor movement to join the Third International, and how important it was to involve as many French socialists as possible in the new policy a manifestation of which the French Communist Party was to become.

At that time, at the end of 20, Cachin's personality had predetermined his choice. He was just the only one of the leaders of the socialist movement at that time called for following that path and who firmly defended it. He was greatly helped in this by his meetings with Lenin in 1920. During his second trip he was amazed by the great picture of the progress of the Russian people toward liberation.

Neither the consequences of World War I nor the destruction caused by the civil war which devastated the Russian soil prevented him from seeing that here great and decisive changes were taking place. As of that moment he dedicated all his activities and talents to the cause of the socialist revolution. The creation of the French Communist Party was a difficult and lengthy process. The young French Communist Party, like any new party, made a great deal of errors and suffered many casualties. However, it also achieved great successes.

Whatever the case, by 1935 Marcel Cachin could say that the French Communist Party had become a well organized and firm party, capable of expanding its influence and strengthening its position in the country. In fact, the French Communist Party grew up and was able to withstand all the difficulties of clandestinity and World War II and, emerging out of these trials, retain its autonomy and strengthen considerably.

At that period in history, one of the main directions in the activities of Marcel Cachin was the tireless defense of the young Soviet state whose birth he welcomed. Starting with 1919 he launched the struggle in the Chamber of Deputies as well and, even earlier, on the pages of L'HUMANITE and in numerous meetings, to block the intentions of bourgeois France to carry out a military and economic intervention against the Soviet state. At that time he was not a Bolshevik. However, the following refrain could be invariably heard in his political activities: The Russians--at that time the word Soviets was not as yet used--must further their revolution, for they deem it necessary to decide on its fate by themselves. France must immediately terminate its military intervention and abandon attempts to support the revolution.

After the danger threatening Soviet Russia was over, Marcel Cachin set himself the task of acquainting the working people in France with the Soviet system, and with the hopes created by the great historical event which "shook the world in 10 days."

The content of the second stage of the campaign launched by Cachin was to disseminate knowledge about the USSR and ensure its official recognition by France.

This required firmness, energy, and inflexible faith in socialism.

He tirelessly worked to strengthen and intensify the ties of friendship and reciprocal understanding between the French and the Soviet people. This was a difficult project, particularly in an atmosphere of anti-Soviet hysteria which raged in France in the period between the two world wars.

In the course of such activities, Cachin pursued two objectives. On the one hand, he acted as a communist and party leader, as seeing to it that his party became truly communist and revolutionary; on the other hand, he was convinced that a powerful Franco-Soviet alliance was a historical necessity for France.

From M. Cachin's viewpoint this would be a guarantee for a lasting peace and, at the same time, would create in France favorable conditions for the building of socialism with national characteristics.

The World War II events confirmed the accuracy of Marcel Cachin's political thinking.

He waged this struggle throughout his entire life.

Subsequently, two events convinced him even further of the correctness of the lifetime political choice he had made. In the 1950's, in his view, the circumstances in the so-called Third World, in Asia, and, in particular, the establishment of a people's system in a number of countries, radically changed the previous ratio of forces in the world in favor of world socialism. Finally, several months before his death he welcomed the launching of the first earth satellite as proof of the superiority of the Soviet system in science.

He was the first foreigner to be awarded the Lenin Prize.

As far as I'm concerned, I believe that Marcel Cachin had a truly happy life. Enthusiasm, industriousness, thirst for knowledge, ability to see the world in its entire variety, and a feeling of duty was what had made his life happy. He was pleased by having been able to carry out, fully or partially, the task which he had set himself at the beginning of his life. He was not ambitious and was fully satisfied with his constant and adamant work which enabled him to express his personality. He wrote well and his thinking was clear and precise. He spoke convincingly and penetratingly. All this gave his words clarity, life, and human warmth. The French working people and many members of the intelligentsia considered him one of the most beloved and respected people. Finally, something we should

have said at the beginning of this essay, he was lucky to meet a woman with whom he lived over 50 years with love and in harmony, who entirely shared his thoughts. This is very important in a man's life!

Very young, Margueritte Cachin joined the socialist party, like Marcel, at the turn of the century. She was 20 years old. Coming from the United States, she met Marcel at the 1904 Amsterdam congress. Marcel and Margueritte Cachin had a sober look at the world. They had a great deal of wisdom and courage. This enabled them calmly to withstand all the happenstances of a difficult life. A profound love sanctified their spiritually rich and active life.

Toward the end of his life Marcel had fulfilled virtually all the dreams and aspirations of his youth. He could look at the approaching end calmly, without regret, for he was confident that the future to which he had dedicated his life would be such as he had dreamed, such as he had accepted it in his heart and his mind.

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CSO: 1802

MASTER OF PARTY JOURNALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 111-114

[Article by Georges Cogniot, 1945]

[Text] There have been a number of circumstances in my life thanks to which I was able to maintain close and friendly relations with Marcel Cachin. There were three such circumstances.

Our initial meeting occurred in 1935, when I was nominated candidate for the Paris Municipal Council, representing the 18th District, whose deputy Marcel Cachin had been for quite some time.

The second possibility to be in touch, naturally, belongs to the period when I was editor in chief of L'HUMANITE, while Marcel Cachin was its political director. Following the death of Paul Vaillant-Couturier, on 10 October 1937, I became editor in chief and remained in that position until the war and, subsequently, from 1944 to 1949.

The third opportunity for our meetings was presented by the meetings of the party's Central Committee Politburo, in which I participated as of 1937 and whose member Marcel Cachin was.

Thus, in 1935 my candidacy was submitted for the elections for the municipal council representing the 18th Paris arrondissement, opposing Louis Selier, the former party Central Committee secretary who had betrayed our cause; at that time he held the position of municipal councilor.

I was defeated by a very few votes, following an exceptionally active campaign in which Marcel Cachin participated as former district deputy.

I shall always see him the way he was on the rostrum: strong, stocky, with a resounding voice. His words reached the very heart, the more so since this was a question in which he discussed the principles of political morality--the struggle against the renegade.

Cachin spoke with such sincerity and heat, and his language was so simple and clear that he captivated all his listeners. He did not spare the enemy.

He attacked him openly and decisively. Unquestionably, Cachin is one of the best orators ever.

In the autumn of 1937, despite total lack of experience in journalism, the party's Central Committee made me editor in chief of L'HUMANITE.

In fact, I had practiced in L'HUMANITE only one month, in 1928, working in the foreign political section, headed by Gabriel Perry.

By that time Cachin had been the newspaper's director for some 20 years, starting with 1918. He had begun his work in L'HUMANITE even earlier in 1912, replacing Paul Lafarg.

He published an article every Wednesday, as representative of the Guesde current within the united socialist party.

When I came to L'HUMANITE, in the autumn of 1937, in my view Marcel Cachin was the embodiment of 50 years of heavy struggle. I was quite tempted and greatly needed a model to emulate. I needed a teacher. What amazed me immediately was the very profound warmth and thoughtfulness with which Marcel Cachin welcomed me.

I was young and Cachin told me that he loves youth. He reminded me that in 1913, in Brest, he had chaired a constituent congress of the Socialist Youth Union.

Marcel Cachin was interested not only in my work. He was interested in the life of every editor in the newspaper. He frequently went to the printing press whose workers he knew well and who loved him. He received in his office all the friends of the newspaper and even total strangers who had come from all parts of the world. He welcomed them with all his hospitality, politeness, and readiness to listen to any opinion and to understand the nature of the new currents.

Talking with me, he frequently reminisced: He spoke to me either about Ho Chi Minh who had been a student and a photographer in Paris, or about Gottwald, whom he knew when the latter was a carpenter. To anyone who entered his office he pointed at a big map in which the USSR, boundaries traced in a red pencil, accounted for one-sixth of the globe, and said excitedly: "When I became a socialist nothing of this existed." He possessed amazing vitality and an all-embracing thirst for knowledge. That is what I can say about his human qualities.

As to his qualities as a journalist, he demanded of a journalist always to tell the truth and did this with a feeling of profound respect for the Parisians and with the dignity of a party member. He opposed coarse journalistic methods such as, for example, exaggerated headlines. He tirelessly fought such exaggerations. He said that this method is good only for the mercenary press.

He was always concerned with the moral side of editing.

From the professional viewpoint, let us note that as a journalist he was unequal. He was able to combine linguistic brevity with exceptional stylistic elegance. He was able to clarify even most confused problems and express main facts in few words.

L'HUMANITE's famous editorials--informal and brief--were written by Cachin.

They were informal but not commonplace. They were informal stylistically, for Cachin followed the great traditions of French prose: the traditions of Voltaire, Paul-Luis Courier, and Anatole France, whom he considered his teachers.

His style was precise, clear, and severe. The origins of his style were his extensive culture and sensitive and noble heart. He tirelessly corrected his heavily edited sentences in each of his articles.

Cachin rapidly covered the pages with his small, energetic, and close handwriting. Like any journalist, he had his peculiarities and habits. One of them was to capitalize, ignoring the rules of the French language, words which seemed to him to be most important such as, for example, the word "peace." This word is capitalized in all his manuscripts.

Idle talk, vain gloriousness, and complacency were entirely alien to him.

He was exceptionally modest. Having written an article, he submitted it to the editor in chief, bringing it himself. I read it and, occasionally, dared to submit some corrections. He willingly accepted them. He was a great collectivist in the work.

Neither did this master of journalism scorn the administrative side of the newspaper. He was always concerned with its distribution.

In 1929 he set up committees for the defense of all L'HUMANITE and deemed it an honor to always personally attend all meetings of their members. He wanted L'HUMANITE to become a big popular newspaper. He wanted it to be not the organ of a party, like a sect, but a newspaper such as Lenin, the great people's tribune, imagined it. This matter was the subject of his constant attention.

It was precisely under his guidance, thanks to him, that the daily circulation of L'HUMANITE in 1937, when I began work in the newspaper, totaled 430,000 copies, making it first among all French political newspapers and third among the big Parisian dailies.

I was in close connection with Marcel Cachin also at Politburo meetings. Cachin spoke quite rarely but thoroughly took notes on each speech. He

either wanted to provide additional information or to change the course of the discussion.

This was quite valuable, for Cachin was familiar with every part of France, every part of the country with all its political peculiarities. He was familiar with even the most insignificant cases of the class battles occurring there. His mind was a kind of encyclopedia of French political life, and not only of that of France but of a country such as Algeria.

Let us recall that from 1905 to 1912 he was so-called permanent delegate of the socialist party on propaganda problems. This means that in the course of seven years of travel he had crisscrossed France, attending 200 to 300 meetings per year.

It was thus that he had become familiar with all corners of the country and with Algeria which he had visited twice, in 1908 and in 1912, carrying out propaganda assignments.

Thus, at Politburo meetings he took the floor to provide additional information on the situation in one or another realm of life of the country or to change the direction of the debates.

What made him do that?

As a rule, he opposed all dogmatic positions and any inclination to dogmatism. He did this, as he told me frequently, to caution himself against it.

He bewared of his Guedists past, for he knew perfectly well that the Guedists had frequently erred through their dogmatism, during the Boulanger. Or the Dreyfus trial.

The Guedes sinned both through dogmatism and sectarianism, for which reason Cachin was suspicious of his own Guedist roots and watchful as to any manifestation of dogmatism.

That is precisely the way he always addressed the Politburo meetings and promoted something I would describe as honesty, as political honesty. He did not allow for any member of the Politburo to be guided by personal interests. He did not tolerate any intrigue. Cachin was always in favor of honesty and justice. Let us also mention his goodness--he was a very good person.

That is the main thing I can state about my personal impressions of Marcel Cachin and the image he has left in my memory.

Despite the fact that for quite some time Cachin is no longer with us, it is as though he is continuing to address himself to the French workers and the communists, and is continuing to teach us.

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CSO: 1802

GUARDING THE RIGHT CAUSE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 115-126

[Review by Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Sokolov of the book by D. F. Ustinov "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 519 pages]

[Text] The book by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of defense, containing his selected speeches and articles from 1942 to February 1979, is an addition to the scientific works published on the activities of the party for the implementation of the Leninist principles of strengthening the defense capability of the country.

Substantiatedly, and with profound knowledge, the author describes the comprehensive ideological and organizational activities of the party's Central Committee and, personally, of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and chairman of the Defense Council, on the implementation of the Leninist peaceful foreign policy. The author examines the lessons and experience of the Great Patriotic War. He describes the significance of the moral-political potential, combat equipment and armaments at the present stage, and considers problems related to the defense of the socialist fatherland and to improving the combat power of the Soviet Armed Forces. A number of reports and articles deal with the process of strengthening the comity of socialist states and the combat alliance of their armed forces. The materials in the book are distinguished by their realistic and constructive approach to problems of the practical implementation of the party's course toward peace, economic and social development of the country, and defense of the interests of socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" formulates, among the other, the task of clearly depicting the fruitful and tireless activities of the CPSU in strengthening the power of the Soviet homeland. This essential stipulation, comprehensively substantiated in the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, is determining in the entire book. The main feature in CPSU leading activities, the author emphasizes, is the formulation of a general plan

for the development of the society, the lines followed in USSR domestic and foreign policy, and the organization of its implementation.

Describing the role of the communist party as a ruling party which has assumed the responsibility for the fate of the homeland, the author analyzes its basic functions: "In a Leninist fashion, wisely and perspicaciously, the party formulates a course of development of the Soviet society; in a Leninist fashion, it skillfully uses the incalculable opportunities of socialism; in a Leninist fashion, it realistically determines the forthcoming tasks and adamantly works for their successful implementation" (page 6).

The contemporary period of development of our country is characterized by the steady increase in the leading role of the party at all levels of the building of communism, and the intensification of its ideological-theoretical, political-educational, and organizational work.

The content of the book speaks of the tremendous activities of the CPSU aimed at the creation and further perfecting of the armed forces. From the very first days of the Soviet system the question of defending the revolutionary gains of the working people was shifted from the theoretical to the practical level, for, as V. I. Lenin pointed out "We could not exist without the armed defense of the socialist republic" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 138). The party faced in its entirety the most important and responsible task of organizing such an armed defense.

The author thoroughly describes the work of the leading party organs in shaping an army of a new type and insuring the defense of the socialist fatherland. The question of the building of the Red Army, the author emphasizes, was a new matter for the party members and they brilliantly coped with it. The initial experience acquired in the field of military construction and leadership of the armed struggle was summed up at the Eighth Congress of the RKP(b). Without abandoning in principle the militia formations, the congress formulated the most important rules governing the structure of the Red Army as a permanent, regular, and strictly centralized military organization, on the class nature of the armed forces of the socialist state, on party-political work as a powerful means for the education of army personnel and ensuring its high combat spirit, on training command cadres, and on training the troops on the basis of the military science. These ideas are embodied in the activities of the party organs in guiding military construction.

The Leninist theory of war and armed forces was further developed in the decisions of party congresses and its Central Committee. These documents concretized the question of the retention of the threat of war at the present stage. They formulated and substantiated views on the ratio between detente and the class struggle, the indivisibility of the tasks of the building of communism and of ensuring the security of the country. The party's development of theoretical problems is skillfully combined with

the implementation of practical assignments in the various fields of the national economy. This applies to all components of defense power-- economics, and the scientific and technical, moral-political, and military potential of the state. The economic strategy formulated by the party, and the great program for social changes adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress, the author emphasizes, ensure the combination of the achievements of scientific and technical progress with the advantages of socialism in the interest of the building of communism. Their implementation also develops the material and spiritual prerequisites for further strengthening the country's defense capability and comprehensively improving the armed forces (see page 495).

The author substantiates the idea of intensifying the leading influence of the party in the building of the army and navy today. "The increased role of the CPSU in the leadership of the armed forces," the author writes, "is determined by a series of interrelated factors. The most important among them are the following: The complexity of processes occurring in the world arena and, therefore, the incredibly increased responsibility for the proper analysis of military-political circumstances and the adoption of prompt and effective measures against aggression, whatever its origin; increasing the correlation between the combat power and combat readiness of the armed forces and the level of socioeconomic and cultural development and the moral-political and spiritual potential of the country; and broadening the international tasks for the defense of the socialist gains" (page 498).

The party comprehensively takes into consideration the effect of these factors on its work. It makes skillful and purposeful use of the advantages and possibilities the developed socialism to strengthen the defense capability of the country.

The author closely links the problems of strengthening the defense of the Soviet state with the trends of contemporary social development. He convincingly proves that thanks to the peaceful policy of the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity the principles of peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems and detente have been acknowledged today and supported by the nations as the only sensible ones. The Soviet Union systematically implements the program adopted at the 25th CPSU Congress for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, and for the freedom and independence of the nations. The support of peace by our state and its firm and stable course of restraint and termination of the arms race and general and total disarmament have been legislatively codified in the new Soviet constitution. D. F. Ustinov draws the conclusion that the adamant and systematic struggle waged by the USSR and the other socialist states for the intensification of detente and for strengthening the peace contributed to the warming of the international political climate. Together with the fraternal socialist countries the Soviet Union spares no efforts to save mankind from the threat of a new world war and to ensure the reliable safety of the nations.

However, we cannot fail to take into consideration the fact that the aggressive imperialist circles have a powerful military-economic potential. It is precisely this that determines the great complexity marking the development of its international relations. Of late the forces of imperialism have become noticeably energized. They are trying to restore the atmosphere of mistrust and balancing on the brink of war. They are promoting the expansion of existing and the creation of new aggressive military-political blocs. These forces support hotbeds of tension. They provoke military conflicts and urge on an ever more dangerous arms race.

The author cites specific figures and facts exposing the true intentions of the enemies of detente. Thus, in the past 10 years alone, the NATO countries have sent \$1.3 trillion for military purposes. One-half of this huge amount was spent over the past four years, i.e., at a time when political conditions has already been created in the practice of international life for restricting armaments and reducing military expenditures. Furthermore, at its May 1978 session, the NATO Council approved a long-term armament program (for 10 to 15 years), costing \$80 billion. Such funds are being generously allocated in addition to the annual military budgets which, last year, for example, reached the huge amount of almost \$180 billion (see pp 499-500).

Exposing the nature of military preparations being made by the imperialist countries, the author convincingly proves that the current Chinese leadership is acting together with the reactionary imperialist forces. Following their expansionistic and hegemonistic objectives, the Beijing leaders have engaged in unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda and are militarizing the country at an accelerated pace.

It is entirely understandable that the intrigues of international reaction forced the Soviet Union to maintain its defense capability and the combat power of its armed forces at a level which ensures peaceful conditions for the building of communism. "We," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, addressing the seamen of the Pacific Ocean navy in the course of his trip to Siberia and the Far East, "are perfecting our defense with the sole objective of reliably protecting the gains of the Great October Revolution, and firmly protect to the peaceful toil of the Soviet people and of our friends and allies."

The author deals extensively with problems of party work aimed at perfecting the armed forces on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements. They are considered particularly extensively in his article "The Leading Role of the CPSU in the Building of the Soviet Armed Forces." Effectively working for the security of the country, the party proceeds from Lenin's instruction of the direct correlation between defense potential and economic development level. Characteristic of contemporary conditions is the process of intensified influence of the economy and of its level and production scale on the pace of the further expansion of the possibilities of the defense industry and the strengthening of the material and

technical base of the armed forces. The party is constantly and skillfully directing this process, thanks to which basic changes have been implemented in the technical equipment of the Soviet armed forces and the possibility for the successful implementation of their problems has been ensured successfully.

The author singles out in particular party-political work in the armed forces among the many most important conditions and factors which determine success in military construction. Organizing this work, the party comprehensively takes into consideration developing circumstances and existing possibilities. It defines the objectives and, on this basis, formulates the tasks at each specific stage. Thus, today improving the training and skills of ideological cadres is an important feature influencing all aspects of ideological-political upbringing. Propagandists and ideological workers must have a feeling of high responsibility for the content and results of educational work. They must engage in a creative search for new ways and means for work with the people. This idea runs through the book.

On the basis of a study of all components of CPSU directing and organizing activities, D. F. Ustinov emphasizes that party leadership is the main and decisive source of the combat power and invincibility of the armed forces of the USSR.

A number of articles ("Steadfastly Upgrading the Combat Power of the Armed Forces," "The Great Victory," etc.) analyze the historical way covered by the Soviet army.

The idea of creating an army of the new type was expressed as early as the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People," signed by Lenin and adopted by the VTsIK on 3 (16) January 1918. A specific step toward its implementation was the Sovnarkom decree of 15 (28) January 1918 on raising a Worker-Peasant Red Army.

The author notes that three stages may be traced in the party's activities related to the creation of a Red Army and Navy: the breakdown of the old army and the building of the new one on a voluntary basis; the establishment of a mass regular Red Army based on universal conscription; and completion of the process of building a mass regular army.

The author describes the tremendous historical significance of the creation of the Red Army--an army of an essentially new type, radically different from the armies of the exploiting society, which have always been and remain, a weapon of oppression, coercion, and hostility. Our army has always been destined and always used for the right cause--the defense of the revolutionary gains of the working class and the entire toiling people. It has remained such to this day.

The study of the economic, ideological, and moral-psychological factors which ensured the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War are discussed extensively in the book. The speeches by D. F. Ustinov who headed the People's Commissariat of Armaments in the war highly rate the selfless toil of the party members on the front and in the rear, aimed at the defeat of the hated enemy. This battle, unparalleled in scope and fierceness, required the titanic efforts of the party and the people to repel the Hitlerite aggression. The country became one big battle camp. All economic levers, all reserves, were put to use. Within an extremely short time the activities of party and economic organs were reorganized in accordance with the new circumstances. The articles "Let Us Increase Armament Production for the Front," "The Armament Industry in the Patriotic War," and other describe the development of armament production in the first months; mass socialist competition aimed at supplying the army with weapons developed extensively. The party slogan "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!," the author writes, became at that time the law of life of our people.

Within an extremely short period the Soviet economy resolved the problem of supplying the army and navy with everything necessary. Thanks to the military-economic activities of the party and the government and the selfless toil of the working people in the rear, the material and technical superiority of our army over the German-fascist troops was secured. USSR industry outstripped the industry of Hitlerite Germany and its satellites both in terms of quantity and quality of produced armaments. During the war our country produced nearly twice the amount of military hardware than the enemy. Soviet industry supplied the army with over 134,000 airplanes, about 103,000 tanks and self-propelling artillery systems, and over 825,000 artillery guns and howitzers.

The articles "Russian Automatic Weapons," "Soviet Artillery Equipment," and other, offer a detailed study of the contribution of scientists-designers to upgrading the combat power of the Soviet army. Using specific examples, the author proves the tremendous role played by automatic infantry weapons developed by V. G. Fedorov, F. V. Tokarev, B. G. Shpital'nyy, M. Ye. Berezin, V. A. Degtyarev, and G. S. Shpagin. The creative thinking of designers at that time, the author emphasizes, was subordinated to the single purpose of developing new types of combat equipment on the basis of the experience gained in the initial period of World War II, tirelessly perfecting and improving existing models.

A number of articles provide a detailed analysis of the dialectics of the correlation between man and equipment in war. On the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology the author emphasizes that the more radical the objectives pursued in a war are, and the more destructive the weapons become, the more important becomes the role of the moral-political factor and the unity between army and people. The entire course and outcome of the Great Patriotic War confirms the accuracy of this thesis. It was the Soviet man with his high moral qualities, raised by the Communist Party, who won the victory in this most fierce battle against fascism.

In the Great Patriotic War, the author notes, Soviet military science developed further. Its structural elements, and principles, of the development and implementation of major operations, characteristic of a war waged on a huge scale, were revealed more clearly.

In close connection with the theoretical problems of military science the author analyzes the nature of the structural components of Soviet military doctrine. He emphasizes that the base of this doctrine is the unity between the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state and its readiness to rebuff the aggressor properly (see page 329).

The Soviet military doctrine is an efficient system of principles and scientifically substantiated views on the nature and means of waging a war which may be imposed upon the Soviet Union, military construction, and training of the armed forces and the country to repel aggression. In our doctrine the humane and profoundly just objectives of peaceful Soviet foreign policy are organically combined with tireless concern for ensuring the safety and defense capability of the country and reliably protecting the peaceful toil of the Soviet people and of the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries (see page 498).

The author's words on laying the initial sociopolitical foundations of the military doctrine and the building and training of the armies of the fraternal states are topical. "The members of the socialist comity," he writes, "cannot ignore the imperialist military preparations directed against them. Systematically implementing a policy of peace, they are also forced to display high vigilance and always be concerned with maintaining their defense potential on the necessary level. The unity between the peace loving foreign policy of the members of the socialist comity and their readiness precisely to rebuff any aggressor is the base of their military doctrine and the building and training of their armies" (pp 424-425).

Soviet military science considers this approach in the assessment of the military doctrines of the members of the socialist comity and of their ideological and theoretical base as founding in the formulation of the theories governing the administration and training of the troops. It substantiates the unity of military-political views and reflects the objective logic governing cooperation among the armies of the socialist states.

The author also considers problems of Soviet military strategy as a superior area of martial art; it serves the most progressive social system and the defense of the gains of socialism and the building of communism.

The articles "Honorably Carry the Banner of Internationalism," and "Sixty Years on Guard of the Achievements of the Great October Revolution" study the theoretical and practical problems of the combat readiness of the troops. The author defines combat readiness as the "alloy of the technical

equipment of the troops, their military training, their moral-political, psychological and physical training, level of organization, and readiness on the part of every Soviet soldier to perform exploits for the sake of fulfilling his duty to the homeland" (p 320). Under contemporary conditions the constant combat readiness of the Soviet armed forces is considered on the political, military, and moral-psychological levels.

Politically, the combat readiness of the troops means their profound loyalty to the cause of communism and intolerance toward the enemies of socialism, and the ability of the Soviet armed forces to carry out their assignments for the defense of the socialist fatherland and restraining the aggressor, and act as a factor of peace.

Militarily, high combat readiness is assessed as a certain level of preparedness of the armed forces in carrying out their assignments, i.e., a qualitative status of the army and navy in which they can wreck aggressive enemy plans at all times.

On the moral-psychological level this means the constant inner moral-political and psychological mobilization of the troops and their ability to retain their firmness and courage and to display heroism and combat skills even in most critical situations.

The work directs commanders, political workers, and party and Komsomol organizations of the Soviet Army and Navy toward successfully ensuring a high level of combat readiness of the armed forces of the USSR.

The author pays great attention to explaining the significance of party-political work as an inviolable base of Soviet military construction. Discussing such problems, the author relies on the concepts and conclusions contained in "Malaya Zemlya," the book by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The firmness of the Malaya Zemlya soldiers was precisely the result of party-political work. This confirmed, yet once again, the wisdom of Lenin's words that wherever political work among the troops is conducted with the greatest care, there is no slackness in the army. Its drill and its spirit are better and its victories are greater (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 56).

The role and significance of party-political work and its main directions determined the position of the Soviet Armed Forces in the life of the country, its history, and the spiritual world of the Soviet person.

Party-political work covers literally all realms of life and activities of the army and the navy. Its main task, as the author notes in a number of articles, is to raise the Soviet troops in a spirit of selfless service of the homeland, and conscientious fulfillment of official duties in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. The active mobilization of the personnel for upgrading the effectiveness and quality

of combat training, improving land, air and sea training, mastering the new combat equipment and armaments, and strengthening military discipline and organization are no less important.

The specific problems of party-political work cover a vast range of questions. The author substantiates the increased demand for such work under contemporary conditions. The revolution in military affairs, the appearance of new armaments, and the higher educational and cultural standards of young people replenishing army and navy ranks dictate the need for steadily perfecting the entire system of party-political work and for upgrading the effectiveness and quality of troop training and upgrading the effectiveness and quality of troop training and upbringing.

In his addresses to graduates of military academies D. F. Ustinov properly assesses the role of officer cadres in the training and upbringing of the Soviet soldiers and insuring the combat readiness of the armed forces. This is the base, the backbone of the army and navy. At all stages of military construction the party has displayed tireless concern for the training and upbringing of officer cadres--commanders, political workers, engineers, and technicians. Today over 50 percent of the officers are with higher military and military-specialized training, and over 90 percent are party and Komsomol members.

The complexity and scale of the problems resolved by the armed forces have raised the requirements which the contemporary military leader must meet, his work style, and the personal qualities he must possess. Combat equipment is becoming ever more complex and dangerous. However, man was, and remains, the decisive force in war. That is why, organizing the training and upbringing of the personnel, every commander and political worker must clearly understand "the new moral, physical, and psychological trials which our soldier will encounter in real combat should the imperialists unleash a war, and the stalk of firmness--combat, ideological, and moral--that must be acquired by the defenders of the homeland during peacetime" (1987).

The contemporary army leader is distinguished by high party-political views, profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and military affairs, discipline, initiative, and a progressive approach to the implementation of his obligations. Every officer must combine the features of political party fighter and good specialist, skillful organizer, and educator of the masses. It is important for the officer to adamantly master the art of directing the troops and the navy, the ability to organize and carry out political-educational work, successfully to surmount difficulties, display sensible initiative, and upgrade his ideological-political and military-theoretical standards.

The author pays considerable attention to army and navy political workers. Our party faces them with special requirements. They must know and be able to accomplish a great deal. Above all, the political worker must be a communist in the highest meaning of the term. Most profound ideological

convictions, party-mindedness, honesty, model behavior in everything, and close and informal ties with the personnel are qualities which have always distinguished the political workers in our army. Working with the people they invest all their capabilities and enthusiasm. "...The individual example given by the political worker, his party zeal, his principle-mindedness and intolerance of any violation of the Leninist norms of party life and principles of our morality and, at the same time, responsiveness and sensitivity in terms of people, and ability to understand them and given them the necessary help," the author writes, "play a decisive role" (p 290).

The education of the officers corps is a continuing and creative process requiring thoughtful and constant work. On this level again the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] have become real textbooks of life for our military cadres and their development and upbringing.

The party organizations and their combat assistant--the army Komsomol--are the firm cementing force of military collectives. This is a tremendous force and reliable support of commanders in resolving problems of upgrading the combat readiness of the troops and strengthening the discipline and organization. In their activities they are guided by the general party decisions above all.

The communists are in the front line of the struggle for high indicators in combat and political training. In their service and through their personal example and passionate party words they constantly influence the troops and rally the military collectives.

"One of the main problems of party construction in the army and navy," the author emphasizes, "is upgrading further the activeness and militancy of the primary party organizations, and increasing their influence on all aspects of army life" (p 287).

D. F. Ustinov justifiably draws the attention to the fact that party organizations cannot mechanically duplicate the work methods of commanders and chiefs, or of their decisions and orders. Their most important duty is, through the use of active persuasion measures, adamantly to struggle for the full and high quality implementation of the plans for combat and political training. Using their specific means, the party organizations must enhance the role of the orders issued by commanders and chiefs and actively influence the activities of military collectives. Every communist must become not only a model soldier but a leader of the nonparty soldiers.

Problems of party-political work aimed at strengthening military discipline and upgrading the combat readiness of the armed forces are extensively discussed in the book. Studying them, the author relies on Lenin's idea which stated that in war "The side with better equipment, organization, discipline, and machinery wins..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 36, p 116).

The topical nature of this Leninist concept is confirmed by the entire course of development and life of the Soviet armed forces.

In itself, equipment does not determine the high combat readiness of the army and navy. It is extremely necessary to insure its profound study and ability to effectively utilize it in all circumstances. The author notes that communist idea-mindedness and the conscientiousness of the Soviet people and their high socialist patriotism enable us to resolve this problem in a model fashion.

D. F. Ustinov considers improvements in the tactical and specialized training of units and large units, a reduction of the time needed for making the troops ready to resolve combat problems under difficult conditions, the creation at each exercise of circumstances which demand of the trainees the maximum stress of their forces, and the full utilization of the combat possibilities of weapons materiel constitute major reserves for upgrading their combat readiness.

Upgrading the requirements concerning the combat readiness of the armed forces calls for further strengthening of the discipline. Military discipline becomes the base of the combat readiness of the army and navy.

Under the influence of the system of political and military training, the entire way of life and service in the Soviet Armed Forces assume the nature of a school for labor and military training, moral purity and courage, patriotism, and comradeship.

The peoples of the Soviet Union resolve the complex problems of the struggle for universal peace and defense of revolutionary gains closely united with the fraternal socialist countries. Reality proves that a number of plans formulated by the imperialist aggressors have been wrecked by the existence and energetic activities of the world socialist system which possesses a powerful moral-political, economic, and military potential. Legitimately, one of the main features of this work deals with problems of foreign political and defense activities of the socialist countries and with strengthening the combat comity among their nations and armies.

The author brings to light the essence and significance of the existing and effectively operating system of collective defense by the fraternal countries. "World socialism," the author emphasizes, "provides objective prerequisites for strengthening the unity among fraternal countries and their communist and workers parties, and for developing the cooperation among socialist armies. A common ideology and socioeconomic and governmental systems predetermine the common basic interests and objectives of the peoples of the socialist countries in the building and the defense of the new society" (p 321).

Guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism, the fraternal countries are developing and strengthening their all-round cooperation,

one of whose effective forms, the author notes, are the Warsaw Pact and its military organization--the joint armed forces. The Leninist ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism have been embodied and were further developed in this alliance and under the new historical conditions. Lenin teaches that the peoples which have taken the socialist way of development "mandatorily need a close military and economic alliance, for otherwise the capitalists...would strangle and suppress us separately" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 40, p 46).

The Warsaw Pact, whose 25th anniversary will be celebrated next spring, laid with its establishment a solid foundation for the collective interaction among socialist countries in vitally important areas such as foreign policy, economics, and defense. They were thus able to counter the aggressive forces of imperialism through their international unity and combined power.

The combat comity of the armies of the socialist countries has deep historical roots. "The exploiting classes overthrown by the revolution," the author notes, "unleashed a civil war in our country with foreign support. They hoped to regain their lost rule through the force of arms. The ruling circles of Germany, the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, and other imperialist countries hoped to strangle the still weak republic of workers and peasants, and thus to stop the revolutionizing influence of the ideas of the October Revolution" (p 481). However, the working people of Soviet Russia were not alone in their struggle. The international proletariat came to their aid.

In the period of the struggle waged by the young Soviet republic for its existence, together with the working people of our homeland volunteers--internationalists participated in the battles for the preservation and strengthening the gains of the revolution. During the civil war and foreign intervention, shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army forces and in the guerrilla units over one-quarter of a million of foreign soldiers fought. At the same time, repelling the pressure of the world counterrevolution, the working people in the Soviet Union and their Red Army, headed by the Leninist party, helped the other peoples in their struggle against the pressure of the forces of imperialism and reaction.

The fraternal aid which the Soviet Union gave republican Spain in 1936-1939, and the joint combat operations conducted by Soviet and Mongolian troops against Japanese aggressors in the Khalkhin-Gol area in 1939, etc., were vivid examples of international class solidarity.

The great revolutionary traditions of proletarian internationalism were manifested with particular strength during the Great Patriotic War. As we know, with USSR help the allied countries armed and trained 19 infantry, 5 artillery, and 5 aviation divisions, 31 separate brigades, and many other units and subunits. "Side by side with the Soviet army," the author notes, "a courageous struggle against the fascist aggressors was waged by the

formations and armies of Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Albania, and, following the people's uprising, the forces of Bulgaria and Romania... The communists and workers parties were in the vanguard of this struggle. The communists proved themselves as true patriots and internationalists, and consistent fighters for the freedom and independence of the peoples" (pp 418-419).

In the postwar years the Soviet army gave tremendous help to the young fraternal armies in their organization, development of the various branches of the armed forces and arms, mastering the experience in troop control and ensuring their constant combat readiness, armaments, combat materiel, and material and technical facilities, and in upbringing the personnel in a spirit of infinite loyalty to the socialist homeland and to the cause of socialism and communism.

With the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact, D. F. Ustinov points out, cooperation among the fraternal countries and their armed forces rose to a new, higher level. It became comprehensive and permanent. The socialist countries repeatedly took decisive and systematic steps aimed at the preservation and consolidation of the peace on earth. Frequently the attempts of imperialist countries, trying to promote conflicts in various parts of the earth, failed thanks to the firm and united actions of the Warsaw Pact members.

In recent years the military organization of the Warsaw Pact strengthened considerably. The joint armed forces represent a powerful military organization of a socialist type. They are invincible because they rely on the tremendous economic possibilities of socialism and the advantages of its political and governmental system. The main source of their strength and power and the strength of the fraternal alliance as a whole lie in the leadership provided by the communist and workers parties. They raise the personnel in a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, and in infinite loyalty to the cause of the working class, of the great cause of communism.

The author systematically promotes the idea that the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries are the essential opponents of the division of the world into military blocs. They have repeatedly stated that should NATO be disbanded the Warsaw Pact will lose its significance. This firm line was reasserted in the declaration of the Warsaw Pact members, adopted at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee, held last November in Moscow. The declaration includes a vast program of the struggle for the expansion and intensification of detente and termination of the arms race, and for a turn to disarmament. However, even after these new peaceful initiatives on the part of the fraternal socialist countries, the NATO bosses have not gone beyond hypocritical verbal acknowledgments of the need for detente while continuing to increase their military potential.

For this reason the socialist states--Warsaw Pact members--are forced to perfect their defense organization. Their armies are marching in a single combat rank. They are giving constant aid to one another in all fields of life and activities, exchanging experience in combat training, political-educational work, and achievements of military science and technology.

Joint army, navy, special tactical, and command staff exercises conducted according to the plans of the joint command play a particular role in strengthening the combat comity among fraternal countries. In the course of such exercises it is possible to practice, under conditions as closely approximating combat circumstances, a set of problems related to the training and conduct of joint combat operations by troops of different nationalities, and to develop the traditions of socialist internationalism among comrades in arms. This includes exercises such as "Brotherhood in Arms," "Shield-76," "Alliance-78," etc. They involved participation of land, air, and antiaircraft forces, navies, and organs of administration and rear lines of the armies of fraternal countries. "All this," the author emphasizes, "contributes to the further upgrading of the combat capability of our armies, the growth of their combat skills, and the strengthening of their moral-political unity. Our friendship and unity are firm and unbreakable. It is our sacred duty and obligation to protect and strengthen them" (p 348).

Unity of views on the most problems of joint defense policy is developed within the Warsaw Pact organization and in the course of bilateral relations with fraternal armies. The gaining by the socialist countries of experience in military-political cooperation, comprehensively summed up, analyzed, and enriched with new ideas and with the theoretical concepts and recommendations found in the collection, is of tremendous importance to resolving the problems arising in this respect.

The work combines a study of theoretical problems with the formulation of practical assignments. The ideas it contains represent a considerable contribution to the formulation of problems of CPSU policy in the area of the country's defense and the development of the Leninist theory of the defense of the socialist fatherland. It is imbued with the pathos of civic-mindedness, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism.

The author considers unity between party and people and the tireless guidance of the armed forces by the CPSU, and the firm following of the Leninist ideas of defending the gains of the Great October Revolution and their creative development the source of the invincible defense power of the country. This is the profound meaning and great practical significance of D. F. Ustinov's works. The materials in the book teach the Soviet troops to become profoundly aware of their sacred duty to the homeland--reliably guaranteeing the peaceful toil of the Soviet people and defending the cause of peace and socialism.

IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE GROWTH OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE CPSU

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 pp 126-128

[Review by O. Forsikov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book by N. A. Petrovichev, "Vazhnyy Faktor Vozrastaniya Rukovodyashchey Roli KPSS" [Important Factor in the Growth of the Leading Role of the CPSU], Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 159 pages]

[Text] The above is the title of a book recently published by Politizdat.

V. I. Lenin, the creator of the theory of a proletarian party of a new type, comprehensively substantiated its leading role in the revolutionary reorganization of the world. The entire course of the revolutionary struggle before the Great October Revolution, and the establishment and development of real socialism confirm its conclusion of the objective law of the increased role of the party in the creation of the new society. This is not a spontaneous process. It is, above all, the result of the development of the party itself, of improvements in intra-party life and organizational work, style, and methods of management of the various areas of social practice. The book by N. A. Petrovichev provides a study of the interaction between the increased role of the CPSU in the development of society as an objective law, and organizational-party work as an important subjective factor which greatly determines this process.

The effectiveness of the ways and means of party work directly depends on the extent to which they are consistent with the objective requirements of the given stage of social development. On the basis of this position, systematically and concretely-historically the author considers changes in the organizational structure, intra-party relations, and ways and means of activities of the Leninist party at all stages in its struggle, starting with the beginning of the 20th century to the present. In this connection the author pays great attention to the strengthening of party unity and solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, to improving the quality structure of the CPSU, the perfecting of its organizational structure, the assertion of the Leninist norms of party life, and the upgrading of the vanguard role of party members and of the combat capability of primary party units.

The author emphasizes that in all circumstances the party "displayed constant concern for perfecting its internal life and found the proper ways for the solution of problems. On this basis it enhanced its influence on the development of society and honorably fulfilled its great mission as the political vanguard of the working class and all working people" (p 39).

In order to be on the level of the historical tasks and successfully manage the entire work related to the building of a new society, the party itself must be a model of ideological unity and high level organization. These qualities depend, above all, on the composition of its ranks. That is why, the author emphasizes, the question of CPSU membership remains a basic question in party construction. On the basis of the decisions of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th party congresses, and of Central Committee plenums, and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the author considers in detail problems of replenishing the CPSU with the best representatives of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia, controlling the growth of its ranks, and its social composition, upgrading the requirements facing new CPSU members and the importance of candidate party membership and of the ideological and political upbringing of party members, the development of their activeness and initiative, and the strengthening of party discipline and the democratic principles in all realms of party life. Working to upgrade its level of organization, the party thus enriches its inner life and leading activities with a new content most fully consistent with the objective requirements of social progress.

"The main feature in the activities of the communist party," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "is the elaboration of a general plan for the development of the society and a proper political line and organization of the working people with a view to its implementation." In this connection, the author discusses extensively improvements in the ways and means of activities of party committees and organizations for the implementation of the policy formulated by party congresses and CPSU Central Committee plenums.

Party leadership is political, for which reason, without replacing economic and administrative organs, the CPSU committees and organizations must act with their specific methods of organizational and educational work. "The increased role of party committees as political management organs is manifested, above all, in the increased attention paid to primary party organizations and to the growth of their combat capability" (p 94). The author comprehensively studies the activities of the primary party organizations and the political nucleus of the labor collective and its social organizations. He pays particular attention to upgrading the responsibility of the primary organizations for the implementation of the party directives, the condition of production activities, and the implementation of their right to control work of administrations.

The author considers party control as part of the entire organizational and educational work of the party organizations. Controlling the administration

and facing it with one and another question, the party organization must contribute to their solution.

Cadre policy is a powerful lever through which the CPSU affects the course of social development. That is why the increased role of the party committees is also manifested in their increased attention to problems of cadre selection, placement, and training. The author draws attention to characteristics of the work with cadres under the conditions of a headlong scientific and technical progress and the increased scale and complexity of problems of economic and cultural construction, and requirements facing the modern manager, as formulated at the 23rd, 24th, and 25th CPSU Congresses and Central Committee plenums. He describes the measures implemented by the Central Committee and the Soviet government to improve the training and retraining of cadres. In this connection, the mastering of the Leninist style as a necessary prerequisite for the successful work of party committees and leading cadres is of exceptional importance.

The final chapter in the book discusses the increased role of the CPSU as the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society and of state and public organizations. The party neither proclaims nor sets itself in this position which, the author notes, is based on its high prestige earned through its correct policy and the selfless practical work of the party members. The strength of the party depends on the strength of its ties with the people. Such ties are developed, above all, through the soviets and the mass organizations of working people. The increased role of the CPSU in its guidance of the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the cooperative, creative, and other state and public organizations takes place within the framework of the USSR constitution and is aimed at the promotion of their initiative and upgrading their contribution to the building of communism.

The chapter describes in detail a number of specific ways and means which have proved their vital power and with whose help the party guides and energizes the activities of state and public organizations, thanks to which the proper functioning of the entire political system is insured in the USSR.

This book convincingly proves that consistent with the new stage of the building of communism is a higher stage in the development of the party itself as the organizer and inspirer of all our victories. The book will be a good theoretical and practical aid to party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers, journalists, lecturers, propagandists, and the broad party aktiv.

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OBITUARY OF SERGEY YAKOVLEVICH KUZ'MISHKIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 79 p 128

[Text] The editors, and the party and trade union organization of KOMMUNIST, the theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee, announce with deep sorrow the premature death, following a short grave illness, of Sergey Yakovlevich Kuz'mishkin, CPSU member, Great Patriotic War veteran, and manager of the journal's editorial office, and express their sincere condolences to the family and relatives of the deceased.

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