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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 14, September 1979

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No. 14, September 1979

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CC CPSU DECREE ON IMPROVING THE WORK ON THE PRESERVATION OF LAW AND ORDER
AND INTENSIFYING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF THE LAW

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 3-6

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee considered the question of improving work on the preservation of law and order and intensifying the struggle against violations of the law. The decree which was passed notes that, in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, a course toward the further strengthening of socialist law and order is being systematically pursued. Important measures have been implemented to perfect the legislation and improve the activities of organs in charge of the preservation of the law, and the energizing of the public and upgrading its role in the preservation of law and order. All this creates the necessary conditions for uprooting all violations of law and order, elimination of criminality, and removal of the reasons creating it.

At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee noted that the tasks of strengthening law and order are still being implemented with insufficient effectiveness. The means of state and public influence and of the upbringing of the people are not being fully used in the struggle against violations of the law. There is a lack of purposefulness, comprehensive approach, and unity of action on the part of party, state, economic, trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations in such work. Frequently the broad toiling masses are not recruited to participate in it.

The CPSU Central Committee has formulated specific measures aimed at improving further the prevention of violations of the law, intensifying the struggle against criminal and other antisocial actions, and insuring the strict observance of Soviet laws by all citizens and officials.

Particular attention is being paid to the need to improve the activities of the organs of the prosecution, internal affairs, justice, and the courts, which must stand guard over Soviet legality, the interests of society, and the rights of the Soviet citizens. The law protecting organs must fight uncompromisingly and decisively criminality. They must develop and strengthen their ties with labor collectives and the public. L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that the party expects of these organs "even greater initiative, principle-mindedness, and intolerance in the struggle against all violations of Soviet legality."

The USSR Office of Public Prosecution and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have been asked to eliminate existing shortcomings in the work of their subordinate organs, increase the responsibility of cadres for their assignments, to strengthen the discipline and improve the professional training of the personnel, and to insure the strictest possible observance of socialist law in their activities.

The party committees must intensify their control over the work of the guardians of the law, take measures to strengthen them with trained cadres, upgrade the role of the party organizations in the upbringing of the personnel in a spirit of selfless loyalty to the cause of the communist party, impeccable fulfillment of official duties, critical assessment of the results of their work, and high political vigilance. They must always be concerned with expanding and strengthening relations between the organs of the law and the public and create around them an atmosphere of respect and support.

The party committees and primary party organizations must systematically consider problems of the preservation of law and order and the struggle with delinquencies. Together with the organs of the law they must earmark and implement specific measures aimed at the further improvement of this work and at upgrading its effectiveness. In this case it is necessary to take into consideration the increased intolerance displayed by the Soviet people toward various types of antisocial actions. We must adamantly strive to uproot crime and to involve the broad toiling masses in the solution of this state-wide problem. Every manager and party and Komsomol member must become a model of moral purity, and strict observance of the Soviet laws, and an active fighter for model socialist law and order.

The party committees must rally and coordinate in the struggle against delinquencies the efforts of party, state, and public organizations, labor collectives, ideological institutions, the family, and the school. It is deemed necessary for the long-term and annual work plans of party organizations for the communist upbringing of the working people to include comprehensive delinquency-prevention measures.

It is recommended to the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies to enhance the role and responsibility of the Soviet organs in strengthening legality and law and order, and intensifying in this area the activities of the commissions of executive committees of soviets, deputy groups, and individual deputies. Such problems must be regularly discussed at soviet sessions and executive committee meetings. Reports and communications must be submitted by the heads of the legal organs and enterprises, establishments, and organizations on the work done to insure public order and the struggle against delinquencies.

The party, soviets, and law-protecting organs, and other state organs and public organizations face the following assignments:

Improving the maintenance of public order in cities and other settlements. Strengthening the patrol-post service of the militia. Improving criminal investigations and prosecution.

Enhancing the role of sectorial militia inspectors in the preservation of law and order and broadening their links with the population. Organizing the daily interaction between the militia and the voluntary people's units.

Systematically and persistently fight drunkenness and alcoholism, checking the implementation of decisions previously adopted on such matters, and discussing the results by party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations. Implementing more effective measures for the prevention of drunkenness, intensifying social and legal pressure on the drunks, strict observance of the regulations governing trade in alcoholic beverages, broadening the network of detoxification institutions, including those maintained at enterprises. Energizing anti-alcohol propoganda and making it more convincing and effective.

Perfecting the efforts for the prevention of delinquencies among minors in schools, labor collectives, and places of residence. Improving individual work with adolescents. Developing more extensively the sponsorship and tutorship movements. The soviet, trade-union, Komsomol, and sports organizations, culture establishments, education and vocational-technical training organs, creative unions, and legal organs must develop additional measures to improve educational work and prevent juvenile delinquency.

Intensifying the struggle against encroachments on socialist property. Comprehensively introduce strict order in the accountability and preservation of material values, and decisively uprooting negligence, waste, padding, and whitewashing. Paying particular attention to intensifying the struggle against thefts in agriculture, transportation, and construction. Improving the activities of the control-auditing apparatus. Strengthening the militia's Agricultural Theft Prevention Service. Upgrading the strictness and principle-mindedness of prosecution office supervision of the observance of the laws governing the protection of socialist property.

Energizing the struggle against parasitism and profiteering. Insuring the prompt exposure of individuals who avoid socially useful labor. Insuring their placement and retention within the collectives. Applying the legally stipulated measures for influencing those who persistently refuse to work.

The intensification of this work among labor collectives and at places of residence must become the basic trend in the prevention of delinquencies. Guided by the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," it is necessary to considerably improve ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing within each collective and among all population groups and, particularly, the young and the adolescents. An atmosphere of intolerance must be developed toward the wasters of the people's good, malicious hooligans, and users of bribery.

The role of workers' assemblies, councils for the prevention of delinquencies at enterprises, rural rallies, and other forms of public influence must be enhanced in the strengthening of law and order. The condition of discipline and educational work must taken into consideration in summing up the results of the socialist competition.

The attention of managers of enterprises, construction projects, and establishments, secretaries of party and Komsomol organizations, chairmen of trade-union committees, chiefs of shops, shifts, and sectors, and brigade leaders has been drawn to their personal responsibility for the state of the discipline and law and order and for promptly and sharply reacting to reports and signals of cases of antisocial behavior of individual collective members. Those who display indifference or carelessness in this matter must be held strictly accountable.

It is considered necessary to improve the work on the legal training of the working people. Cultural-educational institutions must be used more fully and effectively for such purposes. The efforts of the forces of the law, labor collectives, and the public in the prevention of various types of conflicts arising on the basis of family or domestic relations must be directed most energetically. In this case the necessary tactfulness and attention must be observed. The task is to perfect the study of the foundations of Soviet legislation in schools, vocational-technical schools, and other training institutions, and within the party training, economic education, and Komsomol political education systems. Lectures on legal topics will be delivered in the course of uniform political education days. Legal training work must be intensified among those who allow violations of the discipline and public order. The educational significance of trials must be upgraded. They must be held at enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes.

The party, soviet, and legal organs and public organizations must formulate and implement practical measures aimed at the further improvement of the activities of the voluntary people's units, comrade courts, public centers for the preservation of the law, and other public action organs. The initiative of the working people in insuring model order in settlements and enterprises must be supported and developed. Positive experience in the participation of the public in the struggle against delinquencies must be summed up and disseminated. An attentive and sensitive attitude must be displayed toward suggestions and critical remarks formulated by the citizens. They must be taken more into consideration in the formulation and implementation of measures aimed at increasing the struggle against delinquency. Regular addresses must be given on such problems by senior workers of party, soviet, and legal organs at collectives and places of residence, and in the press and on the radio and television.

The AUCCTU, central committees, and republic, kray, and oblast trade union councils must develop additional measures to enhance the role of trade union organizations in the prevention of delinquencies. More active use must be made of the socialist competition as an important means for the education of the people, strengthening the discipline, the struggle against absenteeism, and thrifty utilization of material values. Measures must be taken to considerably improve the organization of the recreation and leisure time of the working people.

The Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol central committees of union republics and Komsomol committees must enhance the role of the Komsomol

organizations in the struggle against delinquencies. They must analyze the reasons for antisocial actions committed by young people and adolescents. They must take specific measures for their elimination and insure the active participation of every member of the Komsomol in the strengthening of law and order.

The USSR Committee for People's Control and its local organs have been asked to intensify their struggle against violations of the state discipline and the law governing the protection of socialist property. They must decisively eliminate cases of swindling the state. They must adamantly work to eliminate the reasons for theft, bribery, negligence, and various abuses.

The editors of newspapers and journals, the USSR Gosradio, USSR Goskino, and USSR Goskizdat, and the board of the Znaniye All-Union Society must improve their coverage of problems of the struggle against delinquencies, drunkenness, parasitism, and money-grubbing. They must specifically and convincingly expose the antisocial nature of such phenomena. They must systematically describe the positive experience acquired in the participation of labor collectives and the public in the preservation of public order and the selfless toil of the legal protection organs in defending the interests of the state and the rights of the citizens from criminal encroachments.

The USSR Office of Public Prosecution, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, USSR Ministry of Justice, and USSR Supreme Court have been asked to improve the coordination of their actions and their subordinate organs, and on this basis to insure the all-round study of the practice of the struggle against delinquencies and reach the necessary uniformity in the application of the norms of Soviet legislation.

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FOR EFFECTIVENESS IN IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL EDUCATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 7-18

[Text] There neither is nor has there ever been in the world a more noble activity than the struggle for the achievement of the communist ideals and the ideas of the Great October Revolution which indicate the ways for the establishment of true social justice and the creation of a society of real humanism. One of the most important realms of this struggle is the purposeful and truly militant and comprehensive ideological and political-education work carried out by the CPSU, of which propaganda and agitation are organic components. The communist party hammered out this strongest weapon in the course of the revolutionary battle for the liberation of the working people from the capitalist yoke and social and national inequality and rightlessness, and their accompanying immorality and inhumanity, making it a reliable tool for the mobilization of the masses for the building of the new society, which looks upon the toiling man as the supreme social value.

Ascribing tremendous importance to political-educational work, the party is constantly engaged with its perfecting: It is concerned with the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, summation of the experience in the communist education of the masses, selection, training, and placement of ideological cadres, and search for the most effective forms of propaganda and agitation and for improving their content. This is clearly indicated in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improvements in Ideological and Political-Educational Work," which profoundly and comprehensively analyzes the successes and shortcomings in the practice of molding the communist awareness of the Soviet people, formulates and scientifically substantiates the tasks facing today in this field all party organizations, every party member, and any ideologically mature member of the developed socialist society.

At all stages in the building of socialism the party has passed decrees aimed at perfecting ideological and political work, interpreting the changing objective conditions and subjective prerequisites, defining the qualitatively new level of the process of the communist upbringing of the masses, and consistently strengthening achievements as the foundations for further progress. The current decree extends the fixed basic party course toward the steadfast ideological-moral growth of the builders of the new society. However, being not simply the threshold of communism but a stage of the

gradual growth of the first into the second, mature socialism makes the very need for this growth ever more urgent, creating ever more favorable conditions for it.

"Under the conditions of developed socialism," the CC CPSU decree stipulates, "the Leninist concept that the state is strong through the conscientiousness of the masses and when the masses know everything, could judge of everything, and undertake everything consciously, is more topical than ever before. On this level the mass propaganda media, which inform the population on a broad range of problems of interest and insure their correct understanding, play an exceptionally important role. The press, television, radio, and oral propaganda and agitation must help to an even greater extent the Soviet people in becoming properly oriented in domestic life and international events and trigger the aspiration to make maximum contributions to the common cause and the building of communism."

In this case improving propaganda and agitation is considered an objective requirement. It stems both from the fact that with increased scale and complexity of the tasks related to the building of communism, the role of the subjective factor, of the individual, and its social activeness rise, as well as the higher educational and cultural standard of the Soviet people and the broadened spectrum of their requirements. That is precisely why at its 24th and 25th congresses the party formulated as vital tasks the molding of a scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook in every builder of communism, the economic training of the working people, the extensive dissemination of legal knowledge, the upgrading of the political standard of the Soviet people, and insuring close unity among political, labor, and moral upbringing. This, precisely, is the concretized programmatic stipulation of the all-round and harmonious development of the individual, which is a mandatory prerequisite for the building of a communist society.

The absolute majority of the adult population in our country consists of people with truly collectivistic feelings, patriots and internationalists, and sincere fighters for the victory of social justice throughout the world. They combine within themselves ideological convictions with tremendous vital energy. They accept communist ideology as a whole and communist morality in particular as the only accurate foundations of spiritual and moral life worthy of modern man. They realize that one must be not only a good worker and conscientious citizen but an active propagandist of communist ideals and a true political fighter. That is why they consider the shaping of a high awareness in one and all their immediate concern.

This is eloquently confirmed by the endless flood of letters received by the CPSU Central Committee, local party committees, editors of newspapers and journals, and the television and radio--letters in which people of different ages and professions, made wise by practical experience or barely entering an independent career, party and Komsomol members, or non-party people express their thoughts on the condition and prospects of political and educational work, note their successes and failures, and submit specific suggestions on how to improve the work. Naturally, such letters are written by far not by

anyone who seriously considers such matters and discusses them with his fellow workers, relatives, and acquaintances. However, even these letters are quite adequate for reaching the accurate conclusion that the mass of the Soviet people are concerned with upgrading the effectiveness of the dissemination of the ideas of the October Revolution, the struggle against bourgeois ideology, and the vestiges of private ownership mentality in our society, and with the practical strengthening of the principles and norms of communist morality to their full extent in the daily behavior of the individual.

In this case we must point out that, as a rule, most important problems of ideological work are formulated and that their consideration is distinguished by depth and comprehensiveness. The nature of the letters to the editor is one of the convincing proofs of the increased cultural standards of the Soviet person and of the competence of public opinion.

The CC CPSU decree extensively reflects public opinion, studied through a variety of channels. We could say that it has become the base for the elaboration of basic stipulations. It is no accident that the document itself is aimed not only at party members. The fact that it is addressed to the entire Soviet people is its characteristic feature, which speaks for itself.

Considering the entire set of problems arising in the course of ideological work, the CPSU Central Committee draws the attention to the need to intensify the struggle against vestiges of the past. However vital the strength communist ideology might have, and however powerfully may the Soviet way of life require of the people a behavior consistent with its principles, and however great the successes which may be achieved in the upbringing of the new man, there is no place for complacency. No tolerance should be allowed toward manifestations of such vestiges, expecting them to disappear by themselves. We must steadily increase our pressure on them. Justifiably proud of the achievements in building the new spiritual world of the socialist individual, this is never forgotten by the party and the Soviet state. The reasons for the durability of the vestiges of private ownership mentality and morality are studied. Various measures are taken to influence the people who allow actions unworthy from the viewpoint of communist morality or which are simply against the law, antisocial actions, i.e., essentially, an anti-socialist behavior. The most important thing here, however, is the creation of a comprehensive atmosphere of intolerance toward such people, and of an irreversible social condemnation or punishment, so that they may be made to feel that there will be no allowances!

Such a formulation of the matter is explained not by the widespread nature of vestiges, but above all by the fact that they are hostile to socialism, have no deep social roots in our society, and appear the more alien the farther along we progress toward communism. To an ever greater extent they hinder our development, lowering the social activeness and conscientiousness of the people, triggering among ideologically unstable people a nihilistic attitude toward the values of the socialist way of life, and adversely affecting the orientation of the youth. Generally speaking, the vestiges of the past are also ever more tangibly hindering the successful establishment

of the material and technical foundations for communism, the growth of socialist into communist social relations, and the all-round development of the individual. They hinder the individual particularly strongly, for they spiritually impoverish not only their immediate carriers but the people around them. In other words, they "work" against the programmatic objectives of the party and the people.

The ideological activeness of the communist party and all mass-political work in our society are distinguished by positive features such as truthfulness, absence of sensationalism, focusing attention on the main and topical problems while extensively covering the phenomena of reality, high idea-mindedness and morality, and true humanism. The main figure here is the toiling man, properly fulfilling his social duty, working with total dedication of his efforts, the true pioneer of the new, and the honest and initiative-minded citizen. One way or another, propaganda and agitation reflect the best experience of leading production workers, any significant socially useful action, and any human activity worthy of emulation.

Yet as practical experience indicates, a number of specific problems related to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and utilization of progressive scientific achievements in production are still insufficiently well covered. The progressive experience of individual workers or entire labor collectives is not always displayed in a lively and inventive manner. Occasionally there is fear openly to present for public discussion acute problems of our life, a tendency to smooth over and circumvent unresolved problems, and a tendency to boast and, so to say, to gloss over reality. Frequently insufficient skill is shown in exposing the slanderous propaganda of imperialism and of the Beijing hegemonists, and to remove the mask of false objectivity from seemingly innocuous yet, in fact, tendentious or simply false reports presented by bourgeois radio stations and press organs on life in capitalist and socialist countries.

Anyone engaged in propaganda and agitation faces major tasks whose essence, briefly, could be described as follows: provide full and operative information, and make each printed or verbal address an effective instrument for the communist education of the Soviet people and for upgrading their social activeness, firmly hold the progressive positions and initiative in the struggle against bourgeois ideology as a whole and hostile propaganda in particular.

The CPSU Central Committee believes that a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation, increasing their effectiveness and concreteness, and ties with reality, the solution of economic and political problems, and the development of the aggressive nature of propaganda and agitation are required in order to reach these objectives. These stipulations included in the decree specifically indicate the means for upgrading the effectiveness of ideological education and of all mass political work.

The party has always struggled for a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation work. This is objectively necessary, for socialism and communism

are built consciously, on the basis of a science whose highest achievement is the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. The role of the political leadership provided by the communist party and of purposeful scientific management of social life at all its organizational levels increases in the developed socialist society. However, at the different stages in the creation of the new society the scientific level of propaganda and agitation has been determined by the level of preparedness of propaganda cadres, their Marxist-Leninist maturity, and the educational level of the people, which naturally today is considerably higher than 40 or even 20 years ago. Science itself, which arms the ideological workers with firm knowledge, a detailed methodology, and convincing arguments, has taken a tremendous step forward itself. Today, for example, the very method for conducting all political-educational work has become the subject of special studies. Even though research in this field is still far from meeting practical requirements, the scientific foundations of the process of molding a communist awareness and of the education of the masses are being developed quite intensively.

The scientific level of propaganda and agitation is determined, above all, by its ability to develop in the people a Marxist-Leninist outlook as an integral system of knowledge which includes the summation of the latest historical experience and of the contemporary achievements of the natural and technical sciences, which provide an accurate orientation in the phenomena and processes of our complex and dynamic age. Furthermore, propaganda and agitation cannot be scientific unless they contribute to the combination of such knowledge with the practical experience of the individual, the elaboration of firm ideological convictions, and the development of an active position in life. This result can be achieved only by observing the requirements of dialectical-materialistic methodology, which is a necessary prerequisite not only for scientific research but ideological and educational work. It is useful for the reader, the viewer, or the listener to enter the creative laboratory of science so that he may learn how to think properly and adopt a creative approach to the solution of the major, minor, socially important, or personal problems which arise in the course of his practical experience. It is not enough to present to a person a sum total of facts: Their knowledge, by itself, does not as yet provide a scientific understanding of individual phenomena and processes or a scientific picture of the world. Therefore, it does not contribute to the factual growth of knowledge.

Each fact, scientifically interpreted, must bring a person closer to the understanding of what is general and total, and of the dialectical inter-relationship among phenomena and of the logic of events. This is a means not only for the elaboration and acquisition of scientific knowledge but of all practical data. Conversely, the bourgeois ideologues who fear historical truth like fire, for familiar reasons, and are forced to seek a likely interpretation of the facts of social reality, the communists are interested in establishing the objective trends and patterns of social development and human behavior and in the truthful interpretation of all social life. The party has nothing to conceal from the people. It serves their interests, which do not conflict but coincide with the irreversible course of social progress. Awarded with the high honor of being the leaders in the

implementation of the universal-historical liberation mission by the working class, the communists can and must see and feel reality in its entire contradictory development, in order to find the shortest and most fruitful ways for the solution of social contradictions and the implementation of the socialist ideals.

We must learn how to show and bring to light profoundly and comprehensively the greatness of these ideals. The main thing here is the development of a clear understanding of the fact that the social and moral ideals blend within Marxism-Leninism and the practice of real socialism. Justice has been always one of the basic moral categories opposed for centuries to a conflicting social order. The socialist revolution made the struggle for a specific interpretation of the justice of the base motive force of social life. It taught the people to make such a life themselves. This fact deserves the most detailed, vivid, persuasive, and graphic interpretation in propaganda and agitation.

Speaking of the invincible force of Marxist-Leninist theory, it would be useful to ask ourselves more frequently the following question: Do those words always profoundly penetrate the human soul? We could boldly claim that they leave ineradicable marks whenever the propagandist, agitator, journalist, or lecturer is able to make everyone understand not only the letter but the spirit of the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin. This is a spirit of revolutionary creativity and optimism which raises the toiling man to the level of a historical leader, to a personality directly involved in the development of new forms of human community life and new social relations among people. The visual depiction of the effectiveness of the basic stipulations of Marxist-Leninist theory and their permanent value in terms of the development of independent thinking, a proper understanding of and attitude toward the surrounding world, and the harm of their dogmatic perception is very important in enabling the broad toiling masses to master Marxist-Leninist theory.

The steadfast observance of the principle of historicism, discovered and substantiated by Marxism-Leninism, is a mandatory component of high-level scientific propaganda and agitation. Any phenomenon, however outstanding and significant it might be, may not be understood in its entire depth and comprehensiveness if considered abstractly, alienated from other phenomena, statically. It is only when considered in its dynamics and in its historical ties with other, occasionally only seemingly remote phenomena, in terms of manifestations and social nature, and not only from the viewpoint of the past but of the future, that a given phenomenon may be accepted distinctly, to the fullest extent of its factual content.

It is precisely a historical approach that makes it possible to realize, for example, the entire greatness of the accomplishments of our communist party, which led a previously backward country to the peaks of contemporary social progress, and to understand the true meaning of the heroic struggle and gigantic toil of the Soviet people, as well as our accomplishments in educating the new man. The entire depth of the general crisis of capitalism, the aggravation of the social conflicts and difficulties it creates, the

understanding of the content of our age--the age of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism on a global scale, the realization of the existence of an essentially new type of social development, and the entire novelty of our socioeconomic system, justifiably described as the laboratory of communist civilization, cannot be interpreted outside of a historical approach.

The historical approach to propaganda and agitation is closely related to the class approach, to communist party-mindedness. As a rule, the ideological workers do not forget to remind their listeners of this. They are also able to explain quite well the essential meaning of this. However, they must also learn how to explain not declaratively but calmly and substantiatedly, the class nature of any given social phenomenon and human action, not to speak of the principles and norms governing our lives.

Ideally, anything published in the press, any television or radio broadcast, any documentary motion picture, lecture, or talk by a propagandist or agitator, not to speak of other mandatory requirements facing them, must contain a positive social charge. They must logically link the chosen topic with the objective conditions of the people's way of life in socialist and capitalist countries. They must bring to light the basic social reasons for the situations considered, and describe the advantages of socialism compared with capitalism. It is insufficient to explain the humane nature of the Soviet, the socialist way of life in special articles or broadcasts. It must be clearly seen in each propaganda address as a tangible reality.

Yet, there still are authors of printed matter, or television or radio transmissions who even boast of their "objective" depiction of life, without imposing upon the reader, the viewer, or the listener conclusions stemming from its social, its class analysis. This is essentially a non-party, an apolitical position. People with such views must either study more or be given work outside the ideological sphere. The class, the party approach in propaganda and agitation, like the scientific and the political principle, will not become unnecessary today or tomorrow, as well as in the foreseeable future, as long as classes and social systems of conflicting interests remain in the world.

The high scientific level of propaganda and agitation may be achieved also through the mandatory utilization of the latest data supplied by the social, natural, and technical sciences. Without this, neither a profound understanding of the considered problems or solid arguments, or even the proper choice of topics for lectures would be possible. We must seriously warn indiscriminate propagandists who consider sensational reports (most frequently on imaginary discoveries) borrowed from the bourgeois press or sneaking them sometimes in our newspapers and journals as the latest scientific data. They must be cautioned against the irrelevant use of terminology fashionable in the West, whose purpose is not to clarify the truth but to "dilute" concepts and their class characteristics. It is recommended to use in political-educational work only the most accurate data recognized by the scientific community. We must be particularly cautious in handling facts and figures characterizing the dynamics of development of socialist and capitalist countries, culling them from prestigious sociopolitical and special publications.

A necessary characteristic of the scientific nature of propaganda is the determination of the cause and effect relations, the hierarchy of social phenomena, and their close interdependence. For example, describing the growth of the prosperity of the Soviet people, we must not fail to emphasize its direct dependence on the growth of social labor productivity, which in turn is determined by a number of factors, starting with scientific and technical progress and ending with the attitude of the people toward their work and their personal responsibility for it. Analyzing one or another adverse action committed by an individual, we must not only determine the reasons which caused it (which is usually done) but to draw the attention to its consequences, to the adverse effect it has had on others, such as, for example, on the moral and psychological climate in the labor collective, on the results of its activities, etc.

The ideological workers must make every person develop a Marxist-Leninist understanding of society as a system, single in the variety of its relatively independent components, which closely interact and are interdependent, and each of which plays an essential role in the social organism. Naturally, this must be presented not in an abstract theoretical form, but in connection with the study of specific phenomena in life. This is important in enabling the people to realize the significance of all "minor matters" and their own role as the true masters of our socialist homeland and, therefore, to the development of feelings of patriotism and of being one with the entire nation.

Of late there has been a great deal of justifiable talk on the need to adopt a comprehensive approach to any kind of work. In the aspect we are considering, this means that along with the comprehensive study of phenomena, the determination of their inner relations, and the establishment of their position within the overall social organism, we must consider the political approach as the main one. It is precisely this approach that offers a logical connection which enables us to understand the nature of events, draw their overall picture, and clearly see the future. In the opposite case, our understanding of social life will present it as no more than the automatic sum total of phenomena, while the comprehensive approach itself will become eclectic. Politics is not always merely one facet of the matter, together with others, but its essence.

The systematic and comprehensive approach must also become an effective means for the organization of all ideological work, whether it is a matter of training ideological cadres, or planning political and educational measures, or else undertaking their development. It is unquestionable that the most organized unit on this level is the party training system, above all thanks to the constant and serious attention to which it is subjected on the part of all party committees and party organizations. The work of the agitators is more sporadic. Usually it is energized on the eve of or in the aftermath of important political events. At that point the agitation centers adopt an accelerated system of work, as though catching up lost time. The agitation collectives increase their activities, which subsequently once again decline. This is particularly characteristic of agitation work at places of residence, in small labor collectives, and in remote settlements. Obviously, the problem of making it a more efficient and better planned system is entirely ripe and demands an immediate solution.

A systematic and comprehensive approach to the organization of propaganda has not as yet become a firm principle governing the work of some printed organs, local branches of the USSR State Television and Radio, or branches of the Znaniye All-Union Society. Occasionally it is difficult to find in their pages, transmissions, or lectures specific lines and topic trends. This is a case of what is known as work "on the run," of crossing the propaganda sea with "means at hand," which shows rather the specialization and goodwill of authors and lecturers rather than dealing with vital ideological problems. The systematic and comprehensive approach to such work is the equivalent of a purposeful approach.

Scientific character excludes any onesidedness, lack of system, or chaos. In addition to profound theoretical knowledge and the propaganda skill of individual enthusiasts, it requires thoughtfulness, flexibility of the mind, and adamant efforts on the part of all ideological workers, and above all of organizers of political-educational work.

A vivid presentation of the material, imagery, and an intelligible style are not counterindicated in the least in a scientific presentation. Frequently scientific character is replaced by pseudo-science, scholastic pomposity, foppishness, or manipulation of specialized terminology without understanding the difference between scientific character and pseudo-scientific character. There is no truth which could not be explained simply, clearly, yet extensively. The entire matter lies in the knowledge of the material by the propagandist himself and his free mastery of this material. A good presentation is a prerequisite for its firm mastery by the reader, the viewer, or the listener. A poor, unintelligible, and pretentious presentation yields the exactly opposite results. Let us particularly emphasize that the popular style of a presentation should in no case lead to oversimplification or to the "rehashing" of generally known truths. One must learn from the classics of Marxism-Leninism how to combine scientific character with clarity in the interpretation of a theoretical problem.

Effectiveness and concreteness, and a connection with life and with the solution of economic and political problems are matters which, even though entirely understandable, require the daily perfection of the professional skills of ideological workers. The labor accomplishments of the immediate producers of material and spiritual goods, the progressive experience of production workers, the course of the socialist competition, the implementation of collective and individual socialist pledges, and the struggle for the saving of funds and materials, upgrading organization, and strengthening labor and state discipline and public order, as well as similar basic topics treated by the mass information media, verbal propaganda and agitation, tolerate no abstraction or alienation from reality, abstract theorizing, and unspecific considerations by their very nature.

In the absolute majority of cases they must be presented to the reader, viewer, or listener through the language of facts. However, in this case the other extreme may be encountered: The material may be presented in an excessively basic manner, i.e., on an excessively specific basis, without necessary

socio-class summations, and without precisely formulated ideological conclusions, presented without insistence. A concrete approach does not conflict with summations, nor could it do without them. The study of facts is mandatory, for it teaches us how to think, thus making it possible to establish a profound link between ideas and life. We must see to it that efficiency and concreteness are not formal, depriving the subject of its essential features, and sliding on the surface of phenomena.

It may also happen that, describing the accomplishments of leading production workers or of a leading brigade, there is no penetration into the essence of their work. The reasons for their labor victories are not brought to light, and ignorance of real problems is cleverly concealed behind beautiful phraseology and false pathos. The result is neither a clear depiction of true labor heroism, sharing of progressive experience, or, as it is currently said, the presentation of "food for thought." For example, occasionally winners of the socialist competition are depicted in such a way as to make them appear simply luckier than others, without their example becoming instructive in the least. Unfortunately, such propaganda printed, and visual and audio materials are quite frequently encountered. Occasionally they simply leave us indifferent. More frequently they irritate us.

There is yet another type of undesirable "concretizing": The propagandist develops the topic using general expressions and worn-out adjectives, in the superlative, which he then supports with isolated examples, which obviously are aimed at proving his knowledge of the facts of life. Such examples prove nothing other than something good or bad happened at one point or another. A single fact used to confirm a general stipulation is needed when it enables us to clearly reveal the nature of phenomena, but not in the least as an illustration without which one could do perfectly. The trouble is that such so-called "concretizing" or "link with life" most frequently conceals a lack of understanding of the inner logic of the process under consideration, the inability to summarize it and relate it closely with life, drawing attention to the basic aspects of the problem, provide proofs, and speak authoritatively and understandably.

The main thing is that any propaganda material must, one way or another, explain with the help of clear facts of life the socioeconomic policy of the CPSU aimed at upgrading the material prosperity and culture of the people, mobilize the people for a responsible attitude toward reaching the programmatic objectives of the building of communism, closely linking them with topical problems of the present, and above all with the implementation of national economic plans, the accelerated scientific and technical progress as the decisive prerequisite for the further strengthening of the power of the homeland, and the victory of communism. It is very important to substantiate and convincingly depict the adamant need and specific possibilities for combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, and the link between it and the social revolution.

Propaganda and agitation efficiency and concreteness are inconceivable without a businesslike principled discussion of unresolved problems, and without the

criticism of errors and shortcomings, and of everything which slows down the process of the growth of the developed socialist society into a communist society. This reminds us, yet once again, of the significance of a normal attitude toward criticism as an inviolable component of our social life, particularly in the case of public criticism. On this subject the CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress states that, "The party organizations must provide daily and specific guidance to the press. They must work to enhance the ideological level and effectiveness of its materials. Unfortunately, some workers still underestimate the social significance of the press. Others accept praise with pleasure, but are unable to listen to criticism and draw proper conclusions from it. The party committees will have to correct those who are trying to avoid effective criticism and are indifferent toward the raising of important problems in the press and to the letters to the editors submitted by the working people."

There is a clear difference between the domestic and international aspects of the problem of the development of the aggressive nature of propaganda and agitation. They closely interact and are not always clearly distinct. The final objective of both, however, is the same: to contribute in the minds of the people the historical advantages of the new system and to contribute to the energizing of the struggle for this system in the non-socialist world and the strengthening and perfecting of socialism in our country and in the other fraternal socialist countries. In both cases a direct confrontation between communist and bourgeois ideology and adamant struggles between them are inevitable.

Operative information of events and noteworthy facts, their prompt summation, and the purposeful molding of public opinion on one or another matter, are mandatory indicators of aggressiveness. A clear, prompt, and convincing commentary which contains a brief and profound analysis influences the minds of the people far more strongly than any extensive yet belated explanation. It is totally counterindicated for propaganda and agitation to be in the tail of events and to note facts without their proper interpretation, relying on the fact that, in the final account, socialist public consciousness works impeccably, by itself.

In the final account it always works even if not we but our ideological opponents on the outside and unthinking or uninformed people within the country, using our negligence, develop their own interpretation of one or another fact, skillfully mixing the wrong with the right. However, in many cases, the ideological (and, on a broader basis, socioeconomic as well) costs are unjustifiably high. We must not forget the old truth that a rumor can fill the earth. Rumors come in a variety of types and, almost always, are more than half wrong. That is why all ideological workers must face contemporary events so that our communist truth may always have the first word and so that no one could touch it with the dirt of malicious falsifications or mountains of fabrications.

In recent years, as a result of the measures adopted by our party and Soviet Government, the operativeness and fullness of information have reached a

qualitatively new level. Particularly noteworthy among the innovations have been, for example, "International Panorama," twice-daily evening presentations on the television by political commentators, the presentation of the latest news in the morning, before a repeat of the "Time" information program presented the previous evening. Five-minute information breaks on the "Beacon" radio program have become more frequent, and the central press has achieved unquestionable successes in this direction. Nevertheless, it should be admitted that a great deal remains to be done in this area.

It is a good thing when an important party or state document, international accord, or important address are published by all central newspapers, televised, broadcast, and subsequently just as extensively discussed. It is bad when in the weekdays the newspapers look like identical twins, particularly their sections on international events. Unquestionably, there are events in the world which no press organ could ignore precisely today. However, is it equally mandatory for each newspaper, which incidentally is directed at its specific circle of readers, to discuss such events using the very same words, in clichés, and dully? As in the past, the press falls one day behind in reporting international news since the newspapers have a single morning or evening edition. Having learned the news on the television the previous evening, the people no longer read such information in the press. It is bad when a campaign approach is displayed in the interpretation of important documents and speeches, after which topics related to them are rapidly abandoned.

Propaganda campaigns are very necessary if properly planned, and if conducted on a systematic, persistent, and sufficiently lengthy basis, comprehensively covering a problem or an event. However, they are quite different from a system of working by spurts, whose uplifting power is not so great as might seem initially. It would be more suitable for propaganda and agitation to display a wise calm, proper pacing, and logic in following basic directions. At the same time, aggressiveness is impossible without propagandist zeal and ideological convictions which arouse the reader, viewer, and listener.

Naturally, we should welcome the consistency displayed by information media in the interpretation of major events and activities of national economic significance such as the building of the Baykal-Amur Main Line, the work of petroleum workers in Western Siberia, and the efforts of the transformers of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR. A great deal of various and interesting materials are used in the dissemination of their accomplishments. However, a different type of consistency exists as well, when always the same labor collectives and labor heroes, "convenient" from the journalistic viewpoint, are being discussed and written about. More glory and honor to them, if they deserve it. However, more names must be mentioned of people previously unknown yet worthy of recognition, even though not as yet the recipients of high awards or honor titles. Their example would be felt more closely by the majority of modest working people; it would be more understandable and challenging. In this case we must be clearly aware of the meaning of the CC CPSU decree: "Proceed from the fact that the record-setting indicators of innovators are not a self-seeking aim but the most important means for the mobilization of the working energy of the masses for upgrading labor productivity, and a powerful reserve for upgrading production effectiveness and work quality."

Socialism firmly holds the historical initiative. The invincible vital force of communist ideology as well has been repeatedly proved. Yet, this does not mean that we can allow ourselves to ignore imperialist propaganda. It is unable to seriously undermine the ideological positions of the Soviet people. However, it is entirely able to cause a number of unpleasantnesses, some of which may be quite severe. The entire variety of ideological diversions is aimed, above all, at energizing and encouraging recurrences of bourgeois mentality and morality, and petit bourgeois prejudices which hinder the development of the true social activeness of the Soviet person and the growth of his communist idea-mindedness. That is why, promptly countering imperialist propaganda and, occasionally, engaging in anticipatory counter-propaganda, we must not only expose one or another lie or falsification of facts, strained interpretations, etc, but clearly show the true objectives of the defenders of the old world and explain the extent to which they contradict the foundations of our life.

On the international level our propaganda faces the entirely clear task of using all possible ways and means to present to the population of the non-socialist world the truth about real socialism and its peaceful policy of friendship and equal and mutually profitable cooperation with all nations, and the solidarity of the Soviet people with all fighters against imperialism and for peace, democracy, and social progress. It must expose in the eyes of world public opinion the anti-humane nature of capitalism and the aggressive policy of its most reactionary circles.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" is a program for many years ahead. The party organizations and committees, propagandists, agitators, and all ideological cadres must strictly implement the assignments it contains on upgrading the effectiveness of propaganda and agitation.

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NUCLEAR POWER OPERATION: ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROBLEMS

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[Article by Academician N. Dollezhal' and Dr of Economic Sciences Yu. Koryakin]

[Text] The familiarity, and now almost "ordinariness," of nuclear power construction frequently masks the significance of certain events in the development of this new and important sector of our country's power production. But the whole picture emerges clearly through comparison. Soviet nuclear power engineering has now reached the milestone of commissioning power production capacities of approximately two million kilowatts a year. Is this much or little? It is unquestionably a great deal if we reflect that between the startup in 1954 of the world's first nuclear power station (AES) and the year 1970 (i.e. in 16 years), a total of 1.5 million kilowatts of nuclear capacity was commissioned in the USSR.

At the same time, this is not a great deal in comparison with the scale that lies ahead, the rate of development of nuclear power production, and its proposed place in the nation's energy supply. It appears that by the end of the next five-year plan the annual commissioned capacity of nuclear power stations will be five to eight million kilowatts, and by the end of the century it will probably exceed 10 million kilowatts, a figure which is comparable with the current rate of growth of all electrical generation capacity in the USSR.

Everyone knows the role of energy, and especially its most generally used form, electricity, in today's society. Nonetheless, we emphasize again that the level of energy availability for the country and the populace is closely connected with demography, labor productivity, the economy and the welfare of society. This is not to make a fetish of power production, since practically all aspects of the life of any modern industrially developed society depend on the energy which it produces in various forms. This is why in our country power construction is considered the fundamental aspect of the creation of the material and technical base of communism.

As an especially promising sector, nuclear power is assigned an important role in accomplishing this primary economic task; the more fully the characteristic features of this type of power production are taken into account and utilized, the better and more effectively it will fulfill this role.

"... There is now no undertaking more important than thrifty and extremely efficient utilization of all our capabilities and riches. This requires new approaches in capital investment policy and in many areas of technical policy, maneuver of existing capacities and manpower resources, and the overcoming of particularist and regionalist tendencies, which also makes necessary a certain reorganization of planning and methods of operation, and of the system of indicators and economic incentives. And however complex this reorganization may be, we cannot do without it." These words, spoken by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his meeting with the electors of the Baumanskiy electoral district of the capital on 2 March 1979, apply fully to nuclear power production.

Nuclear power production is already an independent sector in the economies of many countries. Hopes for solving the problem of supplying mankind with energy are currently being pinned to it, and to an increasing share for nuclear power stations in the production of electrical energy. The persistent and increasing difficulties associated with ordinary fuel (primarily petroleum and natural gas), along with the successes of nuclear physics, increasingly inspire belief in the inevitability and well-foundedness of these hopes. Nuclear power stations are in operation or under construction in about 30 countries of the world. At least 20 more countries have announced plans to begin such construction, including several petroleum exporters. The latter consider the development of nuclear power production a promising area for investment of accumulated petrodollars and a way of saving their national reserves of oil.

Overall, it is assumed that by the end of the century nuclear fuel will account for 45 percent of the worldwide fuel breakdown for electrical power stations, and that the figure will be 60 percent by the year 2020.

It is well known that most nuclear power plant construction in our country is proceeding in the European part. In spite of the fact that the cost of these stations considerably surpasses that of thermal power stations of the capacity, nuclear power stations are adequately profitable because of the saving on fuel expenditures which they yield in this region, which lacks fuel and power resources. In addition, real national-economic expenditures on the extraction of each additional unit of organic fuel and the production of electrical energy from it are showing a clearly-marked increasing trend. This fact, together with rapid technical and economic progress in nuclear power production, is leading to an increased national-economic importance for nuclear power stations.

No less important is the effect in terms of organic fuel replaced (saved). The number of nuclear power stations to be commissioned during the current

five-year plan according to the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress will represent savings of about 500 million tons of standard fuel. If there were no nuclear power stations, it would probably be impossible to extract and deliver from the eastern regions of the country the additional fuel that would be needed, which means that it would also be impossible to perform a number of important national-economic tasks which depend on the expansion of electric power production. Even during the current five-year plan, a third of the growth of electrical capacities in the European part of the USSR is coming from nuclear power stations, and their total capacity is to be approximately tripled.

The share of nuclear power stations in the production of electrical energy in the European part of the USSR is to be 10 percent in 1980, as against 3.2 percent in 1975. Thereafter nuclear power stations will acquire a dominant position in increasing the electrical capacities of this region.

Different countries have taken different routes in pursuing large scale nuclear power construction. A good many of the factors which are specific to each country have been determined to a considerable degree by the main features of national technical policy on nuclear power production, and primarily regarding the types of reactors used in nuclear power stations.

The so-called "channel" type of power reactor, which abroad is generally called the "Soviet" type, is the one which was developed and is currently in use in our country. Its design was proposed and implemented here in the 40's, at the dawn of atomic energy. Thereafter, this principle was used for power production purposes in the reactors of the First AES, the Sibirskaya, Beloyarskaya and Bilibinskaya AES, and others.

An important advantage of this type of reactor is the possibility of achieving large individual capacity with it. This aim is an economic necessity. The greater the individual capacity, the lower (other things being equal) the cost of the facility per unit capacity, the lower unit labor cost, metal consumption and the like, and the more economical the installation.

Increased unit capacity of energy blocks is an important factor in increasing the labor productivity of nuclear power station builders and operators. The use of the channel-type reactor has enabled Soviet power engineering to take up advanced positions in the mastery of individual energy block capacities in the vicinity of one million kilowatts in power stations. The first such energy block was commissioned in 1973 at the Leningradskaya AES imeni V. I. Lenin; it was the first in a large series of existing and under-construction energy blocks for a number of AES with a planned concentration of capacity amounting to 4-6 million kilowatts.

Thanks to this type of reactor, our country is acquiring a commanding position in efforts to master even greater individual unit capacities.

For example, reactor blocks with a unit capacity of 1.5 million kilowatts will be installed in the Ignalinskaya AES, now under construction. The design of a sectional block-type channel reactor with an electrical capacity of 2.4 million kilowatts is being developed.

Such unit capacities are unknown in foreign nuclear power engineering.

These achievements have a special meaning and a special significance for our country: for the large-scale nuclear power construction with performance figures corresponding to the worldwide state of the art which began in the last five-year plan and is expanding in the current period, became possible practically without any major (even in multiyear terms) additional capital investments for the construction of a specialized machine building base for nuclear power. Orders for the manufacture of the basic equipment for a series of energy blocks using channel reactors have been placed at ordinary machine-building plants. Accordingly, today most of the nuclear power production capacities being put into operation in our country use channel-type reactors. This is an example of a correctly chosen technical policy and of a successful maneuver, entirely in accordance with the capabilities of the moment, of existing production capacities which has made it possible to realize the maximum national-economic effect.

The other type of reactor in use for nuclear power production in the USSR is the vessel type using water under pressure. It is used extensively in foreign power reactor construction because of a number of positive qualities it possesses.

In contrast to the reactors of the first mentioned type, vessel-type reactors have necessitated the development of a specialized machine-building base: the construction of an extremely large and highly specialized plant for nuclear machine building ("Atomash") in Volgodonsk and the reconstruction of the Izhorskiy Zavod association in Leningrad.

Hitherto nuclear power stations with vessel-type reactors have been based on energy blocks with an individual electrical capacity of 440,000 kilowatts. In 1979 the first series-produced vessel-type reactor, with an electrical capacity of one million kilowatts, is slated to be commissioned in the fifth block of the Novovoronezhskaya AES imeni the 50th Anniversary of the USSR. This will constitute an advance to the level of modern unit capacities for nuclear energy blocks with reactors of this type.

The use of two types of reactor to increase nuclear power capacity in a country is a widespread phenomenon in worldwide nuclear power engineering. The single-reactor development of nuclear power production would give less reliable assurance of the nuclear power supply during the total expected period of utilization of nuclear power stations. In addition, in our country with its greater variety of conditions under which nuclear power stations are constructed and operated, each of the two types of reactors in use, the channel-type and the vessel-type, has its own area of most effective utilization.

The considerable experience that has been acquired in operating nuclear energy blocks indicates that they are reliable. The number of hours' operation of these blocks, calculated as hours at full capacity, is 6,000-7,000 per year, and is even higher for some blocks. This is higher than the corresponding figure for thermal power stations.

Let us emphasize another important fact. The main approaches and methods for improving these types of reactors now, in contrast with previous years, entail primarily a stepping up of station and reactor performance figures. For example, in channel-type reactors the changeover from 1 million to 1.5 million kilowatts of unit capacity was effected solely by increasing the energy intensity of the nuclear fuel. In vessel-type reactors the transition to higher unit capacity was also effected primarily in terms of this factor.

Overall, we may assert with satisfaction that the period since the June 1954 start-up of the world's first nuclear power station in Obninsk, which has been filled with immense efforts on the part of numerous groups of specialists, has been crowned by success. This country has developed and is multiplying rather reliable nuclear power stations with thermal neutron reactors. They are made reliable by a number of measures which are of particular importance for nuclear power stations. It is already many years since the plants manufacturing equipment for nuclear power stations were assigned the task of assuring the highest level of quality, that of the "nuclear class" of machine building. This entails the use of particularly high quality materials, comprehensive quality control, the use of various directive norms regarding safety factors, careful testing and inspection of equipment before it is shipped for installation and the like. The planning and construction of station buildings assumes a variety of situations--even hypothetical emergencies--so that the consequences may present absolutely no danger or harm to operating personnel or the surrounding area. Finally, the high-quality training of plant operating personnel and the careful observance of operating safety standards represent the basis on which the power stations may be considered among the most favored of our industrial enterprises.

It is apropos here to stress the social aspect: Questions of the reliability and safety of nuclear power production have always been given particularly close attention by Soviet scientists, since they have no other interests than those of the people, and since their technical decisions always have purely humane aims as their initial premises.

A few years ago the strategy for future development of nuclear power was rather precise and definite. In its general outline it was as follows: the commercial mastery of nuclear power stations with thermal-neutron reactors would be accompanied by a large increase in the scale of station construction. But such reactors would be capable of using only one or two

percent of the energy latent in uranium. Accordingly it was concluded that these should be replaced by economically competitive fast-breeder reactors. These would produce more of a nuclear fuel, plutonium, than the amount of the initial fuel, uranium, which was consumed; i.e., they would breed nuclear fuel.

This possibility expands the fuel base for nuclear power by a factor of ten, so that there is practically no threat that the reserves in economically usable uranium deposits might be exhausted. However, this advantage can be realized only through rapid and inexpensive regeneration of spent fuel from nuclear power stations with both thermal and fast neutron reactors and its reuse in the reactors.

In recent years, projections of nuclear power station construction have been more modest. For example, the extent of nuclear power production expected for 1985 has been decreased from 500 million to 300 million kilowatts, or 1.7-fold; the figure for the year 2000 has been decreased from 3,000-5,000 to 1,300-1,650 million kilowatts, or by a factor of 2 to 3. Forecasts for Soviet nuclear power engineering too have decreased. The unit costs of nuclear power stations have increased considerably over previous estimates. For example, in the United States they have increased by a factor of 7 to 8 compared with 1967.

This increase in costs has occurred in spite of greatly increased unit capacities of energy blocks and a number of other achievements tending to decrease unit costs. The reasons for this situation are complex and numerous, and there are differences of opinion regarding a number of them. They require a special discussion, since they are ultimately based on objective economic factors. At the same time it is an essential fact that the economic competitiveness of nuclear power stations has not decreased, since similar economic tendencies have developed in ordinary power production.

The difficulties involved in creating economical power stations with the promising fast-breeder reactors have been greater than expected. They stem primarily from the difficulties of using liquid metal as a coolant (sodium is used for the purpose in most designs). As a result, the date (the early 80's) at which powerful commercial fast-breeder reactors would be developed has been moved back to the end of the century under current assumptions. Accordingly all the decreases in uranium consumption which were to result from using such reactors in the nuclear power production system will be realized only in the next century. It is probable that attempts to develop fast-breeder reactors using other coolants--gas coolants, for example--are a result of this circumstance.

The lower rate of growth and the lower projected size of nuclear power station capacities, as well as the delay in the schedule for creation of economically beneficial fast-breeder reactors, have also lengthened the period of economically justifiable utilization of nuclear power stations

with thermal neutron reactors. Accordingly the acuteness of the fuel problem in nuclear power has been somewhat smoothed over: In the first place, the demand for nuclear fuel has decreased, and in the second place the increasing economic competitiveness of nuclear power stations in comparison with fossil-fuel stations has made the development of leaner uranium ores advantageous. Thus the fuel base for nuclear power production has expanded.

Views on the problem of the external fuel cycle in nuclear power production have also undergone changes. Since the date for the development of commercial fast-breeder reactors has been moved back considerably, the necessity for regeneration of spent fuel has become less pressing: for its primary aim was extraction of plutonium, the resulting secondary fuel, which is used most effectively in fast-breeder reactors. On physical and technical grounds, the reuse of plutonium in thermal neutron reactors which operate on uranium is difficult to justify.

In regenerating fuel it is necessary to deal with its especially high degree of radioactivity. The amount of radioactivity contained in spent fuel at the future scale of nuclear power production is equivalent to that of many thousands of tons of radium. Management and localization of this radioactivity is a primary concern in assuring normal functioning of nuclear power operations as well as radiation safety in all unforeseen situations. Accordingly plants processing nuclear fuel are located at great distances from industrial and populated areas. Organizing the reprocessing of spent reactor fuel, which is a complex technical problem in itself, also entails the necessity of reliable disposal and burial for many, many years of highly radioactive wastes with long lifetimes which are inevitably formed during reprocessing. Scientists and engineers worldwide are implementing a number of proposals that have been made to this end: imprisoning the wastes in glass blocks which are placed in underground excavations with the necessary monitoring equipment, pumping liquid wastes into specially selected wells, and certain others.

In the planning and operation of nuclear power stations, all possible steps are taken to assure radiation safety. Careful measurements indicate that radiation levels in the environment resulting from power stations are, for normal operation, quite insignificant in comparison with radiation doses produced by the natural background and those produced by the chief manmade radiation sources (for example emissions of natural radionuclides by fossil-fueled power stations). Accordingly the use of nuclear power stations significantly improves atmospheric quality.

Nonetheless we may state that at present, when the problem of economical production of energy in nuclear power plants has been solved, the external fuel cycle and radioactive wastes have become the main problem of nuclear power, not only in economic, scientific and technical terms, but in sociological terms as well.

Let us note that all aspects of this problem are closely interrelated. They include the development of special cheap means of transporting radioactive fuel from the power stations to centralized chemical reprocessing locations, improvement of reprocessing technology, and the conversion of radioactive wastes to a form which is suitable for final disposal or burial in a way that will prevent the spread of radioactivity through the living environment.

In spite of the considerable attention given to these problems throughout the world and the significant progress toward their solution that has been made, we still apparently cannot consider that assured, reliable, cheap and fully perfected technologies that have stood the test of time have been developed for all installations in the external fuel cycle. In addition, the cost of the main processes in this cycle is becoming considerably greater than was previously expected. Accordingly in the coming stage of expansion of nuclear power production, we believe that attention should be directed to yet another important problem, that of the location of nuclear power capacities and organization of the functioning of the nuclear power economy. This problem is connected to a considerable degree with the problem of effects on the environment. The thermodynamic nature of electrical power production is such that it cannot be carried out without release of a large quantity of heat into the environment. This is the unavoidable and unique "waste product" of electrical power production. For each unit of electric power produced, two to three units of thermal energy must be released into the environment. Its release generally requires the construction of cooling ponds, which also means the inundation of land which might be suitable for other uses.

Both nuclear power production and the thermonuclear power engineering of the future lack disadvantages which are characteristic of the traditional conversion of heat into electricity, for example by combustion of fossil-fuels (emission of ash and harmful gases into the atmosphere). Their elimination does not mask other, new shortcomings such as radioactivity. The latter is accompanied by a complex and costly set of measures for the localization, transportation, reprocessing and burial of radioactive wastes. The foregoing in no way decreases the merits of nuclear energy sources. The transformation of society's fuel and power base is in accordance with natural laws. However, in discussing nuclear power production, we must take into account all its characteristics and aspects, and formulate its tasks and solve its problems so as to benefit all of society, keeping in mind the historical prospects for social and economic progress.

Hitherto we have witnessed an economically justifiable striving to locate sources of energy close to the places where it is consumed, and it has been unnecessary to proportion the placement of generating capacities to their effect on the environment. For previous commercial scales, the ecological capacity could be considered as practically unlimited. Today however, we can no longer proceed on this basis, so grandiose is the scope of electrification. When we draw up forecasts and plans for the development of nuclear power production, we must take its specific characteristics into consideration.

Nor can we forget that the significant scientific achievements of recent years are likely to lead, even in the next 15-20 years, to the development of superpowerful electric power stations which use the principle of thermonuclear reactions. The achievements of Soviet physicists, the successful experimental development of the most important design elements, and the emerging possibility of extensive international cooperation in this area are an incontrovertible basis for such a statement.

At present practically all nuclear power plant construction in the USSR is located in the European part of the country west of the Volga River and the Volga-Baltic Canal, where about 60 percent of the country's population resides and population density is relatively high. It is here that the main production of industrial and agricultural products takes place, and that the land is agriculturally the most productive. At the same time, large-scale tourism is growing by leaps and bounds, and a network of workers' resorts and reserves is developing. The importance of historical, cultural, natural and scenic values is increasing. Here the environment is being viewed increasingly as a living environment rather than a source of resources. The latter are frequently substitutable, but territories as such cannot be replaced.

It may be assumed, we feel, that given society's rapidly increasing energy demands the current principle of placement of nuclear power stations will rather quickly lead to exhaustion of the "ecological capacity" of the regions. What governs the limitations on it? Clearly it is the extent of power production capabilities located in it which is permissible in terms of effects on the environment, the inevitability of thermal emissions, the alienation of land areas, irreversible water losses through evaporation, the accumulation of wastes, and the negative effect of a number of additional protective measures on the cost of energy production.

A large-scale withdrawal of lands, including agricultural lands, occurs in the creation of cooling ponds and residential settlements near power stations and the provisions of a health-protection zone around them. For example, the creation of cooling ponds alone for nuclear power stations of the current standard capacity of four million kilowatts requires a water surface of about 20-25 square kilometers. River floodlands are generally used for this purpose, and fertile lands or lands which could be used for agriculture are included in the inundated areas. Under the current principle of placement of nuclear power stations, by the beginning of the next century it is likely that 50 to 70 sites will have been developed or will be under development. On the lands taken for this purpose it would have been possible, for example, to produce enough grain to feed several million persons. And this is only in terms of a possible scale of development of nuclear power production by the end of the current century.

Water resources are another serious problem. The annual water requirement of thermal and nuclear electric power stations is over 100 cubic kilometers.

Irreversible water losses through evaporation in dissipating the waste heat of electric power stations in the European part of the country already amount to over two cubic kilometers a year.

These losses will at least double under the scale of development of nuclear power expected for the end of the century. For these reasons, the problem of selecting new nuclear power station sites and supplying them with water is already becoming acute, particularly in the regions south of Moscow. But these are the areas in which the greatest increases in energy demand are taking place.

For nuclear power production, the ecological problem has an additional aspect: the presence of byproduct radioactivity. With decentralized placement of nuclear power stations, the scope of protective measures is not limited to localizing radioactivity in the station, but includes many of the country's railroads and possibly other transport routes. For a number of objective reasons, the transport of spent nuclear plant fuel can be done only in small lots. The probability of an emergency per unit transport distance is estimated as being negligible. Nonetheless, given the increase in the scale of nuclear power production expected for the near future, and accordingly the increase in the amount of spent fuel hauled and the length of trips made by containers, this probability cannot be ignored. In our country, concern for human health is a primary social task--but this means an inevitable relative increase in expenditures to assure radiation safety.

The current principle of location of nuclear power stations is encountering a number of objective difficulties. Each new power station site requires large capital investments for auxiliary and nonproductive facilities. The size of such expenditures depends on the local conditions and frequently requires the development of an individual plan for each station, which means additional expenditures. For example, on the average a year and a half to two years or even more is required for site development and the construction of temporary buildings and installations, access roads, housing for the builders and the like before construction of the main production facilities of a nuclear power station is begun. All of these delay the rate of increase of power production capacity and increase losses from the tying up of capital investments. Finally, often the existence of different construction collectives on each site limits possibilities for increasing the effectiveness of labor resource utilization and improving management organization.

There is no doubt of the historical necessity and great promise of nuclear energy sources. But we should like to stress that with them, as with everything else, it is important to give due attention to dimension--a category which combines the qualitative and quantitative aspects of phenomena and objects.

The relatively sparse distribution of energy consumption centers, the amount of power which they consume, the concentration of power in a single nuclear

power station, the extent of development of nuclear power production, the breakdown of its generating facilities, the extent of power network construction and the lack thus far of any large transport flow of highly radioactive spent nuclear fuel have, it seems, made the principle of decentralized construction of nuclear power stations in the European part of the country technically and economically justifiable and ecologically acceptable. But in our view this cannot be said of the scale of nuclear power production in the remoter future.

What way out of the problem might there be? On the one hand, without nuclear power, construction of a power base for developed socialism is impossible. But on the other hand, the increase in negative aspects and consequences of its development is already making the performance of certain operating tasks more difficult, and is likely to complicate them even further in the near future.

Increasing the quality of the energy economy will of course help in solving the ecological and economic problems of nuclear power. But the necessity of finding new principles for organizing the nuclear power economy which are more in accord with the ecological and economic requirements, the nature of nuclear fuel utilization and the scale of nuclear power plant construction, and which realize more fully the advantages of our socialist system and planned management of the economy, is becoming increasingly urgent.

From a number of viewpoints the most radical and apparently the most effective idea is the proposal to combine new nuclear power stations to be built in the future into large nuclear power complexes. Such power complexes, built at a certain distance from populated areas, can contain in a single site not only a group of nuclear power stations with a capacity of several tens of millions of kilowatts, but also enterprises and equipment for the external fuel cycle (radiochemical reprocessing of nuclear fuel, treatment, burial and possibly also use of radioactive wastes, the manufacture of nuclear fuel, and specialized internal transport for nuclear materials.

It appears to us that this concept has a number of advantages. It accords best with the main economic features of nuclear power production: a high degree of centralization, technical complexity, and considerable capital intensity. It will sharply decrease the number and size of areas in which there is a probability of the spread of radioactivity by excluding external hauling of radioactive materials and by a more effective organization of radiation safety and monitoring, as a result of the concentration of production, centralization of management and better organization of servicing operations. Another important fact is that in the transition to future large-scale construction of nuclear power plants with fast-breeder reactors (and possibly also of hybrid thermonuclear reactors), the territorial unity

of the fuel cycle will not hinder the necessary accelerated handling of nuclear fuel within it, which is an important prerequisite for rapid doubling of the capacities of nuclear power plants with breeder neutron reactors.

We believe that given the conditions existing in this country there is in principle the possibility of locating such power complexes in regions with low population density, where land is less scarce and valuable, which have a good supply of water resources and at the same time are relatively close to existing and projected centers of electric power consumption.

The principle of power complexes would probably allow more effective organization of construction, operation, servicing and current management as well as the utilization of labor resources.

Finally, the possibility of sharply increasing the concentration of nuclear power station capacities and blocks and the considerably greater freedom from limitations stemming from the external aspects of their operation when the individual processes of the fuel cycle are maximally combined in a single industrial process would unquestionably offer extended or even new possibilities for progress in power reactor construction and the implementation of new ideas in it, for the placement of new power thermonuclear electrical power stations, and for their fuller automation.

Estimates indicate that the economic conditions for development of nuclear power complexes give promise of benefits, and the unavoidable additional expenditures (associated primarily with powerful transmission lines) will be compensated by decreases in a number of expenditure items which are characteristic of the present decentralized construction of nuclear power plants. In ecological and--especially important--radioecological terms, the concept of power complexes appears absolutely preferable.

Let us mention a possible additional role for nuclear power complexes.

The question of redirecting the flow of certain northern rivers into the southern sections of the European part of the country is well known. It arose as a consequence of the increasing shortage of fresh water. The matter of primary concern is that of stabilizing the level of the Caspian Sea and the salinity of the Sea of Azov. Without venturing to evaluate, much less to discuss in detail, the different alternatives and schemes for working out possible solutions, let us note that from an ecological standpoint the least acceptable diversion scheme seems to be that based on the creation of large reservoirs on the watersheds, for example on the Pechora-Kama watershed. Immense quantities of water concentrated in reservoirs with a total area of many thousands of square kilometers would result in a number of major direct and indirect ecological and economic losses for the Timano-Pechora territorial production complex which is to be built in that area. Accordingly we consider that the diversion alternatives based on pumping may be most preferable, since they would lead to considerably (several times) smaller inundated areas.

But pumping is extremely energy intensive: diversion of, say, 100 cubic kilometers of water a year would require about 20 million kilowatts of electric power. This is a considerable amount, but it would be relatively easy to satisfy the requirements for such a quantity of electrical energy if the transition were made from decentralized placement of nuclear power stations to large power complexes located in the European North and Northwest.

The foregoing does not exhaust the subject. Diversion of part of the flow of the northern rivers would deprive the areas of the European North of a significant quantity of heat which is carried to the sea by their flow. Accordingly, serious ecological disruptions in the natural balance of these regions might be expected. On the other hand, calculations indicate that the existence of large nuclear power complexes here would make it possible to restore the thermal water balance disrupted by southward diversion of the rivers by means of the heat emitted from the turbine condensers.

Thus a comprehensive approach to the location of future nuclear power capacities in coordination with other large-scale national-economic measures promises an additional socially significant effect, one which would appear to be no less important than that of simply supplying electric power. The preceding is still only a proposal which would require profound technical and economic analysis.

In our opinion the concept of power complexes is most fully in accord with the technical and economic nature of nuclear power management and in addition best meets the requirements of socialist principles of management. The technical feasibility and economic advantages of creating such complexes are being studied abroad as well, in the United States, for example. In its evolution, the concept has passed through several characteristic stages, in which it has gradually acquired an arsenal of the necessary resources for each stage of understanding and practice as regards the specific characteristics and the process for energy conversion, the economics of power production, the system nature of energy production, and energy ecology. The new stage of its development must not only take account of scientific, technical and specific economic aspects, but must also consider it in organic unity with the totality of socially significant factors.

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VUZ REGIONAL SCIENTIFIC CENTER

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

[Text] It is hard to believe that only several decades ago there could not even be a question of any kind of science in the Northern Caucasus. On the eve of the February Revolution Academician V. I. Vernadskiy wrote the following on the subject of access to higher spiritual values granted the peoples of the Caucasus: "In this respect our governmental policy was amazingly shortsighted, I would say anti-national, conflicting with the interests of Russia. The best illustration of this is the long struggle waged by the public of the Caucasus, by all nationalities living in it, including Russians, against the Russian government, asking for the establishment of a higher school in the Caucasus."

That time has gone forever, swept off by the wave of revolutionary changes triggered by the October Revolution. Today we are witnessing the headlong development of science, higher schools, and university education in the Caucasus as a result of the Leninist policy in the field of culture and national relations. Today Rostov, Krasnodar, Stavropol', Makhachkala, Nal'chik, Ordzhonikidze, Groznyy, Novocherkassk, Taganrog, and other cities in the Northern Caucasus operate 58 higher educational institutions and their branches. About 40,000 scientific workers, including over 14,000 doctors and candidates of sciences, are working in the scientific institutions, VUZ's, design organizations, and industrial enterprises of the Northern Caucasus. This is more than the total number found in pre-revolutionary Russia. The scientists in our area have proved themselves through their extensive and interesting studies in the fields of mathematics, mechanics, geology, chemistry, physics, biology, and the social, technical, and agricultural sciences. The fact that a considerable percentage of the scientific potential of the area is focused in the higher educational institutions brought to life the creation of the first regional higher school scientific center in the Northern Caucasus. Both the natural-geographic characteristics of the area as well as its historical-economic features were taken into consideration in its establishment.

The decision to set up a North Caucasus Higher-School Scientific Center was an important and noteworthy landmark in the life of our region. The main

significance of this decision is that the organization of the center emphasized the increased role of VUZ's under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism. Today, along with the training of highly skilled specialists, they must engage in more extensive and broader work on important scientific problems, both basic and applied. Naturally, this demands of every professor to combine the qualities of the educator and the researcher; his successes on the theoretical or experimental field must beneficially affect the level of the training process. It is important to note that even the most specialized VUZ has the advantage that within its single collective it encompasses an entire set of scientific directions. This facilitates the exchange of ideas and methods and the development of interdisciplinary fields of knowledge.

Glancing mentally at the Northern Caucasus, it would be difficult to find a richer and more varied area. It contains the wide Don, Kuban', and Ter steppes; next to them are the grandiose snow-covered ridges and extinct volcanoes; semideserts lie on the east; the west is covered by moist subtropical lands on which citrus crops and tea grow. Four seas of a different nature wash the shores of this area: the Black, Caspian, Azov, and the man-made Tsamlyanskoye. Our region has everything--saline lands and mountain tundras, chernozem, and virgin forests. The amazing natural resources are combined here with developed multisectorial agricultural and industrial production facilities. Today the Northern Caucasus produces petroleum, coal, natural gas, and non-ferrous metals. It has hundreds of enterprises in the machine-building, instrument-manufacturing, and chemical industries, the power industry, transportation, and the light and food industries. At the same time, the Northern Caucasus is also an all-union sanatorium.

As to its scientific potential, before the organization of the center it presented a rather complex and variegated picture, both in terms of structure, direction, and level of development, as well as historically developed systems of management passing through tens of sectorial ministries and departments. These scientific forces had to be rallied, mobilized, and directed toward the solution of the most important problems related to the development of the economic and productive forces of the region.

From the viewpoint of the type of work to be done by the VUZ scientific center, the difficulty was to link the interests of the individual collectives with tasks of regional importance whose implementation had to be achieved on a high modern level. From the organizational viewpoint, it was necessary to find an optimum combination of administrative, cost-accounting, and social forms for unifying the activities of the scientific collectives. As to effectiveness, in each specific case we had to achieve close interaction among theoretical research, practical development, and application. Finally, the structure of scientific institutions, as developed in the country, demanded of us the formulation of measures aimed at the coordination of VUZ, sectorial, and academic science.

Another difficulty was that some features of departmental isolation and exclusiveness, and insufficient ties between schools and sectorial institutions characterize both VUZ and sectorial science.

The higher school was the only force which could perform the function of integrating the area's scientific potential. Why? First of all, because, traditionally, basic research here took place here essentially in VUZ's. Secondly, it accounted for 82% of all doctors and 73% of candidates of sciences of the area. Thirdly, today the higher school can develop fully only as a training-scientific complex, reproducing on a broader scale the necessary structure of scientific cadres and extensively positioning not only these cadres but chair instructors, postgraduate students, and undergraduates.

What are the tasks of the North Caucasus Higher-School Scientific Center? They are complex and varied. They include the development of basic research in the natural and social sciences, work on scientific problems contributing to the accelerated development of the economy and production forces of the Northern Caucasus, training of specialized scientific cadres, and coordination of research in the natural and social sciences, conducted by the higher educational institutions and organizations under various ministries and departments located in our area.

After it was organized on the basis of the training institutions and scientific organizations of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the center faced the need for the organization of an essentially new regional research control system. In the initial stage the legal and organizational foundations of the activities of the center were formulated, taking into consideration the management principles traditional in terms of the higher school (with the VUZ as the basic production nucleus, science financing, and direct organizational-administrative ties between ministries and VUZ's). For this reason, virtually the entire system of regional management of MUZ scientific activities operated on a collective basis and joint work.

A council of rectors (directors) of VUZ's and scientific research institutes assumed the leadership of the center. With a view to coordinating the work along the basic scientific directions, sections were established (on the example of the USSR Academy of Sciences), as well as scientific councils on problems, comprehensive commissions, a young scientists council, and a council for student scientific-research work. At the same time, a group of full-time administrative organs was set up: an administrative apparatus, including a scientific-organizational department, application department, editorial-publishing department, editorial section of the journal IZVESTIYA SKNTs VSh, published in three series (social, natural, and technical sciences), and an office in charge of center projects under construction. The work of the center was also based on the facilities of the main regional publishing house and the scientific library of Rostov State University.

A specialized Vuzstroy administration was set up with the help of the local party and soviet organs. The Komsomol Central Committee proclaimed the center an all-union shock Komsomol construction project and opened positions for a central committee Komsomol organizer and a construction chief of staff for the North Caucasus Higher-School Scientific Center.

That is how the center began as a regional scientific management organ.

In the course of the development of such organizational nuclei we tried to avoid hasty decisions or speculative "projects," unnecessary superficial associations, and paper "coordination," relying on the aspiration of most teachers and scientific workers to join their efforts on important scientific and practical tasks.

The help of the public is used quite effectively in operating the center. The center has voluntary departments for the individual scientific sectors, expert commissions, councils, a number of problem commissions, editors for the three series of our journal, and student scientific organizations.

In an effort to optimally combine public with administrative principles, we adopted a system according to which the VUZ collective becomes the leading collective in resolving any major problem, organizing the activities of a sectorial department, or writing a definitive work. Thus, Dagestan University became the head VUZ of our area on problems of the development of the culture of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus and the atheistic education of the working people; Kuban' University became the head VUZ on problems of social and economic management; Rostov University, in the field of socioeconomic problems related to the creation and development of agro-industrial complexes; the Grozno Petroleum Institute, on problems of the utilization and processing of petroleum and natural gas, and petrochemistry, and so.

In order to create effective prerequisites for the development of a training-scientific complex in the Northern Caucasus, new scientific research institutes were organized in the course of the establishment of the scientific center: for physics, mechanics and applied mathematics, physical and organic chemistry, neurocybernetics, five problem and seven sectorial scientific-research technical laboratories, and one design bureau.

Thus, the system of chairs traditionally used in higher schools was expanded by a group of "statutory" scientific institutions, which assumed the main task of developing basic research and combining science with training.

The experience of the training-scientific complex of Taganrog Radio Engineering Institute, based on the VUZ, and of the consolidation of the collectives of the scientific research institute of physics and the physics department of Rostov University proved to be particularly successful.

Along with the solution of organizational problems, we had to engage in complex work related to the study of the basic trends in the development of the regional economy and the determination of its scientific potential and basic directions of research.

For the first time in the history of the Northern Caucasus a thorough "inventory" was taken of top research projects. The topics of all collectives were taken into consideration. The cadre and material-technical facilities of VUZ's and scientific research institutes were studied. At the same time,

the structure and development trends of the regional economy were analyzed and the requirements and basic directions of scientific and technical progress in the sectors were determined.

The linking of directions followed in creative research and development with the requirements of national economic progress immediately revealed the existence of untopical themes, parallelism, and duplication in a number of research projects, lagging in the study of some basic scientific problems, and gaps in research plans.

As a result, for the first time the possibility arose to determine for the area the basic trends of development of the social, natural, and technical sciences for the 10th (and, subsequently, the 11th) Five-Year Plan, and to formulate a plan for scientific research covering complex scientific and technical problems.

In this case the most important task was to find the place of the topics and directions of scientific research conducted by the center within the overall structure of the state plans for the development of science and technology. A decisive step was taken between 1971 and 1974 to involve the VUZ's in work based on scientific programs and assignments issued by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the RSFSR and USSR ministries of higher and secondary specialized education. Whereas in 1971 the VUZ's took part in work on 150 such topics, the number rose to 490 in 1978. These figures reveal the energizing of research in VUZ's, an acknowledgment of the achievements of the center's scientists, and the faith shown by the party and the government that the VUZ's will be able to carry out the responsible assignments related to scientific and technical progress. The establishment of the Higher-School Scientific Center of the North Caucasus contributed to the growth of the theoretical and experimental research levels.

At that time particular emphasis was placed on the development of relations with the USSR Academy of Sciences. Today the center's scientists are working on over 200 of its assignments. The VUZ's have concluded 73 creative cooperation contracts with 100 institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and are participating in major academy programs, such as Interkosmos, Intermozg, thermonuclear synthesis, ionospheric studies, and vibroseismic prospecting.

In its subsequent stage, the scientific center mainly focused on the immediate implementation of assignments on the development and coordination of scientific research, and the development of the program-target principles of the organization of science in the area.

What did this mean under our circumstances? First, the filling of gaps in the united front of research projects needed by the area and the development of new methods and directions. Thus, the reorganization of the area's river systems and the development of irrigation called for research in the field of land geochemistry. By decision of the Higher-School Scientific Center of the North Caucasus, they were organized at the Kuban' and Rostov universities. Proper work by the geologists required the application of the method of

absolute geochronology. This was organized. In turn, the chemists developed for the needs of the area an inter-VUZ laboratory for nuclear magnetic resonance, while the biologists mastered modern methods for growing tissue cultures.

The computer basis had to be improved in order to develop modern research in mathematics, mechanics, physics, quantum chemistry, and ecology. Today we have a large number of modern computers of various types.

Secondly, the problem arose of formulating target programs for the regionally most important trends of science and production. In this case, step by step, the methodology of their development was perfected. We now clearly realize that programs can and must be different in terms of nature, tasks, and means of implementation.

One such group of programs covers strictly specialized or narrow-topic studies. They would cover either a single territorial project, which may be quite important, or a clearly delineated realm of scientific research (programs for wasteless production, active materials, and so-called "artificial brain"). Another type of program is classified as comprehensive, yet it is local in terms of its regional focus. Thus, asked by the Checheno-Ingushskaya Oblast Party Committee, and with the extensive participation of the VUZ's of the Higher-School Scientific Center of the North Caucasus, proposals dealing with the comprehensive development of the republic's productive forces were formulated and discussed at a highly representative conference, and approved. As requested by the Rostovskaya Oblast Party Committee, the center formulated suggestions on the future development of the basic scientific trends in the oblast.

An extensive program for research and planning of the social development of enterprises, cities, and rural rayons in the area is being implemented under the center's guidance. On the basis of the extensive use of the center's VUZ's, comprehensive development plans were formulated for the 10th Five-Year Plan for Rostov, Krasnodar, Stavropol', Novocherkassk, Krasnyy Sulin, and many other areas.

Finally, the qualitatively new feature which developed in the Northern Caucasus in connection with the creation of the center is the formulation of practical science programs covering the entire region.

On the request of the Commission for the Study of Production Forces and Natural Resources of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the center prepared a report containing forecasts for the comprehensive utilization of natural resources through the year 2000. The work was done with the participation of scientists from Rostov University, Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute, Stavropol' Pedagogical Institute, Kuban'giprovodkhoz, and Rostov Institute of the National Economy.

Proposals on the saving of water resources were drafted for the use of the commission on the utilization of water resources, set up by decision of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Suggestions on the comprehensive utilization of the resources of the Black and Azov seas were drafted with the help of scientists from Rostov, Stavropol', Kuban', and the Ukraine for use by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

Finally, the center acts as a head institution in the area in drafting the "Forecast for the Comprehensive Development of Natural Resources, and Substantiating the Main Directions and Problems of Development of Production Forces in the Individual Parts of the Country for the 1981-1990 and 1991-2000 Periods." About 10 scientific institutions of the Northern Caucasus are working on this forecast.

Work on a comprehensive forecast has been a natural result of the activities of the center throughout its existence. This work included individual sectorial programs and was based on the experience in their formulation. We also took into consideration the experience of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department.

Program-target research conducted with partial financing and mostly on a voluntary basis requires substantial organizational efforts. We are trying to surmount arising difficulties by letting big VUZ's or scientific research institutes become the head institutions.

We have also realized the important fact that VUZ science can be properly organized only when a problem which is beyond the forces of the individual VUZ is resolved by inter-VUZ organizations.

Practical experience proves that today it is impossible to resolve major practical science problems without utilizing the advantages of cooperated efforts and of the creation of practical science complexes.

This is particularly characteristic whenever the program exceeds the framework of the competence of the area and covers institutions affiliated with different departments. Typical in this respect is experience in the formulation and implementation of the program for the making of an ecological-mathematical model of the Azov Sea and Basin.

Last autumn the center's council earmarked a work program for the implementation of the tasks set by the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum to Soviet science in the field of agricultural production, involving the systematic implementation of the principle of organically combining basic with applied research in resolving practical problems of agricultural development in the Northern Caucasus. In particular, the directions of the joint studies by collectives of biologists, machine engineers, and chemists of the universities of the Northern Caucasus were defined in problems of theoretical and applied molecular biology, and the collectives of polytechnical institutes and agricultural VUZ's and scientific research institutes in the field of agricultural mechanization and scientific foundations of agricultural machine building. At the same, relying on the scientific accomplishments of the entire group of VUZ's and scientific research institutes specializing in

agriculture, the center began to formulate a forecast for the development of agriculture in the Northern Caucasus and of a system of measures to improve agriculture. It undertook to formulate a program for the development of feed production.

The solution of the center's most important problem--developing applied research and providing production with scientific and technical aid--also called for the development of new organizational forms of work. Above all, the center undertook to develop long-term relations with the individual economic sectors, big production associations, and individual enterprises. The point is that for decades sectorial science in the Northern Caucasus operated largely on a relatively autonomous and isolated basis, resolving the practical science problems of its "own" sector. On the other hand, VUZ science, cadres, and material and technical facilities and scientific base were not broad enough to act on even footing with sectorial science in working on major regional scientific and technical problems.

In recent years, however, things have changed radically. Above all, the number of scientific-pedagogical cadres in the higher schools rose at a headlong pace. The amount of scientific research conducted at higher schools quintupled. The material and technical base of science has virtually been entirely renovated through the use of modern equipment. Particularly in connection with the creation of the center, an entire structure of scientific institutions was developed. New scientific directions were furthered in decisive areas of scientific and technical progress. Furthermore, the very structure of the regional national economy changed. In addition to sectors traditional of the Northern Caucasus, nuclear machine building, instrument manufacturing, and a chemical industry developed. New forms of organization of production forces were established, leading to the elimination of the former departmental barriers erected between sectorial and VUZ science. Slowly, the regional economy became a single territorial-production and scientific and technical complex, with developed intersectorial and inter-regional relations in the fields of raw materials, transportation, power industry, and technology.

The extensive reconstruction of enterprises carried out in recent years, the renovation of fixed capital, the conversion to new technology and the adoption of contemporary management systems drastically increased the needs of enterprises for scientific and technical developments based on the essential progress in the basic sciences.

Finally, the further development of the regional economy and production forces brought to life a number of new, not sectorial, but comprehensive scientific and technical problems of an intersectorial nature, such as, for example, insuring the enterprises with raw ores, development of an efficient system for the utilization of water resources, shaping of agro-industrial complexes, the creation of a uniform recovery system, etc. As a result of focusing the bulk of basic research in the regional VUZ's and applied research in sectorial scientific research institutes, a situation developed in which the solution of such comprehensive interdisciplinary problems required the

cooperation of the entire scientific potential of the area, the elimination of the old "division of labor" between VUZ and sectorial science, and the perfecting of supplying with resources and of forms of regional management of both VUZ and sectorial sciences. For this reason, from the very beginning the center set itself the objective of comprehensively promoting their integration.

Presently, the topics on which the scientific institutions of the center's VUZ's are working are provided, along with the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, by 13 sectorial ministries under union-republic jurisdiction. These ministries account for 68% of all allocations for the financing of the center's scientific institutions.

Fulfilling the role of organizer in uniting creative efforts within the framework of comprehensive national economic programs, the center, in turn, influences the planning policy of sectorial ministries and departments maintaining scientific institutions on the territory of the Northern Caucasus. It sets up networks of sectorial laboratories based on the programs. They submit on a centralized basis to ministries and departments blocks of scientific research topics to be included in sectorial plans for scientific and technical progress. Together with ministries and departments it issues orders to the various institutions to work on specific topics, organizes the centralized financing of VUZ's and scientific research institutes for the additional topics requested by the State Committee for Science and Technology; it regulates and redistributes amounts of funds and ceilings for contractual projects, as allocated to the center VUZ's by the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education; it directly influences the determination of basic scientific directions and topics of scientific research to be done by VUZ's under the center's jurisdiction.

Let us add to this that on a number of assignments issued by the RSFSR Gosplan and the State Committee for Science and Technology, the center acts as the leading scientific organization in the Northern Caucasus.

Thus the development of the organizational methods for combining VUZ with sectorial science, the clear trend toward cooperation in terms of cadres and material resources between VUZ's and scientific research institutes within comprehensive programs, the reciprocal interweaving of lines of research, on a vertical and horizontal basis, and the establishment of "mixed" scientific cells and problem groups have enabled our center to show substantial progress and increase the effectiveness of scientific research and help to the national economy.

Thanks to direct contacts with the sectors, the number of subjects studied on the basis of assignments formulated by sectorial ministries and departments has quintupled. The time gap between the completion of a research project and the utilization of its results by the national economy has been reduced. On an average for the center 77% of all projects applied in 1978 were completed 1 or 2 years previously (quite recently the time of application reached 3-5 years). In the leading VUZ's of the center, as many as 60% of

projects defending authorship certificates for discoveries and inventions are granted patents (no more than 20% in 1971). The number of applied projects has risen substantially, from 370 in 1971 to 750 in 1978. Savings from the application of VUZ developments rose from 24.5 million rubles in 1971 to 105.8 million rubles in 1978.

Last year, for the first time, the North Caucasus Scientific Center submitted to the RSFSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan, for application on the sectorial scale, 44 developments which had undergone experimental-industrial tests at individual enterprises. The expected economic results of the implementation of such developments submitted to the ministries will total 260 million rubles by the end of the five-year plan.

Our scientists are providing scientific and technical aid to enterprises and organizations by sharing their accomplishments through standard contracts. In 1978, 28 such developments were submitted.

Close creative ties are maintained between the center's scientific organizations and agricultural enterprises. Thirty-eight contracts have been concluded and are being successfully implemented. The region's VUZ's have prepared for expanded application in crop growing and animal husbandry the results of 22 developments which have already undergone experimental production testing.

In addition to participation in the implementation of major regional comprehensive scientific and technical programs, the center organizes applied research with a view to creating new equipment and technologies in the leading production sectors, the elimination of manual and heavy labor, the mechanization of labor-intensive auxiliary processes, the growth of labor productivity, and the saving of material and manpower resources. Studies conducted on the basis of economic contracts with regional enterprises are directed toward this objective above all.

The practice of concluding contracts for creative cooperation between the center's VUZ's and enterprises has become widespread. Currently there are some 50 such contracts in operation.

With an overall annual volume of research totaling 50 million rubles, we have been able to raise the volume of research conducted directly for the needs of the Northern Caucasus to 10 million rubles.

Over 300 regional enterprises, including Atommash, Rostsel'mash, the Azot Association in Nevinnomyssk, the lacquer and die production association in Rostov, the combine and metallurgical plants in Rostov, and others are cooperating with the center's scientific collectives. In the first three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan this group of enterprises applied about 800 developments of the center's scientists, saving over 150 million rubles.

In particular, problems of environmental protection, rational utilization of production waste, and the creation of closed, wasteless production facilities

account for a high percentage of the center's topics. Major accomplishments in the utilization of ore-extraction and chemical industry wastes were achieved by the scientists of the Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute, and the center's chemistry and chemical technology sections.

Improving invention and patent-licensing work is a major lever for upgrading the effectiveness of scientific research.

However, it would be erroneous to state that everything is ideal and perfect. Let us acknowledge that the scientific-laboratory and experimental base of VUZ science is still weak. It is far below the real requirements of the VUZ's and is short of work areas. Nor do we always reach mutual understanding with production managers.

Naturally, the problem of radically improving the material and technical base for VUZ work cannot be resolved immediately. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Development of the Higher School and on Upgrading the Quality of Specialists' Training" helps to resolve this and other problems. It stipulates the implementation of measures for the further development of universities as leading training-method and scientific centers of the higher school. The document calls for "insuring the strengthening of their material and technical base and structure of scientific-pedagogical cadres."

We are trying to comprehensively develop and expand direct contacts between scientists and production workers. We systematically sponsor science days dealing with specific topics, with the extensive participation of managers, chief specialists, and engineering and technical personnel of enterprises. We hold regional conferences on the "hottest" items of scientific and technical progress, with displays of scientific achievements. Thus, practical workers highly rated the conference on saving metal, construction materials, electric power, and fuel and energy resources, the conference on the development of soil fertility, etc.

The center's scientists actively participate in the work of the technical and economic councils of CPSU gorkoms and obkoms, and the society of rationalizers and inventors. Comprehensive brigades consisting of scientists and production workers are set up to resolve specific scientific and engineering problems which arise in the course of day-to-day activities of enterprises. Summaries of scientific research projects completed in the VUZ's are published. The achievements of the scientists are extensively propagandized through the press, radio, and television. This is of unquestionable usefulness. The ever more frequently developing informal relations and contacts between our personnel and production workers "erode" the departmental separation between science and industry and encourage the more energetic solution of the problems formulated by the party.

We use to this effect also the creative potential of the students: The students participated in the completion of 500 development projects applied in 1978. This also contributes to upgrading the level of training of the young specialists.

In order to develop the scientific potential along the latest directions, we began to set up scientific nuclei on the basis of the already-established scientific research institutes of Rostov University. Thus, a department of the Scientific Research Biological Institute was set up at Kuban' University. With the center's support, for the first time, problem laboratories were set up at the Dagestan, Kuban', and Kabardino-Balkar universities.

The Higher-School Scientific Center of the North Caucasus has instructed the leading VUZ's to make more energetic use of the young VUZ collectives in carrying out joint contractual projects. Bilateral cooperation contracts among VUZ's could be an effective means for helping this project. Such contracts call for the exchange of scientific-pedagogical experience, the training of students and instructors, etc. The physics faculty of Rostov University trained cadres and provided material facilities for the department of general physics of the Kalmyk University.

The center has begun to give material assistance to VUZ's, helping them to acquire scientific equipment and sponsor exhibits of instruments. We have undertaken the creation of inter-VUZ regional laboratories. The laboratory for nuclear magnetic resonance of the scientific research institute of physical and organic chemistry, and the laboratory set up by the Rostov Engineering-Construction Institute are working on orders for the entire area.

As a result of all these efforts the young VUZ's are increasing their scientific potential. The level of teaching and scientific research is being equalized over the entire territory of the Northern Caucasus. The possibility for standardizing requirements facing the area's scientific collectives is being created.

The overall result has been a consolidation of the scientific forces of all regional VUZ's, which is so greatly necessary for carrying out major comprehensive studies of national economic significance.

The results of the activities of the Higher-School Scientific Center of the North Caucasus over the nine years since its organization were considered by the RSFSR Council of Ministers. The work of the center was assessed, tasks related to the further activities of the scientific collectives in the area were earmarked, and the specific directions leading to the improvement of its activities were defined. At the same time, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education approved the new set of rules governing the center's work: On the basis of acquired experience, the rights and obligations of the center's institutions were established and refined; its organizational and material possibilities were expanded; its structure and organizational functions were defined. The center entered a new stage of development. New possibilities became available to it in its activities for the good of Soviet science and of our society.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production

Effectiveness and Work Quality" is mobilizing our party organizations and scientific and pedagogical collectives to improve the entire system of training-education and research work, closely linked with the tasks of scientific and technical progress, the solution of most important national economic problems, and the practical application of results, thus increasing the contribution of the higher school to the building of communism.

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DIALECTICAL-MATERIALISTIC PHILOSOPHY IN THE MODERN WORLD

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[Article by L. Naumenko, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The philosophical interpretation of topical problems is one of the urgent requirements of our time. Whatever problem we may consider, whether that of war and peace, social and scientific and technical progress, development of culture and environmental protection, education, upbringing, or the ideological struggle, each one of them and all of them together indicate a trend toward ever closer interweaving of separate and common conceptual and methodological problems. The universal-historical meaning of Lenin's words is becoming ever more apparent: ". . . Anyone who undertakes the solution of individual problems without having resolved the common ones will invariably, at each step, subconsciously face such general problems. Yet, facing them blindly in each case means dooming one's policy to the worst confusion and lack of principles" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 15, p 368).

As the nucleus of scientific outlook and methodological base for all CPSU activities, Marxist-Leninist philosophy indicates the only accurate way for resolving the general problems of contemporary social life. It provides an accurate orientation in the phenomena and processes of our complex and dynamic age. The growth of its conceptual, methodological, and ideological role and of its social meaning and significance is a law of social progress.

I

Approaching the new phenomena which occur in the spiritual life of modern mankind from a broad historical base, taking them as a whole, in their trends and ties with profound scientific and technical, socioeconomic, and political changes occurring in the world, and using them in determining the most common scale, the essence of the occurrences could be described as the development of a conceptual revolution.

The appearance of Marxism marked a radical turn in views on nature, history, and thinking--a conceptual revolution--incomparable in terms of scale, significance, and consequences with anything which may have existed previously. It

frequently happened in history that philosophical revolutions have been used as introductions to sociopolitical coups. Such was the case of revolutions in the minds, which provided spiritual preparations for bourgeois revolutions. However, even the most outstanding and powerful among them, however much they may have contributed in their time to the spiritual enlightenment of mankind, triggering fireworks of phraseology, huge promises, and prophecies, they rapidly burned out, turning out to be merely harmonious poetic prologues poorly related to the prose of the bourgeois way of life, remaining phenomena which essentially affected the thoughts and feelings of merely the educated upper crust of society.

The conceptual revolution predicted in the Communist Party Manifesto was not only a "prologue" to the social revolution. Assuming flesh and blood and a new charge of energy in the revolutionary movement of the working class, and embodied in the gains of the Great October Revolution and the economic, sociopolitical, and cultural achievements of real socialism, this change in the system of norms, values, ideals, views on the world, and purpose of man assumed a new scope and depth consistent with the scale of the world revolutionary process.

The development of a new system of scientific ideas and socio-moral values, of dialectical and historical materialism, and of a proletarian political economy and scientific socialism did not mark the end of this transformation. The revolutionary changes in the views of multi-million strong human masses and the reinterpretation and reorientation of the sum total of steadily growing knowledge at the disposal of mankind is a process covering an entire historical age. The historical transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale, representing the content of the modern age, is also a transition of all mankind to a new, a communist outlook. In some parts of the world this transition has already taken place and a scientific outlook has become an organic element of the way of life--in the minds and behavior of the people; in others it is underway, while in others again it is only budding.

The building of a developed socialist society in the USSR and the successes in such building in the other members of the socialist comity, the growth of the international prestige of the CPSU, and the steady increase of the influence which its internal and foreign policy exerts on world events, on the basis of the solid foundations of a scientific outlook and revolutionary methodology, principled, consistent, and clear Marxist-Leninist course in the realm of ideology, and creative initiative in the elaboration of a revolutionary theory all had and continue to have a tremendous revolutionary impact on the spiritual life of contemporary mankind, on the minds and the hearts of the people in the non-socialist part of the world, and the development of the social and conceptual revolutions.

The powerful development of science and technology is the factor which revolutionized social and individual awareness. Initially the revolution in the natural sciences and, subsequently, the scientific and technical revolution, which triggered an entire avalanche of social consequences, broadened and intensified this process of the revolutionary renovation of the spiritual

life of mankind. Essentially, the world conceptual revolution is a process determined by the sum total of contemporary revolutionary changes. One way or another, directly or indirectly, it affects all realms of spiritual life of modern mankind--science, art, and morality. In the various parts of the world the fresh wind of change may be accepted differently. However, the overall spiritual climate of the age is determined precisely by conversion to a communist outlook.

A number of confirmations of this global process exist. They include the assertion of communist ideology on the scale of the socialist world and the steadily growing attraction of the working people in capitalist and developing countries for the spiritual values of real socialism and its social ideals, and the conversion of the Marxist-Leninist formulation of contemporary problems and categories, which sum up the understanding of their essence into a "skeleton system" and ruling "paradigm" of contemporary socio-philosophical thinking, which sometimes take place even independently of its conscious ideological orientation.

This also includes the ever deeper awareness of the tremendous scale of the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, whose development gave priority to problems of social direction and to humanistic rather than strictly utilitarian-technological purposes of scientific and technical progress and of the radical problems of the conceptual orientation of activities. Today not only philosophers and artists, or scientists and moralists, but millions of simple people on earth are affected by problems of the relation between man and the production forces he has created, already comparable in terms of constructive and destructive power with the forces of nature itself, control over the development of such forces and over insuring their social safety, protection of global civilization, the moral responsibility of scientists, and the correlation between the means and objectives, individual objectives and higher objectives, and self-seeking objectives of social progress, scientific truth, and the social good, and the meaning of life and, simply, the problem of individual happiness. The brief term, "to be," involves in their case a number of problems related to the term, "to think," which by its very essence is philosophical and conceptual. Finally, this also means a crisis in the spiritual culture of capitalism, whose ideology and philosophy are unable to answer such questions.

K. Marx taught that the specific presentation of the general meaning of a totality of phenomena means to conceive of such phenomena as a unity within variety, and to capture the "general light within which all other colors may be found and which modifies their specific characteristics" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, pt I, p 43). The October Revolution--the greatest social revolution, which determined the direction and general meaning of all other processes of the modern age, including new phenomena in the spiritual life of contemporary mankind, and the increased role of the scientific outlook and its philosophical "nucleus" in the overall development of science and culture, is precisely such a light.

A world outlook is a complex and delicate spiritual organism. It is not an appendage of "positive" scientific knowledge or the mathematical total of

general conclusions based on discoveries in the natural and social sciences. It is a complex system of such conclusions, which includes their relation, coordination, and subordination. This system is not only the product of scientific progress but its necessary prerequisite. Within it, whatever its specific content and origin, scientific knowledge assumes a systemic quality it would not have possessed had it existed all by itself.

The ever broader involvement in the social renovation of the world not only of the social but the natural and technical sciences is an important feature of the contemporary stage of development of scientific knowledge. The familiar Marxist thesis according to which the purpose of philosophy is not only to explain the world but to change it has been factually adopted by the modern natural sciences. The natural sciences are no longer satisfied with a theoretical interpretation of natural phenomena, but actively interfere in the course of objective processes, both natural and social. This natural and normal course of development of science was long predicted by Marxism. The interpretation of the social nature and significance of natural scientific discoveries and inventions, and the appearance within the context of the natural scientific and technical ideas of social "semantics" is a new systemic quality of this knowledge, and one of the distinctions of the contemporary stage of the conceptual revolution.

However, should we attempt to resolve social problems only on the basis of natural scientific and technical ideas, considering the scientific and technical revolution not only separately from the social revolution, but as its alternative, such ideas, while possibly true and progressive by themselves, inevitably turn into their opposite, triggering all kinds of myths, false and reactionary. A false conceptual system distorts the nature of the scientific ideas it tries to "master." Such are, for example, the various technocratic concepts and "computer" utopias which go hand in hand with theological daydreams, socio-biological, neo-eugenic and other programs for the reorganization of society and for changing the nature of man, the search for thermodynamic, evolutionary-biological, molecular-genetic, and psychophysiological interpretations of social processes, and the elaboration of corresponding conceptual models.

The scientific and technical revolution is one of the powerful contemporary factors for the development of the conceptual revolution in width and depth. In itself, however, unrelated to the social revolution, it cannot explain this development. Its meaning could be understood only within a broader sociohistorical context, the only key to which was provided by Marxism. The change in the social sciences was also a change in the views on the development of the natural sciences and technology, and in the scientific prediction of the main trends and mechanisms of this development. The supremacy of Marxism-Leninism in revealing the laws of knowledge, the social nature of science, and the trends governing its conversion into a direct productive force, the integration of sciences, and the link between scientific and technical progress and the development of the social nature of labor and production socialization is unquestionable. Without this, the conceptual problems, created by the contemporary development of science and technology,

would not only be impossible to resolve but even to formulate. It is precisely this that determines within the system of a scientific outlook the prevalence of ideas which show the communist future of social progress as a whole. It is only on such a conceptual basis that science can effectively develop and perform its new social functions.

In the world there neither is nor could there be another system of views which would provide a theoretically substantiated and practically realistic program for the satisfaction of the basic social requirements in terms of a superior conceptual orientation of activities, and the general humanistic ideas which inspire them. Even people quite distant from the communist ideology and, frequently, even its decisive opponents, are forced to acknowledge the inability of the capitalist spiritual output to satisfy this need. More than half a century ago A. Schweitzer wrote of the "spiritual hunger of our time," accusing the entire bourgeois philosophy of his time of ignoring this hunger and abandoning the age to its own fate: "Unfree, doomed to isolation, limited, roaming in the jungles of inhumanity, surrendering his right to spiritual independence and to the moral judgment of organized society, encountering at each step obstacles on the path to the development of true concepts of culture, contemporary man raves along the melancholy road of a melancholy time. Philosophy has had no idea of the danger in which man finds himself and made no attempt to help him. It did not even inspire him to think of what is happening to him" (A. Schweitzer, "Kul'tura i Etika" [Culture and Ethics], Progress, Moscow, 1973, pp 39, 51).

After creating a system of "universal exploitation of natural and human characteristics, a system of general usefulness," and having depreciated everything which "remains outside this circle of social production and exchange which would be something higher by itself, proper by itself" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 46, pt I, pp 386-387), capitalist civilization faced the fact of a most acute shortage of a system of objectives and a higher goal. Today this is being felt ever more clearly in all realms and levels of consciousness, both social and individual.

In his 16 July television speech, citing several "typical remarks" made to him by members of various strata of American society in the course of a Camp David meeting (such as, for example, "tell us not about the political struggle or the mechanics of government, but about your concept of general welfare," "the real problem is that of freedom," and "Mr President, we are facing a moral and spiritual crisis"), U.S. President J. Carter stated, discussing specifically the energy problem, that "obviously, the real problems of our country are far deeper. They are deeper than gas-station lines or shortage of energy, and deeper even than inflation or recession." "They are a crisis of faith, a crisis which reaches the very heart, soul, and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubts as to the meaning of our lives and the loss of the unity of goals of our people. The undermining of our faith in the future is fraught with the danger of the destruction of America's social and political system itself."

The crisis in contemporary bourgeois spiritual culture is not a new phenomenon. Such was the diagnosis given by both its creators and consumers. What

is more important is that today we are gaining ever greater proof that the "tops" are finding it ever more difficult to control the minds of the people, while the "bottoms" are unwilling to follow the old pattern of thinking.

Any revolution is a struggle. The conceptual revolution is a manifestation of the class struggle in the realm of ideas, in ideology. The struggle for the victory of the proletariat and of the communist ideology against bourgeois ideology is a struggle for the spritual blossoming of mankind, for the destiny of all universal culture, and, in the final account, for man. Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the philosophy of contemporary materialism, fulfills an important role in this struggle.

II

The nature of a philosophy, and the content and direction of philosophical thinking, and philosophy's attitude toward life and the attitude of society toward it, may be, perhaps, the most noteworthy feature characterizing the dominant social frame of mind. The condition of contemporary bourgeois philosophical thinking is manifested by an atmosphere of breakdown of social and spritual ties among people. This breakdown is manifested not only in the rejection of any given type of single and universally significant scale of philosophical-conceptual, social, and moral values and scientific truths, but in the reduction of the very scale of the philosophical assessment of phenomena and narrowing of the range of the philosophical vision of the world, and the loss of ability to accept its variety and unity on a three-dimensional, stereoscopic basis. This is confirmed by a conceptual pluralism, gnosiological, methodological, and ethical relativism, individualism, etc. The decomposition of the frame of mind is not a new historical phenomenon. A vivid and precise description of it was provided by the young Marx himself, characterizing the role and aspect of philosophy in a similar situation of spritual crisis prevailing in the ancient world: ". . . Like a moth which, after the sun common to all has died, seeks the light of a lamp which the people light, everyone for his own use" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 40, p 110).

In the way that science is inconceivable without a main idea which binds the entity, the life of a person, as a purposeful being, is impossible without an ideal, without a ruling idea determining his active attitude toward the world. However, the development of ideals is the specific function of ideology. The need for such a "higher orientation" today has not abated in the least. On the contrary, it has increased a hundredfold, whatever the prophets of the allegedly developed age of the "end of ideology" may say on this account. Also directly linked with this is the question of the fate of philosophy in the contemporary world. Will it be the "common sun" which illuminates the path of mankind and of the individual within it, or a dull lampshade which casts upon the world the wrong shades of subjectivism and individualism? . . .

The general trend of development of contemporary science and culture as a whole is the increased significance of the philosophical-conceptual formulation of problems, and the socio-humanistic scale adopted in the assessment of

phenomena. Today the conceptual situation factually refutes the old positivistic tale of the "dissolution" of philosophy in "positive" scientific knowledge, as a result of which, like King Lear, having given all its wealth to its daughters, it has become a pauper. Neither has the other old positivistic idea been justified according to which science "is a philosophy by itself," or the relatively new bourgeois idea of the "de-ideologization" of science and of all spiritual life. The "gap" between natural scientific and technical knowledge, on the one hand, and knowledge of the humanities, on the other, is steadily broadening within contemporary bourgeois culture. At the same time, however, the need for their scientifically substantiated "junction," within a single monistic system of views of scientific truths and humanistic ideals, knowledge of nature and of man, and the conclusion that life shares common laws with individual expectations and hopes, is equally growing. However, this combination cannot occur on the grounds of bourgeois culture.

To an ever greater extent science is interpreted not only from the technological and utilitarian viewpoints, but from the humanistic viewpoint as well, i.e., the ideological viewpoint. In fact, today we face not only the increased role of science in ideological activities but the role of scientific ideology in research. Essentially science is becoming ideological, whether our opponents wish to acknowledge it or not. The slogan of de-ideologization, aimed, in fact, not against ideology in general, but against scientific, Marxist-Leninist ideology, means the death of science, the draining of its blood and spirit, for great energy can be developed only for a great purpose. Purposes themselves are the product of the scientific study of the "world of man," of the position of the various classes within it, and the comparison of their interests, and the clarification of the attitude of such interests toward the objective laws of the historical process. The principle of party mindedness, therefore, contains a tremendous, not only ideological, but scientific potential, "for the more boldly and decisively science acts, the more consistent it becomes with the interests and aspirations of the workers" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 21, p 317). The struggle of Marxist-Leninist philosophy against bourgeois philosophy is a major factor of scientific progress and an active creative force in a conceptual revolution.

The class interests of the proletariat and the principle of party mindedness in Marxism-Leninism, expressing them, have never been pitted against scientific truth. Party mindedness has never been conceived as an appendix to political measures in science. On the contrary, it has been considered as the application of scientific criteria in politics. "The basic task of the tactics of the proletariat," V. I. Lenin wrote, "was defined by Marx on the basis of a strict consistency with all the postulates of his materialistic-dialectical outlook" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 26, p 77). The understanding of the nature of philosophy itself, and of its role and function, were determined precisely by the objective scientific analysis of reality. It was this thoroughly thought-out position that enable Marx, at the very dawn of the conceptual revolution, to say that, ". . . We shall face the world not as doctrinaires with a ready-made new principle that, Here is the truth, bow to it! We are developing new principles for the world on the basis of its own principles" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 1, p 3). It is

precisely on the basis of such class-party positions that the functions of philosophy and the entire system of its problems, starting with its basic question, were reinterpreted. In Marxism this was interpreted not only in the context of abstract philosophical problems, but of the specific problem of the theory and practice of scientific socialism. It was formulated not only as a question of the attitude of the mind toward matter and of thinking toward life, but a question of the attitude of critical awareness toward the factual "self-criticism" of the capitalist society, and its practical criticism, embodied in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, as a question of the truly critical dynamics of scientific awareness, and the question of the attitude of the progress, scientifically thinking socialist intelligentsia toward the revolutionary movement, and toward the question of the party--an alliance of like-thinking people, and as the ideological and organizational force of this alliance. Such was precisely the interpretation of the question of the role and historical mission of philosophy itself in a revolutionarily developing world. It was precisely this logic that led Marx to say that "consequently, nothing prevents us from linking our criticism . . . with a specific party position in politics and even link and identify our criticism with the real struggle" (ibid).

It is a historical fact that Marxist-Leninist philosophy is the only philosophy in the world which has not only protected but strengthened and developed an integral understanding of its nature and role, and has not only preserved but increased the classical philosophical heritage. It is the only philosophy which, while preserving the inviolability of its basic ideas and principles, is creatively developing them, creating new levels of knowledge on the basis of already-gained and tested truths, and is providing a scientific substantiation of the humanistic ideal. Against the background of the crisis in bourgeois culture and the confusion of bourgeois philosophy and its inability to answer the "challenge" of the age, such a philosophy has all the proper reasons--scientific, historical, social, and moral--to be the spiritual leader of modern mankind.

III

Marxism, Lenin wrote, gave answers to questions which progressive human thought had already formulated. The current stage of social development faces Marxist-Leninist philosophy with new questions and substantiates the need for their more profound and more extensive interpretation of traditional problems. This continuity in the interconnection between "that which life has acquired" and the which is as yet to be resolved is the most important prerequisite for the creative development of philosophy itself and for the effective application of its ideas in resolving the topical problems of the age.

The development of dialectical materialism and the application of its ideas are impossible without a clarification of the contemporary meaning and significance of the basic problems of philosophy as science, and without resolving on a contemporary level problems related to understanding the nature of philosophical knowledge, the characteristic of the philosophical vision of

the world, and the philosophical formulation of problems and, above all, the question of how to develop under the conditions of a powerful flow of new scientific data, ideas, approaches, and methods, such a science within its own internally inherent relations. This is a question not only of the fate of philosophy itself as an important component within the system of scientific knowledge. It is, above all, a question of the level and scale of formulation of topical contemporary problems, the ignorance of which makes a truly comprehensive solution impossible.

Let us take as an example one of the global problems of our time--the problem of interrelationship between society and nature. A philosophical foreshortening is not simply one among other of its essential aspects. Essentially, this aspect provides the key to an understanding of its very essence.

It has already been pointed out that most global problems are interpreted by contemporary science as a certain "topical threat" regarding which science gives its authoritative "warning" to society. Science stimulates the social formulation and solution of such problems. The philosophical level of their interpretation insures, above all, the link among the natural scientific, technical, and social aspects of the interrelationship between society and nature. However, their relations are precisely dialectical. Without dialectics, the study of such problems becomes unpromising.

Thus, it is basically clear that the variety of "threats" on the ecological, energy, demographic, and other levels, does not represent in the least an inevitable result of the transforming activities of society and cannot be rationally understood on the basis of the system of the conflict between "society in general" and "nature in general," or the conflict between the logic of nature and the logic of human economic activities. The very clash between these two "logics" and two series of necessities--natural scientific and socioeconomic--is a historical product. The source of the "threat" in this case is not a universal law governing the interrelationship between society and nature, inevitably leading to their clash, but, precisely, the historically limited attitude of man toward nature as a whole, a consequence of which is the disturbance of the balance of its production forces.

Knowledge which does not go beyond a simple notice of the conflict between two different and opposite trends of development of the "world of nature" and the "world of man" in fact remains within the limits of the overall dualistic theoretical system based on a historically defined and historically limited practical system of interaction between society and nature. Yet, it is precisely such an attitude of man toward nature in which nature is "merely an object to man, merely a useful object," while the "theoretical knowledge of its own laws is, in itself, merely a trick whose aim is to subordinate nature to human needs, either as an object of consumption or as a means for production" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 46, pt I, p 387). This system of practical dualism could determine the conceptual and methodological orientation of the natural scientist whose awareness was shaped under specific conditions, positivistic, conceptual, methodological, and gnosiological concepts, active rejection of the idea of dialectical-materialistic monism

of the coincidence between the "logic of science" and "logic of things," belief in the "incompatibility" between science, on the one hand, and humanism and the ethical and aesthetic attitude of man toward the world, on the other.

However, we are feeling already now, ever more obviously, a need for a different awareness of science, a different orientation in which the "logic of science" would be not only a "trick" of the human mind, but its wisdom, an expression of the ability of man to adopt a universal attitude toward the world, to develop "an attitude toward matter for the sake of matter," and to reorganize nature not only through the special measures of his own limited needs, but "measures of any kind," and to develop his production forces not by excluding nature from production forces, but by multiplying such forces, shaping matter "according to the laws of beauty as well" (Marx).

The ability of a person to listen not only to the voice of his own needs, but to hear both the "thundering skies . . . and the growing of vines" is no simple poetic dream. It is rather an artistic premonition of the changes which should mark the transition of mankind from the "kingdom of necessity" to the "kingdom of freedom." From the philosophical viewpoint it is important to understand that the active attitude of man toward nature, whether destructive or constructive, is nothing but turning against nature its own forces released by man and converted into active social production forces, for man, as an "object of nature" "himself opposes the force of nature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 23, p 188). The negative consequences of the interference of man in the development of natural processes are determined precisely by the onesided and partial assimilation of the integrity of nature.

As the production process develops, and with the ever more comprehensive development of nature, not only does the power of such forces rise, but their universality as well. This cannot fail to trigger profound qualitative changes in the conceptual and methodological foundations of the contemporary natural sciences. Today we feel ever more clearly the need to structure transforming activities on the basis of a consideration of the universal laws governing the development of nature precisely as an entity. This is confirmed by the drastic increase of the share of ecological problems within the system of scientific knowledge and the comprehensive approach adopted on problems of interrelationship between society and nature. In this connection, some Western researchers are mentioning the need for a new "ecological outlook," ignoring the social aspect of the problem. Essentially, the new trends are manifestations of the need for a dialectical-materialistic monistic outlook which has surmounted the dualism between the natural and the social. They confirm the further development of the conceptual revolution.

Consequently, it is impossible to understand the relationship between man and nature by pitting the social against the natural, for social production forces are nothing but the mastered forces of nature. At the same time, such relations cannot be explained by reducing the social to the natural. Nor does the formula of the interaction between the natural and the social offer a solution. Such a solution can be only dialectic, stipulating "man's making

of nature" (Marx) and "singling" man in nature (Lenin). Relations between man and nature pass through relations between one person and another, social relations. The conflict of relations between man and nature is determined by the conflict in the nature of social relations under capitalism. The natural principle in man can be specifically understood only through the social principle.

Marxism does not reject a naturalistic view, but dialectically "removes" naturalistic truths from truths of a higher order.

That is why, when Marx described the communist society as the "achieved naturalism in man and achieved humanism in nature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 42, p 118), he was not merely giving Feuerbach's tradition its due. Man is indeed of nature, but not merely in the restricted meaning according to which his life is determined by his specific biological organization, but above all because he studies and makes practical use in his activities of the universal laws and forces of nature, mastering them. These forces and laws are embodied in his social "inorganic body" (Marx), material and spiritual culture, and thinking. The more fully, comprehensively, and generally man masters nature, the more of a universal being he becomes.

However, the attitude of man toward nature is influenced by his attitude toward other people, his social relations, and above all his ownership relations. The conflicting nature of the interrelationship between man and nature disappears as man factually begins to "reproduce all nature" and as his own reorganizing activities become the "true resurrection of nature" (Marx). However, this is possible only with the disappearance of social antagonisms and the establishment of social ownership. For this reason, to be a "natural" being in this dialectical meaning, means for man to be a truly social and thinking being, for it is only under the conditions of real collective work that a person can think and act on a universal basis, in accordance with the universal laws of nature. The philosophy of dialectical-materialistic monism enables him to understand this interrelationship between the natural and the social—not only the interaction between these opposites, but the conversion of the one into the other.

The interaction between nature and society is only one of the topical problems whose comprehensive solution requires a philosophical level of interpretation. The problem of the interconnection and interaction among sciences is of a more general nature.

The involvement of the sum total of contemporary scientific knowledge in the process of profound qualitative changes, confirming the development of the conceptual revolution, makes this problem particularly topical. One of its characteristics at the present stage is, apparently, that the revolutionary reorganization of the conceptual and methodological foundations of science cover no longer merely individual branches of knowledge (physics, mathematics, biology), but precisely their system, converting the problem of scientific interaction and interconnection into one of the basic problems of scientific and technical progress. At the same time, the link between the requirements of scientific and technical progress and of social progress becomes ever clearer.

However, one could link only that which can be compared and measured, only that which could be presented on a certain general scale. The only such possible scale could be the scale of dialectical-materialistic philosophy as a science of the universal laws governing the development of nature, society, and thinking. In this connection, one of the most topical problems worthy of creative discussion is that of the nature of philosophical summations.

IV

It is true that philosophical knowledge is, one way or another, the reaching of the universal. However, this alone does not describe it. Assessing events philosophically does not mean to approach them from a certain abstract viewpoint. The purpose of philosophy, as of all knowledge, is the reaching of specific truth. For this reason the production of abstract generalities is not the specific feature of philosophy in terms of general thinking or special scientific thinking. Abstraction and summation are means rather than the objectives of knowledge, for which reason the nature of summations could be found only within a specific system of knowledge.

The high level of abstraction and summation and the trend toward the generalization of separate scientific ideas and methods and toward the elaboration of universal concepts, used, one way or another, in a great variety of frequently quite separate fields of knowledge, is a general trend of scientific development. Today one could hardly claim confidently that the realm of applicability of the concepts of mathematics, cybernetics, or the theory of systems is narrower than the area of applicability of philosophical concepts. The consideration of the problem of the universal on an abstract rather than concrete basis, and the interpretation of universality as a criterion of strictly philosophical knowledge would be the equivalent of either a rejection of the objective trend of generalization of specialized scientific concepts or the classification of mathematical, cybernetic, and other summations as philosophical. Both would be fatal to philosophy and to the other sciences, as well as to scientific knowledge as a whole. In such a case philosophy would be assigned the role of "servant" of the sciences and a position in the "train" of scientific and technical progress in which it would only record and classify achievements in other fields of knowledge. However, turning science back to its generalized aspect as general rules and general laws of previous achievements, would turn philosophy also into the "stepmother of science," paralyzing its initiative. At the same time, scientific knowledge as a whole would lose the advantages offered to by the philosophical scale of assessment of phenomena and lose its general conceptual orientation without which today scientific and technical and social progress would be inconceivable.

The interpretation of philosophical summations as looking for what is identical and recurrent and what occurs in the majority of cases or predominates in the totality of separately considered phenomena, would make it difficult to avoid conceptual conclusions in the spirit of a "thermodynamic eschatology" similar, for example, to those made by N. Wiener in discussing randomness and local nature of progress in the universe, the loneliness of mankind, and the uniqueness of the mind.

With such an approach to philosophical summations of basic stipulations of materialism on the interrelationship between matter and mind, thinking and existence, necessity and freedom, development, reflection, etc. fall less in the classification of general rules than of specific cases (or even exceptions) to some comprehensively ruling physical or cybernetic laws, for the share of "thinking bodies" in the part of the universe we know does not even stand any comparison with the weight of "non-thinking" bodies. "We are swimming against the current," N. Wiener wrote, "fighting a huge flood of disorganization, which according to the second law of thermodynamics tries to reduce everything to the state of heat death, to universal balance and sameness. What Maxwell, Boltzmann, and Gibbs described as heat death in their works has found its twin in Kierkegaard's ethics. He claimed that we live in a world of chaotic morality" (N. Wiener, "Ya--Matematik" [I Am a Mathematician], Moscow, 1964, p 311). Kierkegaard was not alone in his attempts to apply a general rule of physics to the realm of morality and social relations. ". . . Is a striving for equality in the social world," wrote N. Berdyayev, the determined enemy of socialism, "not that same entropy, that same dawn of the social cosmos and culture found in the even distribution of thermal energy, non-convertible into a energy which creates culture?" (N. A. Berdyayev, "Faust's Deathbed Thoughts." See Berdyayev, N. A., Bukspan, J. M., Stepun, F. A., and Frank, S. L., "Osvad' d Shpengler i Zakat Yevropy" [Oswald Spengler and the Decline of Europe], Moscow, 1922, pp 70-71).

Marxist-Leninist philosophy neither can nor should be a passive recorder of achievements in the specialized branches of knowledge and activities. It must be the source of a real growth of knowledge, which cannot be obtained by any other means.

The concept of dialectical logic of separating the abstract-general from the specific-general, long familiar to Marxism, is the key to the solution of this problem. Abstract-general knowledge establishes only one side of specific, separate, and isolated phenomena and their identical features--"an abstract inherent in the individual" (Marx). This "abstract" could be the quantitative aspect of processes and phenomena and their form ("isomorphism"). The specific-general knowledge establishes a system of relations among phenomena, a unity within variety, not a separate aspect of individual facts, but the essence of their organized totality. In this case the characteristics of the entity may not necessarily coincide with the characteristics of its individual elements. Thus, for example, life is a general quality of the integral organism. However, this does not mean that each of its atoms should possess the characteristics of life. In precisely the same manner development, as a movement from the lower to the higher, is a general law of the material world. However, this does not mean that we must seek its confirmation (or refutation) in each individual area or phenomenon of the microworld, for example.

Dialectical materialism is, precisely, not a code but a system of laws and categories which reveal not "something general" within a mass of heterogeneous phenomena, but links in the development of matter, a universal and a necessary trend, a direction of the overall process of progress from the lower to the higher, from inanimate matter to thinking matter, and from the "kingdom of

necessity" to the "kingdom of freedom." The common aspect here is the characteristic of the entity, less of the world at large than the integrity of its development process. The concept of the world as a whole presumes, one way or another, the concept of the entire mass of phenomena in nature, society, and thinking. The outlines of overall development and the "cross section" of phenomena are established by the basic question of philosophy, i.e., the link between matter and mind, and existence and thinking. "The initial level of philosophy is not existence (motion) in general, but a system of 'world-man' relations" (P. V. Aleksayev, "Predmet, Struktura i Funktsii Dialekticheskogo Materializma" [Object, Structure, and Functions of Dialectical Materialism], Izd-vo MGU, Moscow, 1978, p 35). As the theory of development, dialectical materialism reveals not the accidental or specific (determined by particular and, frequently, unique circumstances, such as, for example, the appearance and development of life on earth), but precisely the universal and necessary nature of this link.

It is through such an approach that we determine the characteristics of the philosophical knowledge of the world, the specific nature of philosophical summations, and the system of categories of dialectical materialism. Within this system the "extraction" of man from nature is interpreted also as the "making of the nature of man." No other scale, reduction, or "section" of the universal and the necessary could reveal the nature of this movement. On this scale thinking becomes comparable to and commensurate with matter, and is considered precisely on a universal scale, not as a unique case in the universe or a deviation from the general rule, but as a manifestation of the fundamental characteristics and trends inherent in matter by virtue of its very nature. At the same time, correlated with the mind, matter may be interpreted in a truly universal manner, without being reduced to abstractions. The "gnosiological" definition of matter, provided by Lenin, is the only scientific and truly philosophical means for its definition. No other definition is either possible or necessary.

This system excludes the consideration of philosophical problems separately, or the individual consideration of the theory of matter, theory of motion, theory of development, theory of knowledge, and scientific logic and methodology; knowledge of matter enables us to understand thinking, as the "highest product" of its development. The study of methods and laws of thinking, in turn, is based on knowledge of the general laws of the development of existence. Within this system, by the very nature of its problems, the theory of development cannot fail to coincide with the theory of knowledge and logic, providing that these two disciplines consider their subject as being precisely philosophical, i.e., from the viewpoint of the general and necessary development laws.

". . . Matter," P. Engels wrote, "moves in its eternal cycle according to laws which, at a certain stage--at one point or another--necessarily create in organic being a thinking spirit" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 20, p 510). Necessarily! Unfortunately, this most important aspect of the theory of development has not been fully developed in contemporary Marxist philosophical publications.

All this put together does not mean in the least that the object of philosophical summations, thus understood, is floating somewhere in space. This is not the case in the least, even though the cosmic aspect of the problem is already acquiring a certain scientific sense. What is important is merely to understand that philosophical summations, like all other scientific-theoretical summations, must not necessarily be based on a large number of cases. As we know, 1,000 steam engines would not make more accurate L. Carnot's conclusions on the principles of thermodynamics any better than a single yet ideal steam engine would. Considering specific phenomena and problems, the philosophy of dialectical materialism develops their general and necessary definitions in light of the basic properties of matter and the universal laws governing its development. Naturally, such knowledge is insufficient and a complete solution to the problem could be achieved only through the joint efforts of the entire set of sciences. However, this knowledge is entirely necessary and cannot be obtained without philosophical summations.

Naturally, this does not cover everything which one could and should say of the role of dialectical-materialistic philosophy in the contemporary world and the development of the global conceptual revolution. However, even in such a brief outline we must mention yet another matter of major theoretical and practical significance.

The conceptual revolution is a process of transformation not only of the entire amount of knowledge but the attitude of the masses toward such knowledge. It is a revolution not only in science but in the minds of millions of people, in the very means of their thinking and in the logic of thinking. The most important principle of revolutionary theory, methodology of revolutionary thinking, and revolutionary action, is to teach the masses to broaden, on the basis of their own revolutionary experience, the framework of this experience, and to lead the masses to an understanding of the laws governing social development and the strategy and tactics of the communist party. It must contribute to the conversion of this understanding into a conviction, into an active position in life and into practical action.

In our country the problems of the reorganization of the system of knowledge into a base for a scientific outlook have been essentially resolved. However, the problems of molding the communist outlook of new generations of people accepting this system of knowledge have not been resolved and can never be definitively resolved. The philosophy of dialectical materialism must not only study the knowledge and thinking process, but comprehensively raise its standard and upgrade its effectiveness. At the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Under contemporary conditions, when the amount of knowledge needed by man rises sharply and rapidly, it is no longer possible to rely mainly on the assimilation of a certain number of facts. It is important to develop the ability independently to add to one's knowledge and to be oriented in the fast flood of scientific and political information. Extensive work awaits us in this area."

Extensive work awaits the philosophers as well, not only in connection with improvements in general educational training, to which the statement referred.

The philosophy of dialectical materialism must be structured and taught so as to become a "school for thinking" itself and so that, addressing itself to the facts of reality, it may show how to think. The scientific theory of the development of the world must be presented in such a way as to be both a scientific theory of an active attitude toward this world, and a theory of its scientific knowledge and reorganization. Only in such a case will the tremendous theoretical potential of our philosophy become the creative potential of the individual. This, precisely, is the tremendous, not only theoretical, but practical meaning of the Leninist concept of dialectics as the theory of development and, at the same time, as the theory of knowledge and logic. It is the logic of the discovery of new knowledge and the conversion of knowledge into conviction.

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TRILOGY ABOUT THE SOVIET PERSON

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 53-64

[Article by M. Koz'min]

[Text] Rereading the recollections of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev we see the unforgettable images of the heroic defense of Malaya Zemlya, the restoration of plants and cities along the Dnepr destroyed by the Hitlerites, and the conquest of the Virgin Land. We feel an unusual spiritual uplift with which blends a feeling of pride in our people, who won a historical victory on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War and the labor fronts, and a feeling of ideological-moral enrichment and gratitude to the author, who is generously sharing with us the experience of his great and interesting life.

A person whose prestige as an outstanding party and state leader is so high in our country and throughout the world responded to the requests of the simple people to describe events in which he was a direct and active participant.

At the time of the printing of these outstanding documents about Soviet people and their heroic lives, I was working for the journal NOVYI MIR. I shall never forget the happy excitement which prevailed at that time among the editors. In an effort to take sooner to the people the penetrating words of Leonid Il'ich on his experiences, the personnel of the journal and of the Izvestiya Publishing House--editors, typists, proofers, setters--sometimes worked without days off. They realized the interest which the publication of such memoirs would trigger, and the tremendous role they would play in the country's ideological life.

Indeed, within a short time L. I. Brezhnev's memoirs became the most popular books of our time. The millions of copies and tens of millions of newspaper and journal issues which carried should have met the ever-growing demand of the readers in the Soviet Union. However, interest in these books spread far beyond the borders of our homeland. Today they have been translated and published in many countries throughout the world and we receive every day news of ever new publications of "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] at home and abroad.

L. I. Brezhnev's books awakened in the readers the desire to share their own impressions of the works and their recollections of events which they brought back to their memories, and their thoughts on the vital problems of the life of Soviet society. Editors of journals and newspapers have received a number of letters. "Who could describe more vitally the circumstances in Malaya Zemlya," writes P. Ye. Lementar', a Donets miner. "Many thanks to you, dear Leonid Il'ich, for that great amount of effort, energy, and nerves you invested in the victory. Today we are always feeling your concern for the simple people." M. G. Romanova, teacher at the Polotnyanyy Zavod Settlement, describes "Vozrozhdeniye" as a "textbook of life." In her view, this book "must become the handbook of every family, manager, or institution, since everyone can find in it the answer to what kind of person to be, what to do, and how to surmount difficulties." A. A. Nelovkin, operator at the Sevkavgiptovodkhoz Institute in Pyatigorsk, shared with the NOVYI MIR editors the following thoughts on L. I. Brezhnev's book, "Tselina": "The style of the work is powerful, graphic, impressive. Penetrating into the meaning of each word on the creation of the Virgin Land epic in the 1950's, I reread the memoirs. The boys and girls of today will be prepared for exploits, following the example of exploits of people who brought life to the dead steppe, will learn to love the homeland, and will be prepared for their own exploits."

L. I. Brezhnev's memoirs have truly become a "textbook of life" for millions of Soviet people. They are being discussed throughout the country. I have participated in readers' and practical science conferences at enterprises, offices, and schools in Moscow and the cities along the Volga. I could feel that every one of the speakers had drawn from these amazing books something quite important to himself personally and to his collective. Workers at Elektrostal' and KamAZ excitedly stated that Leonid Il'ich's story on people who rebuilt from the ruins and ashes the destroyed plants within very short times, displaying inordinate persistence, self-sacrifice, and creative initiative, firmed in them a spirit of innovation and the desire to improve their ways and means of work. The live link between generations and young people who inherited and are developing the best qualities of their fathers were discussed in student halls in Kazan' and Gor'kiy. Thoughts on how to raise the level of planning-economic activity and work with cadres imbued the speeches of the associates of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation at a readers' conference on "Tselina." Problems of military-patriotic education were the focal point of attention of the participants in a practical science conference sponsored by the political administration of the Moscow Military District and the USSR Union of Writers.

L. I. Brezhnev's books triggered a most lively response among the broad circles abroad. I particularly recall a meeting in Genoa with veterans of the Italian resistance movement. We read "Malaya Zemlya" with great interest, they said. The Russians showed the entire world miracles of heroism in defending their homeland. They helped us too, the Italian guerrillas, in our struggle against fascism. The courageous Soviet soldier Fedor Poletayev, who became a hero of Italian resistance, is buried in our country. Please give the author of "Malaya Zemlya" our thanks for his tireless activities in the defense of the peace.

L. I. Brezhnev's memoirs have drawn the attention of millions of people not only because they acquaint us with the life of an outstanding governmental and political leader, but also because they profoundly reveal the nature of our society and the laws governing its development. This is a story less of a person than of the times, presented through real people, their accomplishments, and their destinies. The author builds his narration not chronologically, year after year, but through selected periods of most difficult trials and great accomplishments which he witnessed and in which he actively participated, a period of the highest stress of the people's forces and the highest upsurge of the people's energy.

The Great Patriotic War, the rebirth of the economy destroyed by the enemy, and the conquest of the Virgin Land are the three exploits of the Soviet people described in L. I. Brezhnev's three books, revealing in their fullness the inexhaustible possibilities of the socialist system and the invincible force of the Soviet person. His character, described through the heroes of "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye," and "Tselina," is the main character of the works. It combines them in a type of trilogy--the trilogy of the Soviet person. The idea that Soviet patriotism, developed in millions of people by the Leninist party, constantly revealed as mass heroism, goes from one book to the other.

Let us recall the impressive scene in which Major Kunikov rallies the landing detachment which must seize a bridgehead at Novorossiysk, before the decisive attack. Having explained to the soldiers and sailors selected from various units of the Novorossiysk Navy Base that the operation is mortally dangerous, he asks them to think about the following: Anyone who believes himself unable to withstand the trials may be relieved from the landing. Giving them ten minutes to think about it, Kunikov said: "Those who are not sure of themselves do not have to stand in line. They will be sent back to their units as having completed their training course." What happened? Only 2 of 250 left the ranks. Thinking of this profoundly meaningful event, we must agree with the very important conclusion drawn by the author, who saw in the landing forces typical representatives of the fighting Soviet people: "History is familiar with many individual heroic exploits. However, it is only in our great country and only led by our great party that the Soviet people proved capable of mass heroism."

L. I. Brezhnev's thoughts on the exploit and its nature, and on the manifestations of the heroic principle and its origins, are of particular interest.

Naturally, throwing himself against an enemy machine gun, company party organizer Valliulin knew that he was going to certain death. Yet, he hardly thought to himself at that time, "I shall now commit an exploit." According to the author, Valliulin's courage was not of the heroic picture type, but simple, modest; his exploit matched Tolstoy's understanding of the word: a person does that which he must do, regardless of anything else. "Naturally," L. I. Brezhnev writes, "fear of death is inherent in people. This is natural. However, the decision at a critical time seemed to have originated by itself, prepared by the entire previous way of life. Therefore, there is a point, a

moment, when awareness of duty to the homeland in the soldier-patriot suppresses feelings of fear, pain, and death. Therefore, this action--the exploit--is not unaccountable. It is a conviction of the justice and greatness of the cause for which a person deliberately sacrifices his life."

An awareness of involvement with a great cause and a clear understanding of its objective determine the nature of the heroism of the Soviet people displayed on the battlefield and of the labor front. The same awareness inspired the workers and engineers who rebuilt the national economy after the war. It led hundreds of thousands of people to the conquest of the Virgin Land. Describing the tragic death of Vasilii Raguzov, a student by correspondence of the L'vov Construction Institute, who tried to take a truck convoy out of a snow storm, L. I. Brezhnev cites lines from his last letter, addressed to his sons: "I came to the Virgin Land for our people to live more richly and more beautifully. I would like you to take up my work. The most important thing is to be part of the life of man." Published in the press, this letter triggered tens of thousands of responses throughout the country. New detachments of volunteers moved to the steppes of Kazakhstan.

The heroic principle inherent in the Soviet people is displayed differently in different conditions. "There is the heroism of difficult periods in the life of the entire people--as exemplified by the war," writes L. I. Brezhnev. "There is also the heroism of daily life, when people accept consciously and willingly difficulties, aware of the fact that they cannot be elsewhere." Party member Yevdokiya Andreyevna Zaychuckova is a model of such heroism. A deeply realized aspiration to do what was most needed, important, and useful to the country led the already-adult woman (she was close to 50 at that time) to the Virgin Land. Here, in the steppes, she created the Dvurechnyy Sovkhoz. After her promotion and work at the new place for a while, she requested to be sent to a lagging sovkhoz to do farm work, where in her view she could be more useful to the party and to the people. Yevdokiya Andreyevna dedicated 17 years of her life to the steppe she learned to love. On her deathbed she asked her friends, "Do not fence my grave, do not separate me from the steppe" "Such people," L. I. Brezhnev writes, "are the golden stock, the pride of the party and the people."

Whatever the trilogy may discuss--soldiers, political workers, officers, workers, engineers, or Virgin Land workers--each story dealing with specific people invariably develops into thoughts on the typical features of the Soviet person. Therefore, the trilogy is a philosophical-psychological study of the Soviet character, Soviet patriotism, and heroism. Showing the story of the moral forces of our people and the origins of their unparalleled exploits, L. I. Brezhnev cites V. I. Lenin's outstanding words written as early as the civil war, to the effect that every worker and peasant "knows what he is fighting for and is consciously shedding his blood for the sake of the triumph of justice and socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 121).

In the Great Patriotic War, the soldiers went to their death for the sake of justice and socialism; for the sake of the triumph of justice and socialism

our people rebuilt their fatherland and conquered the Virgin Land. L. I. Brezhnev's recollections show with inordinate depth and expressiveness that loyalty to such great ideals is the base of the live link between periods, stretching not only from the stormy years of the Patriotic War to the period of rebuilding the national economy and conquering the Virgin Land, but linking them with the entire history of the Soviet state. The events depicted by the author are presented to us as a continuation of the cause of the revolution.

We find in the dedication of the Soviet people defending the honor, freedom, and independence of their homeland during the fascist aggression, the revolutionary thrust of the fighters of the civil war. The author of the recollections states that the forms of political work developed in those distant years gave him the idea of a "Pamphlet of the Landing Troops," explaining the purpose of the struggle waged by the Soviet people and the sacred duty of the soldiers defending the revolutionary gains. Reading of the rebuilding of destroyed plants and cities within a short time, we consider this great toil as the rebirth of everything achieved in the building of socialism in our country, and its second birth after a mortal danger. The new stage of the socialist reorganization of agriculture is described to us in the Virgin Land epic, so extensively reproduced by L. I. Brezhnev. Particularly striking is the scene in which the sheaf of the first Virgin Land wheat makes the author recall not only the amount of forces invested to reach this harvest but the first Virgin Land workers, who soon after the revolution formed agricultural communes in Kazakhstan and whose initiative was welcomed by Lenin. It is as though the author takes us back to the origins of the great victories and accomplishments described in the trilogy. "In the Virgin Lands," he writes, "millions of Soviet people are furthering the experience of the revolution, multiplying under the new historical conditions its gains, and creating the live experience of the victorious building of developed socialism."

However, L. I. Brezhnev turns not only to the origins. His mind is always turned forward--to the present and the future. The past is depicted in his books as the source of the richest possible experience, vitally important and needed by us today. Even though the scope of our plans, and the scale and complexity of the problems are rising with every passing year, and must be resolved on a new level and in a new way, L. I. Brezhnev states, we must take into account the extremely rich practice of the building of socialism, and the historical experience of the party and the people's masses. The principle of concentrating forces and means on the shock sectors of nationwide construction projects, accountable for brilliant results in the rebuilding of Zaporozhstal' and Dneproges, is being successfully applied today by the builders of the Baykal-Amur Main Line, and the natural gas and petroleum workers in Tyumen'. Comprehensive development of the subsoil and of the production forces of Western Siberia is the truly great construction project of our time, exceeding in scope, volume of capital investments, and complexity of technical and transportation tasks anything undertaken in previous years and in the five-year plan. L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes that this makes it even more important, taking into consideration acquired practical experience, not

to allow here any wasted effort. The experience gained in developing the Virgin Land, when the plowing of new areas was combined with the application of new soil-cultivation methods and the use of new equipment, could greatly contribute to the implementation of the comprehensive program for the re-organization of the Nonchernozem.

The use of the organizational-economic experience acquired in the course of the building of socialism is an important prerequisite for faster progress. No less important, however, are the purely human qualities of the construction workers themselves. Remembering the people with whom he had the opportunity to work, and depicting one or another feature of their characters and behavior, it is as though Leonid Il'ich tries to emphasize their main feature, which is turned to the future. ". . . Remembering numerous encounters with people," he says, "I realize that I valued in them, above all, their persistence, independent thinking, competence, a sharpened feeling for the new, and the ability to promptly notice and support mass initiative and creativity. I must point out that today as well these qualities and this style of activities, if you wish, are needed by us more than anything else." Looking into the future, daring, loyalty to the cause, feeling of responsibility, and persistence in attaining objectives are the features on which the new, the Soviet character, the character of the builders of communism, is based!

The aspiration to show and prove the close interconnection among yesterday, today, and tomorrow is the distinguishing feature of L. I. Brezhnev's books. This was immediately noted by the readers. This was mentioned at the meetings and conferences held to discuss "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye," and "Tselina." This is what the authors of number of letters point out. One of them begins with Chernyshevskiy's familiar words: "The future is bright and splendid. . . . Strive toward it, work for it, bring it closer, shift from it to the present anything you can." "Such words," writes worker S. V. Koshevoy, from Sumy, "are the response of the heart to the just-read recollections by L. I. Brezhnev 'Vozrozhdeniye.' . . . This is splendid work of an inspired communist, Bolshevik, Leninist. It orients, teaches, and inspires." The letter of this worker contains interesting thoughts on the strength of the Soviet character, the role of the working class, and the communist party as the highest school for a truly humane attitude toward people, and of the universal-historical significance of the rebirth of our country, so extensively and vividly depicted by the author of the trilogy.

L. I. Brezhnev's book cannot be described simply as a memoir. It consists of thoughts imbued with concern for the present and the future. It is an inspired and intimate story whose objective is to show the general meaning of what the author witnessed and participated in and, subsequently, to lead the reader to the thought of what is most important today: work methods, human qualities, style of behavior, and concept of the Soviet person. Reading this story, one feels that a wise and good man is sharing with you thoughts about his experiences, a man who is trying to help us to realize the significance of what has and is being accomplished through the efforts of our people, through your labor. He is not entrapped by recollections, but is in the midst of most important ideas and accomplishments of our time.

The memoir form is used above all to focus attention yet once again on the vital problems which are today being resolved by the party and the people and which they shall have to resolve in the future. Here the greatest attention is paid to problems of the political leadership of the people's masses--of the builders of communism.

These problems hold a central position in the recollections. Constantly turning to them, and comprehensively analyzing them, L. I. Brezhnev develops Lenin's idea of the organization of the working people. The concept of "organizing" the masses meant, according to Lenin, their unification, leading and directing them to the solution of the major governmental and historical problems. It also meant the upbringing of the working people, the development of their initiative, and the fullest possible development of their talents and creative capabilities. Following the seizure of the political system, Lenin pointed out, the party of the working class assumed the task of managing the country, a task which requires, above all, the ability to engage in practical organization. "This is the most difficult task," he wrote, "for it is a question of the reorganization of the most profound economic foundations of the life of many tens of millions of people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 36, p 173). The purpose of this lengthy organizational work is to raise a generation which could, to use Lenin's words, bring about communism once and for all.

In our time organization becomes particularly important. The scientific and technical revolution under mature socialist conditions and the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan--the five-year plan of effectiveness and quality--demand further improvements in the methods and style of leadership and management, and the development of the creative initiative of the masses. Production effectiveness means, above all, labor effectiveness, labor upsurge and the thrust of the people, guided and organized by the party. Here again, the question of organization becomes basic and decisive. "V. I. Lenin pointed out," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "that once a proper policy and proper line have been formulated, the success depends, above all, on organization. We do have such a policy and line. Therefore, organization becomes the decisive link, i.e., the further perfecting of economic management in the broadest possible meaning of the term." He further emphasized that the present stage calls for improving management in all realms of our life: "The dynamism of development of the Soviet society, the growing scale of the building of communism, and our activities in the international arena adamantly require the steady enhancement of the level of party leadership, the development of the economy and culture, the upbringing of the people, and improvements in organizational and political work among the masses."

Lenin's idea of organizing the working people shed a new light on the role of the people's masses in history and in the socialist reorganization of life. It offered the only true concept of the correlation between the collective and the individual: Under the conditions of the Soviet system, political and state management is organically combined with the people's initiative. "The live creativity of the masses is the basic factor of the new society," Lenin

said. ". . . Socialism cannot be created by orders from above. . . . Live and creative socialism is the work of the people's masses themselves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 35, p 57). "Collective experience alone, the experience of millions of people alone, could provide decisive instructions in this respect . . ." (ibid, vol 36, p 380).

It is precisely this collective experience--the experience of those who rebuilt the destroyed plants and cities, and the experience of those who conquered the Virgin Land--that L. I. Brezhnev analyzes and sums up to transmit it to the present generation of the builders of communism. He describes with live examples the comprehensive process of the organization of the people's masses and their mobilization for the implementation of the most important tasks facing our state. ". . . The essence of party-political work at that time," he writes, "was to rally the huge mass of people, to arm them with a specific program for action and with a clear awareness of the common objective." Both "Vozrozhdeniye" and "Tselina" vividly present truly epic canvasses of the rallying of the toiling masses and their unification within a powerful and purposeful collective. Providing the party's leadership in the construction projects along the Dnepr and in the Virgin Lands of Kazakhstan, L. I. Brezhnev developed an atmosphere of efficiency, party exactingness, general upsurge, and inexhaustible faith of the working people in their own forces. It was only when the unorganized human mass became an organically welded collective that the real talent of the individual could be revealed, as is beautifully depicted in the recollections.

Support of the people's initiative is one of the most important tasks of party-political leadership. Emphasizing this aspect of organizational work, L. I. Brezhnev develops Lenin's idea of the need to do everything possible so that the extremely rich forces within the people may be most fully developed in creative and constructive toil. The organizational talents are within the mass of the people, Lenin said, and we must be able to find, encourage, and enhance them (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 36, p 193). Lenin considered as the main prerequisite for our victories "the ability to enhance the energy, heroism, and enthusiasm of the masses, concentrating the revolutionary stress of efforts on the most important task" (ibid, vol 39, p 305). Describing the way a literally new science--the science of the restoration of plants destroyed by the enemy--was created through the will, resourcefulness, and mind of the people, under the leadership of the communist party, and the way the most effective means for the development of the Virgin Land were found in the course of the nationwide battle for grain, L. I. Brezhnev reveals the ever growing significance of the initiative of the masses in the socialist society. Today as well the development of this initiative is one of the manifestations of the further democratization of our life, and the triumph of its humanistic principles. It determines the new forms of organizational and political work of the CPSU.

The ability to see, feel, and support the initiative and creativity of the masses is an inseparable part of the art of management. Today the manager needs it more than ever before. L. I. Brezhnev adamantly promotes this idea when he discusses the qualities of the manager and his relations with subordinates.

Such relations are one of the most important forms of social contacts among people. They are determined by the social system. Socialism established an essentially new nature of such relations. Its essence is depicted by the author in his thoughts of the pride of the Soviet people, their feeling of dignity, and the fact that anyone who allows such a feeling to be insulted violates the democratic principles of our society. "I find it profoundly repulsive," writes L. I. Brezhnev, "the even though rare yet still existing habit of raising one's voice when talking to people. Neither the economic nor the party manager must forget that his subordinates are subordinates only in their work, and that they do not serve the director or the manager, but the cause of the party and the state. In this respect everyone is equal. Those who allow themselves to violate this firm truth of our system hopelessly compromise themselves and lose their prestige."

To an ever greater extent the attention of the party and the public is now drawn to the moral aspect of relations among people and, particularly, between superiors and inferiors in our society--the society of developed socialism. It is no accident that a number of enterprises have drafted "Recommendations to the Manager," which contain the moral principles of such relations. The role of L. I. Brezhnev's memoirs in raising the level of party and state management is truly tremendous. The descriptions he gives of one or another manager, and his story on his own party activities provide most valuable thoughts on the qualities, which in his view, a leading worker must have. Leonid Il'ich repeatedly emphasized that he is not a supporter of the so-called "will" method of management. Naturally, this does not mean that he rejects the need for willpower in the manager. No, the manager must see to it that his assignment is implemented. He must display exactingness and, if necessary, take to task his subordinates and remove those who are unsuitable for the job. He cannot be good at the expense of the state. However, he has no right to command the people, to violate their human dignity, and grossly to impose upon them his own will. He must respect within every one of them the worker, the Soviet person. He must not suppress them through his authority but give scope to creative initiative.

"Tselina" discusses particularly sharply the unsuitability and harm of arbitrary decisions. L. I. Brezhnev frankly states that the imposition of all possible subjectivistic "recommendations" in the field of agriculture is the terrible enemy of the land. "There have been too many of them and they have cost too much to the country for us not to realize that by the very nature of agriculture commands in that area are counterindicated." In general, a manager must not consider himself the one-and-only undisputed authority in all fields of human activity. He must be familiar with the laws of social development, and at the same time rely on specific and practical knowledge. "Contemporary economics, politics, and social life are so complex," Leonid Il'ich writes, "that they can be dominated only by a powerful collective mind. One must listen to specialists and scientists of several views or schools. One must be able to seek the advice of the people, in order to avoid all kinds of 'rushes,' or hasty and unplanned, arbitrary decisions."

Every party worker and manager must be always concerned with enhancing further the consciousness and activeness of the working people. We must encourage

in subordinates daring and autonomy, L. I. Brezhnev says. If necessary, active workers who take a risk must be protected. Errors must be criticized on a friendly basis instead of trying to remake people in one's own style.

It is precisely such a style of party leadership that embodies Lenin's idea of the organization of the people's masses, based on a deep faith in their creative forces and true democracy, which eliminates the contradiction between the system and the people which the bourgeois ideologues consider eternal.

Indicating through numerous examples the qualities considered most valuable in a leader and most necessary for the solution of most important problems of the building of communism, L. I. Brezhnev introduces a great deal of new ideas in the development of problems of political leadership and organization. In his story on party leadership over restoration work and the development of the Virgin Land, the criterion of effectiveness is organically combined with that of humanism. "Action is the touchstone which reveals the real value of a person," Leonid Il'ich states. This is profoundly true and humane, for in our country a person is not a slave of the work but its master, for we do it for the sake of the people and their prosperity, and the blossoming of our socialist homeland. Every manager must be concerned not only with the fulfillment of the plan, but with those who will fulfill it. In the Virgin Land, along with economic problems, we had to resolve living, cultural, and even demographic problems. In particular, we had to attract here girls so that the conquerors of the Virgin Land could start families. "Dealing with this," Leonid Il'ich writes, "meant planning human happiness." These penetrating words reflect quite accurately the humanistic aspect of socialist planning as a whole, whose purpose is to implement our party's slogan "Everything in the Name of Man and for the Good of Man."

Whatever the topic--battles, construction, work of the party's obkom, or the plowing of the Virgin Lands--the content of L. I. Brezhnev's trilogy shows his profound understanding of the mentality of the working people and their interests, emotions, and expectations. Leonid Il'ich is profoundly convinced that no political work is conceivable without this. Politics, as Lenin said, is the factual fate of millions of people. Enumerating the complex and varied duties of the obkom first secretary, L. I. Brezhnev concludes: "In all this work the main thing is the people. The main thing is to understand them and be understood by them."

To understand people and to be understood by them: Is this not a manifestation of the humanistic nature of organizational and educational work, which is one of the most important prerequisites for our further progress toward communism?

The more attentively we read L. I. Brezhnev's memoirs, the more completely the personality of the author himself is revealed to us. Even though Leonid Il'ich speaks little about himself and deliberately does not single himself out from the entire mass of defenders of the homeland and the builders of the new society, his image as a party and state leader with tremendous experience, totally dedicated to the struggle for the happiness of the people, emerges

from a number of events, and above all from his observations, thoughts, and conclusions. This character attracts us with its comprehensiveness and pure human qualities. "How pleasant it is to find out," wrote Moscow engineer-geophysicist G. D. Kocherina to the editors of the NOVYY MIR, "that Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is, above all, a good, and responsive person, and at the same time an excellent specialist in a number of scientific and technical fields: metallurgy, construction, economics, human psychology, and, furthermore, is an excellent story teller."

L. I. Brezhnev's most characteristic feature as a leader of a Leninist type is his inseparable ties with the people, his profound unity with them. We see him always in the thick of the masses, in the front ranks: on the battlefield, the construction projects along the Dnepr, and the Virgin Lands of Kazakhstan. Let us recall, perhaps, the event with which "Malaya Zemlya" begins. Finding out that the Hitlerites intend to launch a decisive offensive to throw back the Soviet landing forces into the sea, Col L. I. Brezhnev, chief of political department of the 18th Army, hastens to go to the surrounded bridgehead. He understands how important it is for the soldiers to know that the political worker, the political leader, is with them, experiencing the same difficulties and dangers.

Describing his numerous meetings with workers along the Dnepr and in the Virgin Lands, Leonid Il'ich invariably emphasizes the great attention he ascribed to them. All managers need constant and direct contacts with the people. "After that," he writes, "it becomes easier to understand the feelings, requirements, and plans of the people." Recalling the intensive discussion he had (at that time he was secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee) at the Atbasar railroad station in the steppe with the chief of the procurement center who was refusing to accept the grain to be stored in the area, and how in the final account their argument ended in the adoption of reciprocal obligations, Leonid Il'ich notes: "Managing from an office alone is insufficient. One must always be in contact with the people, go to the sites, see with one's own eyes successes and developing difficulties, and if necessary intervene operatively. One could understand and learn a great deal by arguing with the people in such a railroad station in the steppe, and sitting with the tractor drivers around their brigade fire."

Superb knowledge of the people, side by side with whom he fought and worked, warm desire to help them and to strengthen in them faith in their own forces, and daily concern with subordinates--soldiers, workers, farmers--are qualities of the author noted by a number of readers. Some of them developed the desire to describe their meetings with Leonid Il'ich and the way they realized his goodness and responsiveness.

S. B. Pylyashchev, a Patriotic War veteran and day chief of department of the construction-installation trust in Novocheboksarsk, writes that, reading "Malaya Zemlya," he was particularly touched by the "love and closeness of the author for the soldiers, his fatherly concern for those who had walked the difficult paths of the war." Eighteenth Army veteran Enver Sadykhov

describes the way this concern was displayed in his personal case. He volunteered for the front as a 15-year-old boy and soon afterwards found himself among the defenders of Malaya Zemlya. It was there that he met L. I. Brezhnev. After a talk with the adolescent, finding out his age, L. I. Brezhnev ordered that he be immediately shipped back to Bol'shaya Zemlya. However, the young fighter nevertheless did not part with his comrades in arms and continued to fight on Malaya Zemlya. Patriotic War veteran I. S. Galitsyn met with Leonid Il'ich after the victory. He recalls the way L. I. Brezhnev, then elected first secretary of the Zaporozhskaya Oblast Party Committee, arrived in Ol'gino Village where Galitsyn was village soviet chairman. The situation was difficult. The fascists had destroyed everything: They had burned houses and destroyed the capital and farm tools. Visiting this and the neighboring village soviets, and having talked with the kolkhoz members, Leonid Il'ich promised to help them. Indeed, a week later they received vouchers for sewing machines, construction timber, seeds, and horses. As to the author of the letter himself, on the advice of the obkom's first secretary, he was assigned to attend party courses in Kirovograd. "All this was the concern displayed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev for us, the people," Galitsyn writes. ". . . I recall with filial gratitude these meetings with our dear Leonid Il'ich, unforgettable by me and my fellow countrymen."

It is precisely through live contacts with the people that the ability to understand the people and be understood by them, described by L. I. Brezhnev, develops, an understanding which becomes most noteworthy by reading his memoirs. This includes the high art of persuasion, so much needed by the political worker, shown in his encounters and talks with the people. "People are different and one must speak with them differently. . . ." We see how accurately Leonid Il'ich finds the necessary words in talking with one or another person. He firmly cuts off the young "pioneer" who has come to the Virgin Land and who, ignoring everyone else, noisily formulates his claims. Yet, he had a warm and intimate talk with a boy who had become confused and wanted to go back home, citing as an example boys his age who had fought on the front, instilling in him faith in the imminent victory of the Virgin Land workers and faith in his own forces. "You should not begin your life with a retreat!" Such simple and strong words could not fail to influence the young soul. "I recall," L. I. Brezhnev writes, "that the boy did not go to the train. I saw him in the back of a truck." In other cases people could be persuaded with a joke. Once, in the heat of summer, the first secretary of the Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast Party Committee summoned the chairman of the oblast plan and the head of the obkom's local industry department to discuss matters. Casually he asked, "How about a drink of kvas?" Having found out that no kvas was being made in the oblast, he offered them homemade kvas. "Is it good?" he asked maliciously and received the answer he expected: "We shall take this up We shall meet with the people this very day." That same summer kvas appeared in the city.

The art of persuasion is manifested in the very style of the recollections, in their language. What is noteworthy is not only the significance of the content but the amazingly simple and warm way of expression, imbued with love for the people. In his books L. I. Brezhnev organically combines publicistic

zeal and scientific persuasiveness with artistic expressiveness. We feel in the books the passionate party word, which Leonid Il'ich himself considers the main weapon of the political worker. No thundering speeches, no showy methods. Yet, his words are always meaningful and pertinent. They are always linked with the great cause of the promotion of communist ideals.

The inseparable unity between words and actions which distinguishes all activities of the Leninist party is based on a deep conviction of the power of the socialist system and the greatness of the communist ideals. In this unity a principled class policy blends with high humaneness. This unity gives a feeling of joy and happiness so penetratingly described by Leonid Il'ich: "A politician, a state leader, is happy when he can always say that which he truly thinks, and do that which he indeed considers necessary, and achieve that in which he truly believes. When we formulated the Peace Program and addressed a number of international meetings with initiatives aimed at the elimination of the threat of war, I worked for, strived toward, and spoke of something in which, as a communist, I believe profoundly and to the end."

Such is, precisely, the foundation of a true rather than false democracy, and of effective humanism rather than humanism in words only.

Through his tireless struggle for the implementation of the Leninist policy of peace, L. I. Brezhnev earned love and respect both in our country and abroad. His trilogy on the heroism of the Soviet people was received by the millions of readers as yet another defense of this truly human policy. The Soviet people welcome the fact that L. I. Brezhnev was awarded the Lenin Prize for his books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye," and "Tselina."

The publication of these works is consistent with the spirit and requirements of the time. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," adopted last spring, emphasizes that "ideological work must be raised to a higher quality level consistent with the requirements of developed socialism and the new tasks of the building of communism." Enriching the principles of Soviet democracy and socialist humanism, and formulating the strategy and tactic of the building of communism, through his memoirs L. I. Brezhnev provides a new impetus to the development of our theoretical thinking, and to improving the ways and means of organizational and ideological-educational work. Their entire content stands before us as a science of the new human relations, a science of true humanity.

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FREEDOM OF AN ARTIST-CITIZEN

Moscow KOPMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 65-75

[Article by A. Dubrovin, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] I remember a frank talk which was held at the Union of Cinematographers with a group of creative workers who had come from a Western European country to visit us. Sharing impressions on our new motion pictures, in turn, the guests acquainted the Soviet artists and critics with their own motion pictures and described the objectives they had set themselves: Countering the domination of low-grade films on the Western screens, enslaved by capitalism, and poisoning the minds and taste, they are striving to create a free and independent art. Yet, what is their understanding of independence and freedom of creativity?

We openly told our guests what we thought: We are closer to works whose authors, in an effort to present the factual patterns of history, appeal to the mind and activeness of the audience for the sake of the struggle for progress, rather than works which question the possibility to find the proper ways for this struggle, even if such doubts are expressed with a certain sincerity and accuracy. Doesn't such a mistrust in the historical sense of the people and confusion in the face of the forces of evil have something in common (even though despite the will of the artist), we said, with the aspiration displayed precisely by these same forces to pit mass stupification against the truth? Is Western pseudo-culture, mentioned by our collocutors with such justifiable scorn, not a variety of such stupification? Are the authors of works "free" from the knowledge of the inviolable laws of life itself that independent from the ruling ideology? Today the destinies of mankind are decided not by passive mediums and sleepwalkers, not by lunatics, not by sleeping, but by working people awakened to consciously historical creativity. The artistic achievement of this is the greatest truth of art in our age. It is by following this path that the nations gained their freedom. Those same paths lead to the freedom of the artist.

We claimed this on the basis, above all, of the experience of the multinational Soviet culture.

The guests highly rated a number of works created by the various republics of our country. "They represent a discovery to us," they said. At the same

time, they asked whether or not the rejection of ideological differences, the lack of division, and the striving toward further strengthening of the unity and commonness of principal ideals and highest guidelines did not contradict the freedom of creativity in the USSR and the independent search in art?

That is how the question of freedom arose in our talk. This is one of the main questions in the present ideological struggle.

We were interested in the following: What is the position of the works of progressive directors in their country's motion picture industry? The answer was more than revelatory: They bitterly spoke of the monstrous pressure which capital exerts on cinematography.

The dictate of the monopolies in the field of motion pictures, as in the other arts, is not purely economic! No, the bourgeoisie uses thousands of channels to ideologically influence the artists and, through their works, society, for "the class which represents the dominant material force of society is also its ruling spiritual force" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 45).

Nevertheless, even under the difficult conditions of contemporary capitalism, with its specific atmosphere of ideological crisis, disorder, and lack of spirituality, progressive, democratic, and humanistic art finds ways to free itself from the chains of a reactionary outlook. It draws its strength from the struggle against the dominating culture and ideology. Today such a struggle can find a solid support in the powerful liberation movements on the planet, the ideas and actions of the working class and its revolutionary parties, and the rich international experience. Several decades of life of the new socialist system have made a priceless historical contribution to this experience.

It is not the infringement of freedom but, conversely, a manifestation of a sincere and joyful striving toward the desired objective that became, from the very first days of the existence of Soviet art, the naturally developed unity of social pathos shown in many works.

Let us read the poetry which was born in different languages and in different parts of our country soon after the Great October Revolution. What brings them together is a feeling of freedom, of free flight.

The feeling of this historical height from which "in one instant one sees the valleys and ridges" imbues the poem by Georgian poet Galaktion Tabidze, proudly entitled "The Argonauts of the New Age." "Freedom" is the title of another lyrical work of that time, written by the Kazakh Sabit Mukanov: "You are free, and your spring is marching boldly. . . ." The same feeling of spring is found in the poetry of Ukrainian Vladimir Sosyura: "In the field there is sunshine, the month of May. . . . The liberation rings. . . ." "The March of Freedom" was the name of the poem written then by the Tadzhik Sadriddin Ayni: "Henceforth, freedom marches. Seek vengeance from the czars and emirs!" The Uzbek poet Khakim-zade Niyazi Khanza dedicated lofty verses to the new master of life--the people who had gained their "freedom," and the key to all knowledge. . . ."

This was the pathos of the new age. Is this not the reason for which Chapayev, uniquely played by B. Babochkin, became such a nationwide beloved movie character. His free will expressed the free spirit of the revolution! However, in order to defend this freedom and independence, firm organization and unity were needed under the banners of the party and the Soviet homeland. This was the message of the movie "The Vasil'yevs," from the novel by D. Furmanov, and this was the message of many other works. Let us recall perhaps B. Chirkov in the trilogy about Maksim, N. Bogolyubov in "The Great Citizen," S. Luk'yanov, B. Andreyev, and A. Natalov in "The Big Family," N. Mordyukov in "A Simple Story," M. Ul'yanov in "The Chairman," and Ye. Leonov and A. Papanov and other makers of "Belorussian Station"; the list could be greatly extended: what wealth of individualities and characters! At the same time, there is unity in the main aspirations and commonness of ideals and principles. The freedom of the artist who voluntarily stood under the flag of communism did not become a centrifugal but a centripetal force. This is understandable, as according to the founders of Marxism it is precisely in a communist society, toward which mankind is marching, that "the free development of individuals" becomes reality, taking place not in the least because of their vision, but conversely because such a development determines the "link among individuals, a link consisting partly of economic prerequisites, partly of the necessary solidarity of free development of all, and finally the universal nature of the activities of individuals on the basis of existing production forces" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 3, p 441).

The artists marched toward the Marxist-Leninist party view on the world freely, consciously, inspiredly, reaching toward common objectives and accomplishments, and joint creative toil along the paths of socialist realism. The efficient system of party and state leadership of creative life, aimed not at equalizing talents, but at helping them to reveal themselves more completely for the good of the people, and to become an effective force in the spiritual life of society, helped and continues to help this ideological unification. Such is the experience of past decades and such are our present principles. The task formulated by the 25th CPSU Congress is "to insure the further enhancement of the role of socialist culture and art in the ideological-political, moral, and aesthetic education of the Soviet people, and to mold their spiritual requirements." The new Soviet Constitution states that "in accordance with the objectives of the building of communism, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic creativity. It is insured through the extensive development of scientific research, invention and rationalization activities, and the development of literature and the arts." The state creates the conditions necessary to this effect and supports the creative unions.

The artists of our country are like-minded people, fellow workers in the struggle for communism. However, it is precisely loyalty to the communist ideals that excludes the transformation of their unity into monotony. Furthermore, the more mature and developed the socialist society is, and the closer we are to communism, the fuller must be the freedom of revelation of different and unique creative individualities. What are the factors which determine this?

This includes a number of important aspects:

The personality of the new man cannot fail to be many-faceted, comprehensive, and harmoniously developed. Consequently, an equally comprehensive artistic culture must serve the upbringing of this personality;

The great variety of original individualities is both a prerequisite and a result of the building of communism; therefore, everyone must have the opportunity to find in the inexhaustible treasury of art something closer to him, something which meets best precisely his own requirements, tastes, and demands;

Depicted reality itself must become ever more variegated. As we know, the width and wealth of the subject of art demands a width and wealth of artistic thinking;

The specific laws of the artistic mastery of reality must be taken into consideration: In terms of its inner nature art can perform a variety of functions, ranging from the study of life to the development of creative capabilities, from intensifying contacts among people to bringing them aesthetic pleasure and meaningful leisure, etc; focusing our attention on one or another of these tasks is also related to the variety of artistic individualities;

As it develops, the socialist society not only becomes ever more aware of such different requirements, but creates ever stronger material and spiritual prerequisites for their growth and satisfaction, and for converting possibilities into reality.

Naturally, the realization of such possibilities does not take place mechanically. Talent and its healthy and proper development, intensive artistic work, and the collective interpretation of the history and prospects of our art are all necessary prerequisites for the successful solution of the problems formulated by society. A great deal has been accomplished, yet a number of "hidden reserves" remain in this area.

The Soviet artists approach socialist realism through different paths. This was a free and natural march toward an ever greater unity--unity of political views and moral and philosophical foundations which determine aesthetic principles.

It is precisely on the basis of this unity that the path toward an ever greater variety becomes legitimate. One of the natural and promising trends in socialist art is the further increase in the wealth of unique and original individualities in art, while retaining and strengthening the ideological and moral-political unity.

The need for a variety of poetic expressions, creative manners, styles, genres, forms, etc, is frequently mentioned, quite properly. However, we must not forget that in true art forms have a meaning. The wealth of new and bold forms should serve the expression of the wealth of new and daring ideas.

Our credo is not lack of coordination, equalization of the rights of artistic truth and life; it is not freedom to withdraw from the requirements of the age and the interests of the people. However, it is precisely the interests of the people that demand of the artists to be, above all, the discoverers of a new content rather than simply masters of variations or of rephrasing. Our society expects of the men of art and their creativity an expression of their own views, their thinking, and their opinions based on the communist-party minded understanding of the world.

"Is it allowed in your art, bound by a single ideological doctrine, to think independently?" ask the ill-wishers of socialist culture.

"No," we answer them. "It is not 'allowed.' It is ordered!"

It is ordered by history. It is ordered by the interests of millions of working people. It is ordered by the conscience of the artists-Leninists, by their convictions.

The wealth of discoveries does not exclude but presumes unity among the humanistic, the constructive tasks facing Soviet artistic intelligentsia. No one can assign such tasks against the wishes of others, nor could they be performed without inner freedom, under pressure. The principles governing our art will continue to develop not on the basis of prescriptions but win spiritually thanks to aesthetic convictions, the prestige of innovation, and the force of the characters, displaying their merits in free and extensive competition, in reciprocal learning by authors, in the art of the past, in the creative mastery of global artistic experience, including contemporary, and in arguments, tests, and searches in which, one should believe, not everything will be immediately equally successful. The free revelation of a variety of original individualities, the constant enrichment of the arsenal of ways and means of expression, and the bold penetration of ever new layers of life are impossible without creative risk, without trying a variety of, including some entirely unexpected, approaches to the material, and artistic concepts and principles. Occasionally the creative approaches of even big and thoughtful masters of the arts may be quite complex and conflicting.

However, while not prescribing to artistic thinking predetermined itineraries, and taking into consideration the price which occasionally must be paid for difficult creative searches, we must not weaken our comradesly exactingness, forget already tried socio-aesthetic criteria, and abandon principled and exacting criticism.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" redirects our attention to the need for constant concern "for the development of high idea-mindedness and civic-mindedness, and for developing the creative activeness of writers, painters, composers, theater and motion picture workers, and journalists."

Aesthetics and literary-artistic criticism can and must help the artist to become more fully aware of the requirements of the age. Some insufficiently

interpreted problems of theory and methodology, related to the problem of freedom, deserve attention in this respect.

Freedom of artistic creativity is not always correlated with proper consistency with the freedom of the historical creativity of the people. Yet, the question of this correlation is of essential importance.

Frequently the bourgeoisie does not hesitate to use the so-called freedom of the spirit, isolated from the freedom of revolutionary action of the masses, as a means for "blowing off": Let both authors and the public in an exhibition or theater hall be allowed to taste the new forbidden fruit, let them console themselves with the "freedom" of crossing the boundaries of morality or truth, let them even rebel in the spirit of left-wing extremists, turning the temple of the muses into a site of pseudorevolutionary scandal: The reaction is interested in such lightning rods.

No, the freedom of creative thinking, despite its tremendous importance, is not a self-seeking aim. For centuries the people have wanted not only to think freely (including in terms of artistic images), but to live freely as well. The progressive intelligentsia has never been satisfied merely with the freedom of artistic awareness. It dreamed of its free word extended to the real liberation of the people. Our age proves that freedom of artistic work becomes particularly strong if multiplied by the freedom of all revolutionary and constructive activities of the masses which inspires and is served by the artist.

The aesthetic aspect of art is the concentrated reflection and multiplication of the aesthetic aspect of life. The development of the new system is a struggle for a cause which is not only true and just, but beautiful. Yet, the beauty of life becomes greater the more the creative capabilities of the people are revealed in their accomplishments. The USSR Constitution states that "in accordance with the communist ideal according to which 'the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all,' the state sets as its objective to broaden the real possibilities enabling the citizens to apply their creative forces, capabilities, and talents, and for the comprehensive development of the individual."

The experience of art, which gained a new breath thanks to the October Revolution, provides many high examples of expression of the creative spirit of man loyal to the idea and dedicated himself to inspiring toil. Let us recall, for example, M. Nesterov's portraits of great toilers and creators, whose entire soul may be seen in their actions: Academician Pavlov, surgeon Yudin, or sculptor Mukhina. . . .

What about the work of V. Mukhina herself? With the help of a triumphant pathos, it expresses the ideals of a free society and inspired toil. Her classical monument "Worker and Woman Kolkhoz Member"--constructive giants, victoriously marching to the future with a hammer and sickle--has become the symbol of this society.

Naturally, labor is not always a triumphal march. Our art also remembers that the kingdom of freedom, as Marxism teaches us, is based on the kingdom of necessity, and that it is not for the sake of a pretty word that we frequently add to the concept of "labor" the adjective "heroic," and that work can be difficult or monotonous, but needed by society. Such work, if consciously subordinated to the great objective, is also colored by the romanticism of historical creativity. When Musa Dzhaliil' wrote in one of his early poems that he hears the music of the age in the rhythmical clanking of handcars, and in the way the sharp saw "rapidly sunk its teeth" into the rigid lumber at the lumber plant, he heard in this industrial noise the echoes of the rumbling of the civil war and the singing of tractors which will go to the countryside and of machine tools which will reach the cities in the future.

The perception of the present as the revolutionary, the constructive path leading from the past to the future, is what determines the outlook of the creators of the new history, expressed by Soviet art. The artist feels himself twice as free and confident when history becomes to him not a puzzling and frightening labyrinth in which he feels lost and helpless, but a true path to the future. The assertion of the harmony between the great objective and the drama of the struggle for reaching it, the dream of the triumph of human ideals and a class approach taken to their implementation are the paths of creative freedom of our artists. On the one hand, they call for a free and unshackled life, praising the happy atmosphere of the involvement of man with the infinite wealth of creation to which we are led, for example, by the bright and multicolored Seventh Symphony by S. Prokof'yev; on the other, our art mobilizes the people for a stressed revolutionary struggle for the liberation of toiling mankind, something which was expressed with unrestrained rage and a soul-penetrating force of works, such as, for example, D. Shostakovich's Eleventh Symphony.

One of the most clear and direct manifestations of the internal connection between the freedom of artistic toil with civic freedom is the mastering by art of the problem of Soviet democracy and socialist rule by the people. "We have the right to own the land." In these words of the "International" the expression "own the land" had a new sound, and thanks to the victory of the October Revolution, it was implemented in life and constitutionally codified. As the new poem by Yegor Isayev "Distant Memory" states, in our country the land--

Became a law: Live, people, and be healthy in your home.
Till, people, and sow. Unite in your state. "Own the
land" means everything

It was not a question of owning a plot or an estate, but the entire land, "from Siberia to the Kronstadt lighthouses." One of the honorable tasks of a consistently democratic art is to help the people to be the able master of this land and to contribute to the growth of their sociopolitical activities. It is the right and the duty of the artist not simply to record achievements but to try, in the words of the fundamental law of the country, to promote "the further development of socialist democracy."

Many traditions exist in this field. Let us take as an example the motion picture. The best Soviet pictures of the people's initiative and enthusiasm, and the participation of rank-and-file workers, peasants, and the labor intelligentsia in the solution of important problems of social life have entered the golden stock of the world's cinema.

In the prewar movies the viewers could already see an entire gallery of heroes whose life revealed the nature of Soviet democracy. The typical characters of its representatives were shown on the screen--the best sons and daughters of the people--in typical circumstances of the new reality and of the developing Soviet way of life. As flesh from the flesh of the toiling masses--workers, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia--they were rightfully their representatives, state leaders who, not only without weakening their ties with the people, expressed their expectation with maximum emphasis. The cinematographers emphasized through the entire artistic structure of their works that the Soviet system which embodied these people was a new, humane, personal system. The plots violated "parliamentary" hierarchy. The happy and inspired words heard in such motion pictures from the deputies' benches, exceeded procedural laws and became an emotional confession. Even seemingly individual details found by the artists, such as the peasant scarf worn by kolkhoz member Sokolova, member of the government, or the enormous scarf wound around the neck of Baltic deputy Polezhayev, made these characters, in the eyes of the public, even closer, part of them. Nor was the similarity of dramatic structures accidental: As a rule, it was at the end of the picture that the characters stood up on the high rostrum of spokesmen for the will of workers and peasants. This was the ideological-emotional peak of the work, as though its conclusion, the natural result of the fact that the characters served the most democratic society on earth.

It was precisely toward the end of the film "Deputy from the Baltic," that old Professor Polezhayev (N. Cherkasov) stood not behind his usual desk, but on the rostrum of political speakers. It was precisely at the end of the movie "Member of the Government," that Aleksandra Sokolova (V. Maretskaya) rose on the deputies' rostrum in the Kremlin. It was precisely in the concluding parts of the films that we saw at the electoral rostrums the simple rural educator in the film "Teacher" (B. Chirkov) and the famous flier, the hero of the movie "Valeriy Chkalov" (V. Belokurov). It was precisely in the final frames of "The Bright Way" that the young weaver (L. Orlova) became a deputy of the supreme organ of people's power. Even though the activities as a deputy of the characters as such frequently was left beyond the scope of the picture, what was important was artistically to depict the very fact of the involvement of the working people in the management of the country, the very process of their personal involvement with the system.

Yet, time passed. The treasury of screen characters of politically active working people of town and country grew. In the course of this the artistic interpretation of such depictions became richer and is continuing to do so. Our attention is focused on an ever broader range of problems of the exercise and development of socialist democracy and its current vital problems. What was only understood and assumed after the word "end" appeared on the screen,

now man and must, we believe, become the main content of work dealing with such topics, requiring a direct artistic reflection on the screen. Even that which, only a few years ago, was a step forward in art, becomes insufficient today. Whereas we parted with Aleksandra Sokolova the day when, just nominated deputy, she addressed the very first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, we see Yelizaveta Uvarova in G. Panfilov's motion picture "I Wanted to Speak," at the peak of her activities as a deputy. Uvarova (I. Churikova) is a person sacredly dedicated to the ideals of socialism. She is the chairman of the city executive committee, and a representative of the Soviet system today, when requirements concerning organizational work have increased immeasurably. The makers of the film do not conceal the complexities facing the heroine. Yelizaveta Uvarova is not concerned with her readiness to assume responsibility or display energy or exert pressure. However, to act the way she did, measuring the props of a bridge with a tailor's yardstick, and undertaking to determine whether or not a house is about to collapse, or instruct the playwright how to write a play, all this by herself! is today both impossible and unnecessary.

The creators of works are undertaking to resolve important problems of collective judgment and management style, and their new tasks. As long as not everything has been fully thought out, agreed upon, and artistically interpreted, the picture will lack unity. The film ends with deputy Uvarova asking to speak at the session and her walking toward the rostrum, as once marched Aleksandra Sokolova at the end of the movie, with the intention of submitting to the deputies specific and strictly business suggestions. What then?

One would say that subsequent works would carry on with this matter. How better to organize, direct, unite, and mobilize the collective mind of the people? Our art cannot fail to participate in civic thoughts on this topic and in active actions along this way. The direction of such thoughts and actions is clearly defined by the party thought that "it is a question," as was pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress, "of improving socialist statehood, further developing socialist democracy, strengthening the legal foundations of state and social life, and energizing the activities of social organizations." The recent decisions of the party and the government on strengthening the planned management of the economy and the democratic principles in production management and of increasing the creative initiative of labor collectives earmarked tasks related to processes occurring in the field of social psychology and human interrelationships, directly connected with the realm of interests of art as the "science of man."

The mastering of problems related to the various facets of the democracy of the socialist society has long become a tradition of our art. For example, it traditionally deals with the problem of the conscious and active participation of workers and their collectives in the management of common affairs, including the production process. Suffice it to recall a landmark motion picture such as "The Counterplan," directed by F. Ermler and S. Yutkevich, showing the pathos of the first five-year plans, when the labor collectives began to answer to the plans "dropped from above" with a creative initiative--

the counter, higher, plans. The very word "counter" began to be aesthetically conceived in terms of the entire wealth of its meaning. The life-asserting "Song of the Counterplan," gained immediate popularity. In a simple and lyrical manner it expressed the ebullient feelings of people freely coming together, and consistent with the wishes of anyone living with the atmosphere of the country as it begins a new workday. Individual hopes and plans organically blended with the common ones.

This tradition is developing. As was noted at the 25th party congress, works of art reflect the basic, the essential features of the life of the country, features which have become part of the individual destinies of the Soviet people.

Naturally, in this case art does not simply echo the characters and motifs happily developed in the past: New characters appear, with new conflicts, reflecting the contemporary stage of life. "Together with the characters of literature or the stage, we experience, we react to the successes of steel smelters or of the director of a textile factory, an engineer, or a party worker. Even a seemingly individual case, such as the question of awarding a bonus to a brigade of construction workers, assumes a broad social significance and becomes the subject of heated discussions." The party's support of works which trigger interested discussions and which even seem to invite the readers or viewers to such discussions and to an exchange of views, as well as to independent judgment and conclusions, is a mark of the times. In the treatment of the most important topics, the sharp formulation of new discussion topics and the energizing of the ability of the people to undertake their discussion confirm the increased maturity of the society. Naturally, it is a question of discussions among like-minded people, comrades pursuing a common cause. It is on the basis of a common ideological and moral-political foundation that the moral requirements are met, also mentioned at the congress as a topic of Soviet art. However, it was no accident that it was precisely the word "demand" that was heard from the party rostrum: Not only that which has been discovered, tested, and tried must reach the stage, the screen, or the book, but the very process of the active, tense search. Moral demands do not apply merely to individual realms of life, but are tied to a broad range of social problems and with the production and political activity of the people.

It is as though the works themselves plunge into an argument, participating in such a search and mobilizing the viewer or the reader to engage in further thinking and initiative-minded involvement in management. A great deal has been written on two motion pictures based on scenarios by the same playwright, A. Gel'man: "Bonus" and "Feedback." However, the peculiar polemic waged between them was not always noticed. The power of the picture "Bonus" (and its artistic superiority over some subsequent works produced on similar topics) is that the working people, such as brigade leader Potapov, whose character has been developed in the movie with captivating sincerity, feel themselves to be masters of their lives. Investing in their work their hearts, experience, talent, and all their convictions, they are able to implement their suggestions. This is a thinking art, marching, exploring. Yet, is

everything in the views of even the main characters of the screen uncontroversial? Had that been the case, the picture would have probably not triggered such debates extended, to a certain extent, in the motion picture "Feedback."

In "Bonus," supporting the initiative of a construction workers brigade, which refuses the bonus until the collective has achieved the proper effectiveness and quality of its work, the party committee secretary states: "I believe that it is better--better for the state!--to deliver the combine somewhat later yet on a proper quality basis and absolutely finished." The pathos of this speech is noble. However, we are asked to accept on faith the conclusion that the project could be delivered "somewhat later"; in reality things are somewhat different: occasionally such delays are justified. Sometimes, however, on the scale of the national economy they turn out to be fraught with excessively high losses, and it is precisely on the basis of the principle that "it is better for the state!" that we must weigh each of the factors "for" and "against," precisely by taking into consideration the entire planned economy. It is precisely this that is discussed in the movie "Feedback," whose very title is an extension of the main idea of "Bonus," the idea of socialist democracy in which management consists not merely of one-sided "dropping of directives," but involves the most active role of the "counter-flow" of initiatives, with the participation of working people in the management of production processes. How to make this entire complexity of processes occurring on a broad scale apparent in Potapov's brigade? We hope that this will be revealed in subsequent motion pictures.

Other examples of such searches and discussions may be cited which seem to involve the characters of different works discussing the democratic nature of our society, and rank-and-file workers and production leaders.

Discussions are taking place on the subject of F. Abramov's book "Home," which treats problems of the contemporary village. The monumental motion-picture poem "Siberiad," directed by A. Mikhalkov-Konchalovskiy, is somewhat controversial. "The Taste of the Bread," the new motion picture directed by A. Sakharov, raises grave problems. As a rule, the discussion of such works deals not only with art but with the reality it reflects, demanding an ever deeper interpretation on the basis of the positions held by its creators, workers, and makers of history.

The stage, the screen, and literature are expecting new characters, loyal to labor comradeship, characters who did not "come, see, and conquer," but characters who are able not only to swim against the stream, but to turn that very stream wherever necessary, making their "personal opinion" the opinion of the collective and its managers, and occasionally even self-critically refine their personal opinion if it is not entirely confirmed by reality. They must be initiative-minded people who are actively striving toward their goal and are also able to subordinate their actions to the will and interests of society and to the demands of a strict and conscious discipline and organization. They do exist in life and, we believe, they will be vividly reflected in art. Obviously, they will be actors in the full meaning of the word, who can combine sober action with a realistic dream of the future in their own sector and in society at large.

The combination of a fuller artistic analysis of contemporary characters and conflicts and of typical situations with the free flight of dreams, enriched by new historical experience, is consistent with the moods and demands of the mass audience. This is confirmed, in particular, by the results of sociological studies. For example, last year on the initiative of the Scientific Research Institute of the Theory and History of the Motion Picture, a group of workers in Tyumenskaya Oblast at the shock construction project of the Surgut-Urenga railroad tracks, were asked questions aimed at showing their attitude not only toward the motion picture but life, for life is the source of art. Following are some of their answers.

Asked to describe their greatest wishes and dreams, the construction workers answered:

Give freedom to all mankind (track fitter, 23);

Look at the 21st century (foreman, 25);

See the world in 300 years (assistant geodesist, 18);

Had I been a motion picture worker, I would make a film on the future of mankind (worker, 25).

These people consider themselves builders not only of roads across Western Siberia, but of roads leading to the historical future.

The unity between romanticism and the striving for truth about reality surrounding us was clearly manifested, for example, in the views of a young conductor of a motor trolley who even though dreaming of "sailing around the world and writing a book about it," or "fly to other worlds, other buildings in outer space, naturally, shock projects," nevertheless is not willing at all for dreams to be presented as reality, and insists that life be depicted "with no embellishments whatever."

One of the functions of works of socialist realism is to help the people see the objective and the prototype of the future within reality itself, with its real problems, conflicts, and main laws and trends. "That is why we must learn from Gor'kiy the ability to project the best that is in man, what is stronger, and more interesting," A. Makarenko wrote. Addressing himself to the writers, he said: "We must become real and active workers for Soviet democracy. . . ."

The civic-minded Soviet art tries to support and develop in the people the desire and ability to personally intervene in events and to influence them, to be not only the performers but the initiative-minded makers of their own and the common destinies. This is achieved in the best works not directly. Occasionally ripening social needs are recognized on the basis of indirect symptoms whose significance cannot be simply identified. This requires the piercing eyes and restless heart of the artist.

What are the spiritual characteristics of today's person consistent with the tasks of Soviet democracy, and what are the qualities he must develop within himself? Art is trying to answer this question. It acquaints us with the truly national characters of the workers. It also depicts the typical circumstances which mold such characters. It depicts the Soviet way of life and helps us to consider the ways of its development.

Nevertheless, the comprehensive artistic presentation of the topic of socialist democracy lies ahead. To master it, the artist needs a mature civic view, turned to the future, and a constructive way of thinking--political and artistic--which will enable him to lay the way to the future communist self-management. Socialist realism assesses contemporaneity in the light of the future described by M. Sholokhov when the new Constitution of the USSR was being discussed: This document "codifies achievements which cannot be comprehended immediately even by a writer's imagination. However, there is more to it. It is a matter of the future. In the constitution, it is formulated in a simple and vital way: the building of a classless communist society." He also said: "A great deal remains to be accomplished and many difficulties must be surmounted. That is precisely the type of active and constructive life for which the characters of my books struggled, suffered, and died. Their destinies were complex. However, I believe that it is a poor writer who embellishes reality to the detriment of truth." The Soviet artists do not seek freedom from the truth. Their freedom lies in discovering the truth and relying on the truth.

In his article "The Party Organization and Party Literature," Lenin wrote the following on the freedom of a consistent party-minded creativity, loyal to the idea of socialism: "This will be a free literature, for it will serve not the sated heroine or the 'upper 10,000,' bored and suffering from obesity, but millions and tens of millions of working people who represent the flower of the country, its strength, and its future" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 12, p 104). It is precisely such a creativity that has proved its great vitality and it is precisely for it that today new and broad horizons are opening.

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NEW DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE HEROES OF KHALKHIN-GOL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 76-81

[Text] August-September 1979 marked the 40th anniversary of the victory won by Soviet forces and units of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army (MPRA) over the Japanese aggressors who mounted their aggression against Mongolia in the Khalkhin-Gol River area.

Invading the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic, friendly to us, the Japanese command, with significant forces hoped to seize a piece of Mongolian territory and thus establish a bridgehead for increasing its aggression against the USSR. However, these plans were not to be implemented. Loyal to its obligations as an ally, the Soviet Union immediately came to the aid of the Mongolian people. Shoulder to shoulder with the troops of the MPRA, the Soviet soldiers defended Mongolian territory as their own. The documents published here from the Central State Archives of the Soviet Army (TsGASA) convincingly proved the mass heroism of the Soviet troops who fulfilled their international duty. The homeland highly rated the exploit accomplished on the shores of Khalkhin-Gol. A number of large units and units were awarded the orders of Lenin and of the Red Banner. By ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 73 veterans of those battles were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

The operative documents and a number of orders issued by the command, published here, show the combat circumstances of that time and the high skill of the command cadres of the Red Army. The undeclared war waged on Khalkhin-Gol, unleashed by Japanese imperialism, ended with a serious defeat for it, proving the superiority of the moral-combat qualities of the Red Army men and the troops of the MPRA, of their commanders, and of our military doctrine. Japan's casualties were about 61,000 men. A large quantity of armaments and combat materiel were destroyed or seized. The surrounding and destruction of a big group of enemy forces, carried out with the extensive utilization of mobile formations and aviation, was a prototype of the brilliant victories of Soviet arms and Soviet military thinking over Hitler's Wehrmacht during the Great Patriotic War and, subsequently, the forces of militaristic Japan.

The defeat of the forces of the aggressor at Khalkhin-Gol proved, yet once again, to the entire world the loyalty of the Soviet people to their international duty.

The documents that follow have been abridged. A number of initials for specific military and topographic terms found in the published documents have been expanded. The balance may be found in the note at the end of this selection. All documents are published for the first time. The documents were selected for publication by TsGASA associates E. G. Drobot and I. M. Nagayev.

No 1

Order of the USSR People's Commissar of Defense on the Occasion of Awarding the 11th Tank Brigade the Order of Lenin and Naming it after M. P. Yakovlev

5 August 1939

1. By ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for excellent execution of combat assignments, the 11th Tank Brigade was awarded the Order of Lenin and named after its former commander, zealous patriot of his people, who died defending the inviolable borders of the socialist homeland--brigade commander Comrade Yakovlev Mikhail Pavlovich.

I congratulate the brigade's personnel on the occasion of this high award and express my firm conviction that its great troops, commissars, and entire commanding personnel will continue to defend their homeland courageously, ably, and with dignity.

2. Henceforth the brigade will bear the name of "11th Order of Lenin Tank Brigade imeni M. P. Yakovlev."

Marshal of the Soviet Union K. Voroshilov, USSR People's Commissar of Defense

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TsGASA, f. [archive] 32,113, op. [list] 1, d. [file] 74, 1. [sheet] 30.

No 2

Information of the Political Department of the 1st Army Group on the Growth of Party-Komsomol Organizations over the Period of Combat Operations

13 August 1939

I hereby submit information on the growth of party-Komsomol organizations in the 1st Army Group during the combat operations.

Eleventh tb--total requests for membership and candidate membership of the VKP(b)--173. Of them, the party commissions accepted 10 men as members of the VKP(b) and 70 as candidate members of the VKP(b).

Petitions for Komsomol membership--525. Of these, accepted, 490.

In the 7th mbb--total requests submitted for the VKP(b)--98. Of these, accepted by the party commission for VKP(b) membership--15; for candidate membership in the VKP(b)--66.

Requests for Komsomol membership submitted--100. Of these, 70 accepted.

At the 36th mad--requests submitted for VKP(b) members and candidate members--195. Of these the division party commission accepted for VKP(b) membership--13; for VKP(b) candidate members--69.

Requests submitted for Komsomol membership--636. Of these, 506 accepted.

At the 9th mbb--requests submitted for members and candidate members of the VKP(b)--183. Of these the brigade party commission accepted as VKP(b) members--12; as VKP(b) candidate members--59.

At the 6th tb--requests for VKP(b) membership and candidate membership--191. Of these the brigade party committees accepted for VKP(b) membership--2; for VKP(b) candidate membership--33.

At the 57th sd--total requests submitted for VKP(b) membership and candidate membership--150. Of these accepted by the division party commission for VKP(b) membership--19; for VKP(b) candidate membership--50.

Total requests submitted for Komsomol membership--451. Of these, 336 accepted.

At the 83d ozp--requests for VKP(b) membership and candidate membership--19. Of these the primary organization accepted 9 people as candidate members of the VKP(b).

Requests for Komsomol membership submitted--43. Of these, 30 accepted.

Airforce--total requests for VKP(b) membership and candidate membership--250. Of these the party commission accepted 31 as VKP(b) members and 80 as VKP(b) candidate members.

Requests for Komsomol membership submitted--325. Accepted, 238.

Total requests submitted for the army group for VKP(b) membership and candidate membership--1,412. Of these accepted by the party commissions as VKP(b) members--111; as candidate members--529.¹

Regimental Commissar Gorokhov, chief of the political department of the 1st Army Group.

Original

ToGASA, collection.

From the Report by the Chief of the Political Department of the 1st Army Group
on the Political-Moral Condition of the Group's Units

23 August 1939

Junior Lieutenant Comrade Kozlov (11th Order of Lenin Tank Brigade imeni M. P. Yakovlev) particularly distinguished himself in the battles with the enemy. He excellently guided the actions of his squad and personally destroyed one antitank and one 75 mm enemy gun. Comrades Lepekhn and Soplavkov, gunners in the same brigade, displayed exceptional heroism. As Comrade Lepekhn's tank was advancing along a sand dune, in the course of a turn one of the tracks fell off and the tank stopped by the enemy trench. Comrade Lepekhn left the tank through the rear hatch and began to throw hand grenades in the enemy trenches, thus inspiring with his example the infantrymen, and shouting "For the motherland!" mounted the attack with the infantry. When the tank stopped, gunner Comrade Soplavkov also got out of the tank and opened fire at the Samurai with his Nagan. He killed three men. Then, reaching their trench, he began to throw grenades at the Samurai retreating in panic, killing additionally some 10 people.

Senior Lieutenant Comrade Zakharov, V. I., member of the VKP(b), commander of the 4th Battery of the 185th (Regiment) ARGK, destroyed an enemy gun with accurate aiming and few shells. Comrade Zakharov was thanked by the unit command for excellent fire. At the 7th mbb, after the squad commander, wounded by an enemy bullet, left the ranks, platoon commander Comrade Goliyenko, Aleksandr Ivanovich, Komsomol member, assumed command of the squad. On 20 August 1939 he led the squad to attack and personally bayoneted 2 Samurai.

On 20 August 1939, ordered by his company commander, Mikheyev, Aleksandr Dmitriyevich, Komsomol member, platoon commander in an infantry-machine gun battalion (7th mbb) was the first to lead his platoon into the sandy ditch where the Japanese Samurai had dug their lairs. Troops from other platoons followed him.

The ditch contained 29 bodies of Samurai, 2 antitank guns, tents, ammunition, fur coats, and rifles.

On 20 August 1939, Comrade Grichan, Komsomol member, Red Army man in an infantry-machine gun battalion (7th mbb) captured without firing a shot in an enemy trench a Japanese private and took him to headquarters.

Junior Lieutenant Comrade Antonenko, commander of an armored company (9th mbb), member of the main group, noted the landing of an enemy bomber. He advanced toward the aircraft and set the enemy airplane on fire with a direct hit at a distance of 1,000 meters.

Junior Lieutenant Comrade Sushentsev, of the 82 sd, 3rd sp, 1st Infantry Company, VKP(b) candidate member, repeatedly showed heroism in combat. He

was always first, leading the others. When the company commander was wounded, Comrade Suchentsev assumed command and led the company into combat. The regimental command is presenting Comrade Sushentsev for award.

On 22 August squad commander Comrade Zaytsev (57th sd, 80th sp) was ordered to take a hill with his squad of 36 men. He acted with exceptional heroism. As a result of a night battle, the squad seized the hill and captured many documents (maps, photographs, and two bags with objects). Zaytsev himself bayoneted one officer and wounded a second. The squad destroyed 30 Japanese Samurai.

Colonel Dandor, commander of the 6th Cavalry Division MPRA, displayed courage and bravery in the battles with the Japanese Barguty. He personally led the regiment in a cavalry charge. In the course of the charge up to one regiment of the enemy's cavalry was destroyed. On 20 August Colonel Dandor's unit seized 6 guns, 7 machine guns, as many as 100 rifles, and other materiel and food.

Submachine gunner Dorzhigocho, Revsomol member, 15th Cavalry Regiment, machine gunned a squad of Samurai, and captured 9 rifles, 1 revolver, and 2 binoculars.

Lubsatsuren, member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, platoon commander in an antitank squad, 17th Cavalry Regiment, destroyed with a hand gun² a truck carrying Samurai and 2 trucks with ammunition, killed 1 officer, and 2 rank-and-file Samurai.

Mounting a cavalry charge with his squad, Zunduy, member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, squad commander of the 2d Squadron, 17th Cavalry Regiment, destroyed an enemy squad. Zunduy himself killed over 10 Japanese Barguty, and captured 12 prisoners. . . .

Brigade Commissar Gorokhov, chief, political department, 1st Army Group

Copy

TsGASA, collection.

No 4

From the Battle Order on Surrounding and Destroying the Enemy on the Territory Between the Khalkhin-Gol River and the Border of the Mongolian People's Republic

Khamar-Daba, 17 August 1939

1. The Japanese are defending themselves along the following line: the big sandy mounds 15 km to the southeast of Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo, the sands 2 km north of Nuren-Obo, the sandy mounds 4 km east and southeast of Dungur-Obo, the mounds north of Khaylastyn-Gol River, 6 km northeast of Dungur-Obo, the elevations 5 km to the southeast of Mount Bain-Tsagan and 3 km east of Bain-

Tsagan Mount, the western slopes of the elevation north of Yan'khu Lake, 8 km to the northeast of the ruins, and 3 km south of the Silin'-Khuduk well.

Their 71st, 26th, 64th, and 72d infantry regiments are deployed in the protected area.

Their main resistance line follows the western slopes of elevation No 2--4 km west and southwest of the state border.

The enemy reserves are the 25th, 27th, and 28th infantry regiments, and the 7th Infantry Regiment and Special Group Yasuoka, deployed in the following areas: a. Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo; b. Dzhindzhin Sume, and c. Depden Sume.

2. On the morning of 20 August 1939 the forces of the 1st Army Group will mount a decisive counteroffensive with a view to surrounding and totally destroying the Japanese-Barguty units on Mongolian territory, between Khalkhin-Gol and the state border, striking from the south in the general direction of the sands east of Nuren-Obo, and Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo; from the north, in the direction of the sands 4 km northeast of Mount Bain-Tsagan, 03. (5.5 km northwest of Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo). The forces located in the center will destroy the enemy in front of them, interacting with the southern and northern groups.

3. The southern group commanded by Colonel Comrade Potapov (57th sd, 8th mbr, 6th tbr without 1 tank battalion, 8th kd,³ 1/185th ap, SU-12 Battery, 2 tank battalions and spb of the 11th tbr, 37th Antitank Battery, and tank company t-130 with a starting position as follows: right flank--6 km southwest of the Khulat elevation; left flank, the sands 2 km north of Nuren-Obo, will advance toward Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo, with a view to interacting with the central and northern groups and surrounding and totally eliminating the Japanese group south and north of Khaylastyn-Gol River. The immediate target is to destroy the enemy group south of Khaylastyn-Gol River and capture the southern bank of Khaylastyn-Gol River.

Subsequently, interacting with the northern group, to surround and destroy the enemy group north of Khaylastyn-Gol River.

Should enemy reserves appear, they must be attacked and destroyed on a priority basis.

The operations of the southern group on the right is to cover the 8th kd, reinforcing it with an armor company, one battery, and one infantry company, for which reason it must firmly hold the Iris-Uliin-Obo and Khulat-Uliin-Obo elevations.

4. The 82d sd will attack the enemy on the sector of the Khaylastyn-Gol River, dealing its main strike on the right flank, with a view to interacting with units of the 57th sd in surrounding and destroying the enemy's southern group. The immediate target is to capture the sandy and green hills 6-7 km east of Khalkhin-Gol River and, subsequently, reach the southern bank of Khaylastyn-Gol River.

5. The 36th sd⁴ and the 5th spbr will attack the enemy on the sector excluding the Khaylastyn-Gol River, avoiding the streams east of Bain-Tsagan Mount, and dealing their main strike against the left flank, so that, interacting with units of the northern group and the 82d sd, to surround and destroy the enemy group north of Khaylastyn-Gol River.

The immediate target is to capture the group of the Remizovskiye elevations and, subsequently, reach their western slope (12 km east of Khalkhin-Gol River).

6. The northern group commanded by Colonel Comrade Shevnikov (7th mbr, 601st sp, 82d gap, 11th tbr, excluding 2 tank battalions, and the spb, 87th ptd, and 6th kd⁵), shall assume a starting position on the line 8 km east of the ruins. They shall advance toward the two nameless lakes 6 km northwest of Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo so that, interacting with the 36th sd and the southern group, to surround and destroy the Japanese group north of Khaylastyn-Gol River. Their immediate target shall be to capture the sand hills 4 km northwest of Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo.

The operations of the northern group shall be supported by units of the 6th Cavalry Division, reinforced by one battery and tank squad, for which purpose the 6th Cavalry Division will capture and firmly secure the area west of Yan'khu Lake. . . .

Corps Commander Zhukov, commander of the 1st Army Group

Brigade Commissar Nikishev, member, Military Council

Brigade Commander Bogdanov, chief of staff of army group

Original

TsGASA, f. 32,113, op. 1, d. 217, ll. 30-31

No 5

Operative Report on the Course of the Offensive Mounted by the Group Forces from 20 to 22 August

Khamar-Daba, 23 August 1939

On the morning of 20 August, following a powerful raid by the aviation and strong artillery preparation, the forces of the 1st Army Group mounted a decisive charge along the entire front with a view to surrounding and destroying the Japanese group of forces between the Khalkhin-Gol River and Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo.

The offensive was mounted by the 82d and 36th sd on the sector excluding Nuren-Obo, and the island 2 km southeast of Bain-Tsagan Mount. From the south the southern group of forces struck, consisting of the 57th sd, 6th tbr, 8th mbr,

and units of the 11th tbr; from the north--the northern group consisting of the 7th mbr, 9th mbr, 601st sp, and 11th tbr, minus 2 tank battalions.

The offensive developed successfully. In the first day of their offensive, our flank troops threatened to surround all Japanese forces south of Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo. During 22 August these forces were surrounded and the enemy's attempts to attack our units in the rear of the enemy lines were repelled.

Finally, on 22 August:

- a. The southern group reached a line, excluding Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo, the western sand hill Nomun-Khan-Burd-Obo, 7 km distant, and the northern hilly mound 4 km north of site 670.
- b. The 82d sd--the right flank 4 km north of the island or west of site 670; the center, 6 km away from Khalkhin-Gol River, and the left flank 7 km east of Dungur-Obo.
- c. The 36th sd--right flank, 5 km northeast of the estuary of Khaylastyn-Gol River; the left flank, 4-5 km east of the island, 2 km to the southeast of Bain-Tsagan Mount.
- d. The northern group of the shock group captured the area of the lakes 5 km northwest of Namkhungorot guard post; part of the forces destroyed the enemy center which had remained in our rear 7-8 km northeast of Mount Bain-Tsagan; the army-group flanks secured the following: the 8th Cavalry Division, the defense elevations of Eris and Khulat; the 6th Cavalry Division reached the state border 5 km southwest of Yan'khu Lake.

The reserves are in the area 6 km southwest of Khamar-Daba Mount.

Brigade Commander Bogdanov, chief of staff, 1st Army Group

Regimental Commissar Katugin, staff military commissar

Copy

TsGASA, f. 32,113, op. 1, d. 250, l. 17.

No 6

From the Order of the Commander of the 1st Army Group on the Subject of the Defeat of the Japanese Aggressors

29 August 1939

Heroes of Khalkhin-Gol!

Through your valorous operations the enemy was totally destroyed. The order of the command to surround and defeat the aggressors was executed brilliantly. A crushing strike was dealt at the Japanese military.

Comrade soldiers, commanders, commissars, and political workers!

The great Soviet people are proud of your combat exploit. You have written new, glorious pages in the history of the heroic victory won by the RKKA [Red Workers' and Peasants' Army]. Few examples have been recorded in the history of wars of such a brilliant execution of the plan for the surrounding and elimination of a large enemy group. Once again the RKKA units proved to the entire world the invincible strength and power of Soviet arms. The Japanese military was given yet another tangible lesson, which will sober up this neighbor who has gone too far. . . .

The command congratulates all troops, commanders, and political workers for the brilliant victory over the enemy and proclaims its gratitude to all participants in the combat operations in the area of the Khalkhin-Gol River.

The names of troops, commanders, and political workers who died heroically in the battles for the cause of our great homeland and for communism will remain forever glorious.

Comrade soldiers, commanders, and political workers!

The enemy who invaded the territory of a country friendly to us has been defeated and destroyed.

Our task is to organize an unaccessible defense, build fortifications, and bring military units up to a state of full combat readiness. There is no place for complacency. Higher vigilance, organization, and discipline must be displayed!

Let us execute all combat assignments on the basis of the socialist competition!

Long live the heroes of Khalkhin-Gol--soldiers, commanders, and political workers!

Long live our socialist homeland and the powerful Soviet people!

Corps Commander Zhukov, commander, 1st Army Group

Brigade Commissar Nikishev, member, Military Council

TsGASA, f. 32,113, op. 1, d. 219, l. 179.

ABBREVIATIONS

ap--artillery regiment

ARCK--Chief Command Artillery Reserve

gap--howitzer artillery regiment

mbb, mbb--motorized armored brigade

msd--motorized infantry division
ozp--separate antiaircraft regiment
ptd--antitank battery
sd--infantry division
spb--infantry-machine gun battalion
spbr--infantry-machine gun brigade
tbr, tb--tank brigade
tanr--tank company
tanbat, tanb-tank battalion

FOOTNOTES

1. Due to the active combat operations, on the day of the drafting of this document the party commissions were unable to consider all submitted requests for party membership.
2. As stated in the document. Clearly, this refers to a submachine gun.
3. Meaning the 8th Cavalry Division of the MPRA.
4. As stated. Here and later on this applies to the 36th msd.
5. Meaning the 6th Cavalry Division of the MPRA.

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UNFADING GLORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 82-86

[Article by Choizhiliin Chimid, writer, laureate of the State Prize of the Mongolian People's Republic]

[Text] In the stormy days, subsequently described as "days of Khalkhin-Gol," I did not have the opportunity to march, carrying a rifle, in the ranks of those who defended the freedom and honor of their country, and who, shoulder to shoulder with the troops of the heroic Red Army, defeated the Samurai who had invaded the Mongolian People's Republic. At that time I was still a school student. However, I well remember Ulan-Bator of the spring of 1939, with its strict blackout, the antiaircraft machine guns on roofs of government buildings, and the night-time rumbling along the narrow road, at that time the only one asphalted road within the city, along which two trucks could barely pass each other. . . . Troops marched at night, and tanks and trucks moved without lights or signals. Only the ringing of horseshoes could be heard. We knew that battles, heavy and blood-shedding, were being fought on the eastern border of our country, and that Soviet troops had come to help us, entering the battle on the run.

Summer came. It had already become clear that the Khalkhin-Gol events were no simple border clash. No, a war was being waged, an "undeclared war," as said Marshal G. K. Zhukov, four times Hero of the Soviet Union, and Hero of the Mongolian People's Republic, who was then commanding the 1st Army Group at Khalkhin-Gol. Even though the war had not been declared and was considered local, according to today's terminology, it lasted over four months.

The objectives pursued by the Japanese militarists were far from being local. They did not conceal them. This may be seen in the memorandum of former Prime Minister Tanaka and the statement of General Araka, minister of war: "Japan does not wish to allow the existence of an equivocal territory such as Mongolia, directly bordering Japanese spheres of influence--Manchuria and China. Mongolia must, in any case, be a territory belonging to us." That is how the aggressors spoke without any verbal twists. There were no references to a "peace-bringing" mission, or of any intent to "teach a lesson" through aggression, which would be "limited" in terms of time and space. The frank statement was the following: Mongolia must belong to us--and that is all!

However, the Japanese warriors made a mistake, for they ignored the main thing: the firm guarantee of the freedom and independence of the Mongolian people and the further blossoming of our revolutionary homeland--the fraternal traditional friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples.

It was not in vain that the soldiers' song written by unknown Red Army poets in the days of the Khalkhin-Gol battles said:

The Japanese wanted to cross the broad Mongolian steppes
like a hurricane. Yet, the plan was faulty, for the
Mongolians are our friends and we stand behind our friends.

Yes, our Soviet brothers indeed stood by us.

A number of alarming events preceded Khalkhin-Gol. As early as 1935-1936 the Japanese began to provoke armed clashes ever more frequently. Hero of the Mongolian People's Republic Col Sh. Gongor described to me the way he killed 10 Japanese soldiers and officers who had violated the border in the winter of 1936.

"There were three of us," he recalled. "I sent one to the outpost to report on the situation. I sent the second to the borderline to cut off the retreat of the violators. Personally, I am the son of a hunter and a hunter myself. Once I had to kill literally on a single spot seven wolves. I recall this occasion for, here again, I was able to kill all 10 people."

Cases of violations of the Mongolian border became particularly frequent in April and the beginning of May 1939. On 11 May the Japanese forces openly attacked Mongolian border posts, surrounding several. Our border troops were able to break the encirclement by courageously fighting the advance units of the Japanese aggressors.

From the very first days of the combat the Mongolian soldiers proved to be worthy of their revolutionary fatherland and loyal to their military oath.

I recall the day 11 July 1939 when, on the anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution in Mongolia, the troops of the Ulan-Bator garrison were being sworn in. Marshal Kh. Choibalsan was on the rostrum. He read the text of the oath while the commanders and the troops repeated after him the expressive words full of love and loyalty to the homeland. Everyone, from the marshal to the private, were touched by the simple yet great words of the oath, pronouncing them clearly and firmly. It seemed to me, a youngster who had already heard a lot about the battles, that the powerful way in which these words sounded covered the echo of the battles in the east. After the parade, many of those who had been sworn in were marched directly to the front.

What is Khalkhin-Gol? It is the name of a river on the banks of which, 40 years ago, those memorable events remembered by all of us, took place. It is a small river. At that time its banks were bare, lined only by big shrub-

covered hills. Its name has now become part of history. It means, above all, not that same old river, but a symbol of hot battles fought in the summer of 1939. That is precisely why it has become less a geographic than a historical name. True, as though foreseeing that its name will enter history as a symbol of the failure of their military adventure, the Japanese General Staff described in their documents the battles for Khalkhin-Gol as the "Namonkhan incident."

During that "incident" stubborn battles were being fought on the ground and in the air. In June the Japanese concentrated their forces for the sake of surrounding and defeating the Mongolian forces and the Soviet military units who had come to the help of the Mongolian people, and to seize and expand the bridgehead on the western bank of Khalkhin-Gol, thus securing possibilities for further operations. The Japanese command was so confident of success that it had even invited to the area of combat operations foreign correspondents and military attaches to observe the forthcoming victorious actions.

The end of Japan's offensive and of all its military adventures in the area of the Khalkhin-Gol area is well known. On 20 August 1939 the Soviet-Mongolian forces launched a general attack aimed at surrounding and destroying the Japanese forces and completed it successfully at the end of the month. The Japanese army which had invaded the Mongolian People's Republic was defeated.

Thousands of Red Army men and Mongolian troops lost their lives for the sake of this victory. The Red Flag--the flag of victory proudly flying on the highest hill in the area, in the easternmost sector of our border, became its symbol. On a number of occasions I have met with V. Temin, a photo correspondent, who photographed the moment of the raising of the flag.

"This was the first victory flag in my life," he said. "I experienced with new strength the feelings of joy and pride which filled me at that time, in May 1945, in Berlin, when I photographed the flag of victory over the overthrown Reichstag. I also photographed the surrender of Japan on the Battleship Missouri. I can thus say that August 1939 was the prologue of September 1945 for the Japanese militarists."

A great deal of what was accomplished at Khalkhin-Gol became part of the history of the martial art, and was inscribed in gold letters in the chronicles of the heroic exploits of the Soviet troops. This included concentrated strikes by tanks and the air force. It was here that for the first time the strategic operation of surrounding and destroying the enemy, repeatedly practiced during the Great Patriotic War, was conceived and carried out by G. K. Zhukov. It was precisely here that his talent as a military leader was revealed for the first time. The first front-line newspaper was created at Khalkhin-Gol. Its correspondents included the young poet K. Simonov, whose premature death greatly affected his Mongolian friends, and the already famous writers Vl. Stavskiy, B. Lapin, and Z. Khatserevin, who became military correspondents. It was here again that, for the first time, a tank was placed on a pedestal as a monument to the great brigade commander M. P. Yakovlev and his heroic tank men--as a symbol of military valor and courage.

The Khalkhin-Gol battles were a stern prelude to World War II. Many of its participants proved themselves to be outstanding commanders and troops in the Great Patriotic War and in the course of the defeat of imperialist Japan. Col I. I. Fedyuninskiy rose to army general; Col M. I. Potapov, to colonel general; and Senior Lt M. P. Noga, to aviation lieutenant general. All Mongolia is familiar with the names of the Khalkhin-Gol Heroes of the Mongolian People's Republic L. Dandar, Ts. Olzvoy, D. Nyantaysuren, L. Geleg-Bator, D. Khayan-Kharv, and others.

We always knew that the Soviet people are our closest and best friends. However, as the saying goes, a friend in need is a friend indeed. The Khalkhin-Gol battles proved that the Soviet people are not only our most reliable friends but our true brothers. It was precisely then that the Russian people began to be described as "akha," i.e., elder brother. "In battle in the same crew, and at work in the same brigade." This is how Comrade Yu. Tsedenbal metaphorically described the essence of Mongolian-Soviet brotherhood.

Socialism develops a special type of character, a special type of man. Whether Russian, Kazakh, or Georgian, regardless of nationality or ethnic differences, the Soviet person stands out above all because of his loyalty to his international duty.

I had the occasion once to hear a speech by Army Gen I. I. Fedyuninskiy, who addressed a Mongolian public. He described the combat comity between our two armies, and the noble feeling of international solidarity which lies at the basis of this cooperation.

"Once, after a battle, I viewed our battle positions," I. I. Fedyuninskiy recalled. "I saw in a trench two wounded soldiers, a Russian and a Mongolian. They were weak. They were sitting shoulder to shoulder, as though supporting each other. Blood was flowing between them. It was their blood--that of a Russian and a Mongolian soldier. When I hear the words 'friendship welded in blood,' the words, to me, are not metaphorical. I can see this blood."

Obviously, the same feelings trigger the same thoughts and words. To me as well a friendship welded in blood is not an abstract concept in the least. Hills bearing Russian names in the Mongolian steppe, a tank on a pedestal, and many other features are factual testimony of combat brotherhood, of our friendship.

Once Soviet poet Ye. Dolmatovskiy happened to visit the Khamar-Daba elevation. From the west, the direction from which we came, this elevation rises gently as though walking along the steppe. On the eastern side, however, it is steep, for which reason it is described as an elevation. Rusty pieces of tanks and guns could still be frequently found on Khamar-Daba and the feet would kick a helmet or piles of empty shells. We were still far from the precipice, and my guest asked:

"Where is here the daba, if 'daba' means a pass?"

I explained that the gap was steep on the other side, for which reason the place was described as a pass.

"What kind of a pass could that be, at best this is only a hill. A pass is something quite elevated, difficult to cross"

"Let it even be a small hill. To the Japanese, however, it proved to be a mountain they were unable to cross."

"Then this is indeed a 'daba,' a true pass, impassible for the enemy."

The Khalkhin-Gol topic was heard most strongly in the poetry of K. Simonov and Ye. Dolmatovskiy, and in the essays by Vl. Stavskiy, L. Slavin, and many others. Khalkhin-Gol is not only a symbol of friendship and mutual aid, but to us one of the great schools for internationalism and solidarity among people, members of different nationalities, close in spirit and objectives.

The Mongolian people have always highly valued and will never forget the military exploit of the Red Army. When the battles for Khalkhin-Gol began our working people began to collect gifts for the troops of the 1st Army Group. They wrote them letters and sent their delegates to them. A special commission, headed by Comrade Yu. Tsedenbal, guided the effort to supply the front with equipment and food.

The Khalkhin-Gol events clearly proved the strength of the patriotism and courage of our people. Many workers, livestock breeders, and members of the intelligentsia submitted petitions at that time requesting to be sent to the front. The entire population stood on labor watch. Thus the workers of one of the enterprises in the capital wrote the following to the commanders and troops of the 6th Cavalry Division: "Should the Japanese imperialist clique dare once again to attack our country, we shall again help with all our forces. We shall become the firm rear and, together with you, will defend our revolutionary country." Many such letters were received. Most of them are kept in the Archives of the Mongolian Armed Forces. In their letter, the workers of the Ulan-Bator Lumber Finishing Factory said: "We warmly greet the forces of our people's army and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of the Soviet Union for their joint victory over the Japanese Samurai. We particularly thank our Soviet friends for the tremendous help given to us in defending the freedom and independence of our homeland."

The song whose lines I already cited has the following refrain:

The old Don, the free Volga, the peaceful Don, and the wide
Oka, let among them the name of Khalkhin-Gol--the Mongolian
river--be long remembered!

Yes, in the memory of our peoples the name of a small Mongolian river will be heard along with names such as Kakhovka, Stalingrad, and Malaya Zemlya. For this is not only the echo of the battles against the Samurai but a symbol of the joint lofty aspiration of our peoples toward peace and a beautiful future.

ON THE HISTORY OF SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 87-90

[Article by O. Borisov]

[Text] Recently we noted the 60th anniversary of the day of the appeal addressed by the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR to the Chinese People and the Governments of Northern and Southern China. This document, whose full text is given below, is a noteworthy landmark in the history of Soviet diplomacy and of Soviet-Chinese relations.

The Soviet Government, headed by V. I. Lenin, explained the general principles and objectives of its foreign policy toward Asia and relations with China. The need for such an explanation arose in connection with the victorious offensive mounted by the Red Army against the Kolchak gangs and the foreign interventionists who had seized Siberia and the Far East. As we know, the Entente had instigated the Beijing government subservient to it, and the militaristic circles of the Northeastern Chinese provinces, to participate in attempts to suppress the revolutionary movement in Russia and in plundering our homeland's territory.

The Soviet Government emphasized the following: "After two years of struggle and after incredible efforts, Soviet Russia and the Soviet Red Army are marching to the east, across the Urals, not for violence and enslavement or conquest. . . . We are bringing freedom to the peoples from the yoke of foreign bayonets, the yoke of foreign gold, which are strangling the enslaved peoples of the Orient, including and, above all, the Chinese people."

Loyal to the principles of self-determination and equality among nations, the Soviet Government suggested to China to make such principles the base of relations between the two nations and the two great countries. It expressed its readiness to reach an agreement with the Chinese people, represented by its legal representatives, on all other matters, on the basis of equality. It called for the immediate establishment of official relations between the two countries.

The document expressed sincere sympathy with the liberation struggle waged by the Chinese people: "If the Chinese people wish to be free like the Russian

people and avoid the fate prepared by the Allies at Versailles with a view to turning them into another Korea or another India (i.e., a colony—the author). They must understand that their only ally and brother in the struggle for freedom are the Russian workers and peasants and their Red Army."

The fien-corrupt leaders of China and their imperialist patrons met this appeal with fear and hatred. However, the general strengthening of the international positions of the young Soviet state, the revolutionary upsurge in China, created by the Great October Revolution, and the growing sympathy displayed by the Chinese public for Soviet Russia, as well as the vital need to resolve problems stemming from the neighboring position, forced the North Chinese Government somewhat to change its policy toward the Soviet state.

In 1920 a governmental military-diplomatic mission, headed by Gen Zhang Siling, arrived in Moscow from Beijing. The Soviet Government presented the mission with a note stipulating the basic principles of Leninist foreign policy. It re-emphasized its intention to build relations with China on the basis of full equality, respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in reciprocal domestic affairs. Lenin received Zhang Siling and expressed the hope that relations between China and Russia will steadily strengthen and that Russia and China are united by the common objectives of the struggle against imperialism.

Even the very beginning official contacts between China and Soviet Russia created a stormy reaction in the imperialist countries. Under their pressure Beijing recalled its mission from Moscow.

The principles formulated in the appeal were further developed in a number of other Soviet documents. They were, and remain, the cornerstone of a consistent Leninist policy of friendship with the Chinese people. This policy was of tremendous help to the Chinese people in their long and difficult struggle against feudalism and the mercantile bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism. In the course of this struggle the truly revolutionary solidarity between the working people of the Soviet Union and China strengthened. The Chinese revolutionaries realized that friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is always a guarantee for victory.

In the 1930's, when faced with Japanese intervention the Chinese Government turned for help to the USSR; our country, which was itself experiencing great difficulties because of the capitalist encirclement, showed a fraternal understanding of the interests of the Chinese people. China was given considerable material and military aid. Soviet pilots-volunteers heroically defended the skies over China and covered themselves with unfading glory.

In 1945, together with the Mongolian People's Republic, and coordinated with the liberation struggle waged by the Chinese people, the Soviet Union dealt a crushing blow at Japanese militarism and liberated Northeastern China, where subsequently, with the fraternal aid of our country, the Chinese communists set up a military-revolutionary base which played a decisive role in the final victory of the Chinese revolution.

After the victory of the revolution and the founding, 30 years ago, on 1 October 1949, of the People's Republic of China, the principles codified in the appeal of the Council of People's Commissars, of 25 July 1919, became the firm base of relations between the USSR and the PRC. These principles were developed and strengthened in the historical Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid Treaty, signed in Moscow on 14 February 1950. It was the materialization of the conclusion drawn by the progressive people of China on the indivisibility of the historical destinies of their country and of the Soviet Union, an experience which had been reached after the long revolutionary struggle of the Chinese working people. It was most clearly formulated by the great son of the Chinese people, the revolutionary democrat Sun Yatsen, as early as 1924. He said: "Do not forget that there, in free Russia, the call 'hands off of China!' was sounded There is no distance when it comes to the slogans proclaimed in Moscow. With lightning speed they round the earth and find an echo in the heart of every working person. . . . We know that the Soviets will never take the side of the unjust cause. If they are for us this means that truth is for us and truth must win. The right cannot fail to triumph over coercion."

The cooling off of relations which has taken place over the past 20 years between China and the Soviet Union, not by the fault of the Soviet side, and the declaration of the Chinese Government of its intention not to extend the effect of the Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid Treaty between the USSR and the PRC, were given a principled assessment in the 5 April 1979 Soviet Government declaration. This act on the part of the Chinese leadership was sharply condemned by all progressive opinion throughout the world and pleased precisely the forces which, in their time, plundered and degraded China. This proves who benefits from this decision. In that statement and in the subsequent correspondence between the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, the Soviet Union once again reminded the Chinese side of the numerous Soviet initiatives aimed at normalizing bilateral relations, including the important 24 February 1978 Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

China's leadership agreed to the resumption of the talks, as the Soviet side had long suggested. The Soviet Union believes that a document on the principles governing relations between the USSR and the PRC, drafted and accepted by the parties, and consultations on specific problems of Soviet-Chinese governmental relations, would be a suitable starting base for improving relations between the two countries. This would be consistent with the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, and with the interests of the peace and international security.

Speaking in Bryansk, on 18 September, M. A. Suslov, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, said: "We firmly condemn the ideology and politics of Maoism as deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism, the interests of socialism, and the cause of peace and the liberation struggle of the peoples. . . . At the same time, however, we have frequently suggested to the Chinese leadership to engage in talks on an equal basis. We are trying to normalize intergovernmental relations with the PRC on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."

The Soviet people firmly believe that the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese people are not conflicting. As Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, emphasized, "We deeply believe that the true national rebirth of China can be achieved, and its socialist development secured, not by fighting the USSR and the other socialist countries or the entire communist movement, but through alliance and fraternal cooperation with them."

Appeal of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars to the Chinese People and the Governments of Southern and Northern China

25 July 1919

This day, when the Soviet troops, having defeated the army of Kolchak, the counterrevolutionary despot, supported by foreign bayonets and foreign gold, have victoriously entered Siberia and are marching to join with the revolutionary people of Siberia, the Council of People's Commissars turns to all the peoples of China with the following fraternal words:

After two years of struggle and incredible efforts, Soviet Russia and the Soviet Red Army are marching to the east across the Urals, not for violence or enslavement and not for conquest. This is already known to every Siberian peasant and worker. We are bringing freedom to the peoples from the yoke of foreign bayonets and the yoke of foreign gold which are strangling the enslaved peoples of the Orient, including above all the Chinese people. We are bringing help not only to our toiling classes but to the Chinese people and, yet once again, we remind them what they were told ever since the Great October Revolution of 1917, but which perhaps has been concealed from them by the mercenary American-European-Japanese press.

The moment the workers' and peasants' government assumed the power in October 1917, on behalf of the Russian people it addressed itself to all the peoples of the world with the proposal to make a lasting, permanent peace. This peace must be based on the rejection of all seizure of foreign land, annexation of other peoples by force, or reparations. Each nation, big or small, wherever it may be, and wherever it had had an independent life so far or been included against its will within another state, should be free in its internal life and no authority should keep it by force within its borders.

After this, the workers'-peasants' government proclaimed the abrogation of all secret treaties concluded with Japan, China, and former allies, treaties through which, using force and bribery, the czarist government together with its allies had enslaved the peoples of the Orient, the Chinese people mainly, for the benefit of the Russian capitalists, Russian landowners, and Russian generals. The Soviet Government immediately suggested to the Chinese Government to open talks for the abrogation of the 1896 treaty, the 1901 Beijing protocol, and all agreements concluded with Japan from 1907 to 1916, i.e., following the return to the Chinese people of everything taken from them by the czarist government unilaterally, or together with the Japanese and the Allies. Talks on this subject lasted until March 1918. Unexpectedly, the

Allies grabbed the Beijing government by the throat, covered the Beijing mandarins and the Chinese press with gold, and forced the Chinese Government to break all relations with the Russian Government of Workers and Peasants. Without awaiting the return of the Manchurian railroad to the Chinese people, Japan and the Allies seized it themselves, invaded Siberia, and even forced the Chinese troops to help them in this criminal and unparalleled piracy. The Chinese people, the Chinese workers, and the Chinese peasants could not even learn the truth of the raid mounted by European, American, and Japanese predators against Manchuria and Siberia.

Today we turn again to the Chinese people with a view to opening their eyes.

The Soviet Government has rejected all the conquests of the czarist government by taking away from China Manchuria and other areas. Let the peoples of these areas decide by themselves what state they would like to call their own.

The Soviet Government relinquishes its right to receive reparations from China for the 1900 Boxer Rebellion. It is forced to repeat this for the third time, for, according to information reaching us, despite our repudiation, such reparations are being demanded by the Allies to satisfy the whims of the former czarist ambassador to Beijing and the former czarist consuls in China. All these slaves of the czar have long been deprived of their plenipotentiary powers. However, they have remained in their positions and are swindling the Chinese people with the support of Japan and the Allies. The Chinese people must be made aware of this and must expel them from their land as swindlers and cheats.

The Soviet Government is eliminating all special privileges and abolishing all trading stations of Russian merchants on Chinese soil. No single Russian official, priest, or missionary must interfere in Chinese affairs. Should he commit a crime, he must be tried according to local law. In China there must be no authority or court other than the authority and the courts of the Chinese people.

In addition to these main points, the Soviet Government is ready to make an agreement with the Chinese people through its representatives on all other matters and eliminate, once and for ever, all acts of coercion and iniquity committed toward China by the former Russian governments together with Japan and the Allies.

The Soviet Government is well aware of the fact that the Allies and Japan are doing everything possible so that, this time again, the voice of the Russian workers and peasants may not reach the Chinese people and that, in order to restore to the Chinese people what was taken away from them, it will be necessary to start by putting an end to the predators occupying Manchuria and Siberia. For this reason it is now informing of this the Chinese people, together with its Red Army, which is marching across the Urals to the east to help the Siberian peasants and workers to free them from the bandit Kolchak and his ally, Japan.

If the Chinese people want to become free, like the Russian people, and avoid the fate prepared for it by the Allies in Versailles with a view to turning it into another Korea or another India, let it understand that its only ally and brother in the struggle for freedom is the Russian worker and peasant with their Red Army.

The Soviet Government offers the Chinese people, through its representatives, to establish with us relations immediately and to send its representatives to meet our army.

(L. Karakhan*)

IZVESTIYA, 26 August 1919

*At that time L. M. Karakhan was deputy people's commissar for foreign affairs.

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INALIENABLE FEATURE OF THE SOCIALIST COMITY'S LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 91-101

[Article by O. Chukanov]

[Text] The members of the socialist comity are successfully resolving the problems of building a new society as stipulated in the congresses of the ruling communist and workers' parties. Economic relations among them are steadily strengthening and becoming ever more comprehensive. The CEMA-member countries are firmly following a course of socialist integration, developing and intensifying the cooperation and specialization of the socialist economies. This has also been reflected in the results of the Crimean meetings and talks held between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and the heads of the fraternal parties and states, held in 1979. The meetings proved that the socialist countries are confidently marching forward in their sociopolitical and economic progress.

The 33rd CEMA session, held last June in Moscow, was of great importance to the further expansion and intensification of economic and scientific and technical cooperation, and strengthening the unity of the socialist countries. The session summed up the results of 30 years of activity of the international multilateral economic organization of the socialist countries, and adopted two more long-term target programs for cooperation.

The greetings presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the members of the session met with broad international response. "Socialist economic integration," it stated, "has become an integral feature of the life of our comity, and a powerful and stable factor for comprehensive progress by the fraternal countries." The greetings emphasized that this is the main political result of CEMA's activities over the past 30 years and, particularly, in the past decade.

I

The establishment of CEMA was a major stage in the organization of inter-governmental relations of a new type, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. In 1944-1945 the Soviet Union and the countries in Eastern and Central Europe, which had taken the path of socialism after the defeat of

fascism, concluded their first intergovernmental accords for reciprocal aid in rebuilding their national economies destroyed by the war.

In 1949, under the conditions of the cold war unleashed by the imperialist circles, and the boycott of trade relations with the socialist system, the fraternal countries organizationally established their economic alliance through the creation of CEMA. It was then that the council's main tasks for the period were formulated: organizing the exchange of economic experience, giving technical aid to one another, assisting with raw materials, food, machines, and equipment, etc. At the very first sessions CEMA formulated solutions for these problems. Thus the second session (August 1949) deemed it expedient to promote trade among CEMA-member countries on the basis of long-term agreements. It formulated the basic principles for scientific and technical cooperation and exchange of experience.

By the middle of the 1950's the CEMA-member countries strengthened the planned foundations of economic management. This created conditions for coordinating state plans for the development of basic economic sectors. The establishment of permanent commissions for economic and scientific and technical cooperation was decided at the seventh CEMA session (1956). Their purpose was to promote the development of economic relations and insure the comprehensive interaction among fraternal countries in most important economic sectors, such as machine building, the petroleum, natural gas, and coal industries, etc.

The subsequently increased complexity of the structure of the national economies and the intensification of relations among fraternal countries called for further improvements in the ways and means of their cooperation. On the basis of the summation of acquired experience, the documents of the international conferences held by communist and workers' parties of CEMA-member countries, and CEMA's bylaws, passed in 1959, and the "Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labor" (1962), formulated the main aspects, methods, and directions governing the development of intergovernmental economic relations of a new type. The coordination of national economic plans was accepted as the basic method for CEMA activities and the principal means for the planned intensification of the international socialist division of labor.

With every passing year CEMA distinguished itself ever more clearly as an international organization characterized by a truly democratic structure, decision-making methods, and means for their implementation. CEMA's executive committee and a number of new permanent commissions and the CEMA Institute of Standardization were created at the 16th (extraordinary) CEMA session (1962) with a view to insuring its organizational strengthening and intensification of activities. At that time a number of other international organizations were created by the CEMA-member countries, including the International Bank for Economic Cooperation.

At the end of the 1960's the vital tasks of upgrading social production effectiveness required closer coordination and interconnection among the plans for the development of the national economies of CEMA-member countries.

The 23d (special) CEMA session, held in April 1969, in Moscow, with the participation of the heads of the ruling parties and governments of fraternal countries, became a historical landmark. It substantiated the need for raising cooperation to a qualitatively new stage--socialist economic integration. It defined its basic directions through 1990. These strategic decisions were incorporated in the comprehensive program for the further intensification and advancement of cooperation and development of socialist economic integration among CEMA-member countries, passed at the 25th CEMA session in 1971. Its purpose is to insure the closer unification of the efforts of our countries in resolving key problems of material production and of acceleration of scientific and technical progress, upgrading the technical standard and quality of reciprocally delivered goods, meeting needs for scarce raw materials and equipment, and organizing the production of new commodities. The comprehensive program is also aimed at surmounting through joint efforts the objective difficulties encountered along the path of cooperation and indicate organizational, economic, and legal means for its intensification and increased effectiveness. The implementation of this program enables the CEMA-member countries to make fuller use of the advantages of socialism and of the international socialist division of labor for resolving most important national economic problems. The first coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures among CEMA-member countries for 1976-1980 was formulated and adopted as well.

The implementation of the comprehensive program became the main aspect of CEMA activities. The time of its systematic implementation has been the most fruitful in the history of the socialist comity. Compared with 1948, in 1978 the national income of CEMA-member countries increased tenfold, while industrial production rose by a factor of over 17. The CEMA-member countries account for approximately one-third of the global industrial output, and one-quarter of the world's national income. The industrial capacity of the socialist comity exceeds that all Western European countries put together.

The fact that, on the basis of close cooperation, and using the possibilities offered by the international socialist division of labor, the CEMA-member countries have outstripped the capitalist countries in the pace of economic development, is of essential significance. Thus compared with the developed capitalist countries, over the past 30 years the growth rates of their national income were higher by a factor of nearly 3 and of industrial output by a factor of 4.

In 1978 trade among CEMA-member countries exceeded 100 billion rubles. Compared with 1949 it rose by a factor of over 20. Mutual trade enables these countries to meet their import requirements as follows: machines and equipment, 66%; consumer goods, 71%; petroleum, 80%; iron ore, 71%; timber, 97%; and coal and natural gas, almost 100%.

Production specialization and cooperation are playing an ever more important role in the economic cooperation among fraternal countries. Over the past four years alone the volume of procurements of specialized goods more than doubled. The share of specialized and cooperated output in reciprocal deliveries of machines and equipment is approximately 30%

Considerable successes have been achieved in a number of scientific and technical areas. This is confirmed by the joint experiments conducted by cosmonauts, scientists, and specialists from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR, Bulgaria, and other CEMA-member countries, based on the Interkosmos Program. Let us also note the creation, within a short time, of an Integrated Computer System, operating on a modern technical level. Fourteen models of the Integrated Computer System, a number of models of minicomputers, and over 250 different types of terminal systems, as well as hundreds of applied programs for mass utilization were developed within the framework of the intergovernmental agreement. About 3,000 scientific research and design organizations and VUZ's are participating in the scientific and technical cooperation among CEMA-member countries. Fifty-six coordination centers have been set up on the most important scientific and technical directions.

The scale of cooperation which was reached, and the dynamic socioeconomic progress accomplished by the fraternal countries raise new tasks regarding the development of socialist economic integration. This was mentioned in the greetings presented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the participants in the 33d CEMA session. Particularly noteworthy are the concepts it incorporates on the conversion of the next two five-year plans into a period of intensive production and scientific and technical cooperation, the drafting of specific accords on production specialization and cooperation, the dissemination of progressive economic management experience, and the search for new ways and means of cooperation.

II

The 33d CEMA session summed up the results of the work of the countries and the CEMA organs on the drafting of five long-term target programs for cooperation (DTsPS) in the most important areas of material production.

These programs reflect the profound qualitative changes which are taking place in the content and nature of economic interaction among CEMA-member countries. They are a new major step in the implementation of the comprehensive program for socialist economic integration. Let us note the essential new aspects and advantages of the DTsPS.

The formulation and implementation of the programs intensify the target orientation of cooperation toward the solution of key problems of socioeconomic development.

The main purpose of the program is to strengthen the cooperation among CEMA-member countries and meet their growing requirements for basic types of energy, fuel, raw materials, latest production and technology means, food-stuffs, and industrial consumer goods, and the development of transportation relations. The DTsPS stipulate a coordinated strategy for cooperation in said material production fields through 1990 and, in a number of cases, through the year 2000.

The DTsPS create new possibilities for the comprehensive solution of cooperation problems. The measures they stipulate cover the entire chain of

production relations within the framework of the socialist comity, beginning with scientific and technical cooperation, production specialization and cooperation, and material and technical supplies and transportation, and ending with reciprocal deliveries of goods and services. Whereas previously the coordination of long-term plans was characterized essentially by the conclusion of long-term agreements, covering even though important yet individual problems, today it covers a variety of sectors, subsectors, and production lines, insuring coordination both within a program as well as among programs.

Another distinguishing feature of the DTsPS is that they call for the concentration and rational utilization of material, financial, and labor resources for the solution of national economic problems of interest both to the individual countries and to the comity as a whole. This increases the comprehensive nature of cooperation, closely linked with bilateral relations.

Furthermore, the programs make it possible to broaden the time horizon of cooperation, to determine on time the most urgent problems, choose the most effective variants for their solution, and formulate a coordinated strategy for economic integration. This is manifested in the intensification of the national economic approach in the solution of sectorial integration programs and increasing the intercomplementary nature of the economies of CEMA-member countries.

Finally, the DTsPS make it possible to upgrade the scientific substantiation and effectiveness of the coordination of national five-year plans. Thus the coordination of the 1981-1984 plans is being based, above all, on the implementation of the long-term programs.

Each DTsPS has its priority directions for the development of cooperation. In the field of fuel, energy, and raw materials, these directions include the accelerated development of nuclear power industry, the increased extraction and improved utilization of domestic resources of solid fuels, the development of joint electric-power systems, more extensive processing of petroleum and natural gas, limiting their utilization as fuels, and development by the interested countries of new production capacities in the metallurgical, chemical, cellulose-paper, and other sectors.

The Soviet Union is the principal supplier of fuels and electric power to the CEMA-member countries. This five-year plan they will receive nearly 370 million tons of petroleum, 46 million tons of petroleum products, about 100 billion cubic meters of natural gas, and over 70 billion kilowatt hours of electric power. Thanks to such deliveries, the economies of the members of the comity are developing quite stably, even though the increased complexity of the world's economic circumstances has faced them with certain problems. Currently, with a view to insuring the dynamic development of the Soviet economy, on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's initiative, particular attention is being paid to the growth of the fuel-energy complex of the USSR, and the development of a scientific, profoundly planned, and economically substantiated program based on the faster growth of the power industry. This will be a reliable base for the further intensification of economic cooperation among CEMA-member countries.

The CEMA-member countries are paying ever greater attention to the efficient and economic utilization of resources and the creation of new sources of energy and materials. As was noted at the 33d CEMA session, we cannot hope to meet the growing needs on an extensive basis only, by increasing the extraction of traditional power carriers. This is no longer consistent with the interests of the countries supplying raw materials and fuel and the client countries.

The share of petroleum consumption will be reduced in the fuel-energy balance of CEMA-member countries, while the share of the generation of nuclear power will be increased. By 1990 the European CEMA-members and Cuba will build nuclear power plants with an overall generation capacity of approximately 37 million kilowatts. This will make it possible to produce about 250 billion kilowatt hours of electric power and save approximately 70 million tons of conventional fuel.

Extensive multilateral specialization and cooperation are planned for the production of nuclear power plant equipment. The USSR is building the huge Atomash Plant. Czechoslovakia has allocated about one-third of its national capital investments for heavy machine building for the creation of a big production-technical base for nuclear machine building.

In order to meet the requirements of the members of the comity for ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical products, based on the ores of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, it is possible that joint construction will be undertaken in the future of a metallurgical combine with a production capacity of 10 million tons of steel and, on the basis of the iron-ore deposits in the European part of the USSR, of ore-mining and concentration combines and ore mines for the production of ingots and iron-ore concentrate, with an overall capacity for 17 million tons (in terms of pure iron).

The creation of power-intensive chemical production facilities close to the sources of raw materials and energy and, on the territory of other countries, of less power-intensive chemical enterprises and organizations, taking into consideration specializing in the production of goods to be traded, is a major trend of cooperation.

The program for cooperation in the field of foodstuffs is aimed at the fuller satisfaction of the needs of the populations of the members of the comity for comestible goods and the creation of the necessary reserves. The task is to reach by 1990 a gross grain harvest in CEMA-member countries of up to one ton per year per capita, and to promote the intensive development of the production of other agricultural commodities. To this effect a set of measures are being contemplated aimed at strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture and the food industry.

The measures of the program focus the efforts of CEMA-member countries on increasing the intensification of agricultural production through mechanization, chemization, reclamation, improved seed production, selection, and the development and mastering of contemporary industrial methods for the production

of comestible goods. Effective use must be made of the favorable natural conditions existing in the individual countries. The production and reciprocal procurements of a number of agricultural commodities and food-industry products must be effectively utilized. Measures have been earmarked for cooperation in the development of a modern agriculture in Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam.

The consumer-goods program stipulates measures aimed at upgrading their quality, broadening and renovating their variety, insuring the light industry with good-quality raw materials, including chemical staples, dyes, and artificial leather, and the creation and installation of highly productive equipment.

The primary tasks of the program for the development of transportation is the expansion of border stations and ports, the reconstruction of rail and automotive roads of international import and export, the development of international airports, and the joint operation of a number of international airlines.

The implementation of said DTsPS will largely depend on the implementation of the machine-building program, which calls for high rates of output of modern types of equipment, machines, and instruments for the fuel-raw material sectors, agriculture, food industry, transportation, and machine building itself. Priority measures include increasing reciprocal procurements of equipment for nuclear electric power plants, petroleum extraction and extensive processing, surveys, extraction, and concentration of solid fuels and mineral raw materials, etc, on the basis of specialization and cooperation.

Therefore, the programs express the coordinated strategic course followed by the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal countries in the areas of economic and scientific and technical cooperation. They are of exceptional importance both to the development of each individual CEMA member and the strengthening of the entire socialist comity.

The main task now, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, is the elaboration of long-term programs within the framework of specific agreements.

III

The 32d CEMA session, held last year, was given a corresponding competent authority with which to focus efforts on drafting projects for multilateral and bilateral agreements on specific problems of important national economic significance. Twenty-two such agreements have already been concluded, including a multilateral agreement for international production specialization and cooperation and deliveries of equipment for nuclear electric power plants, insuring the needs for power-intensive and less power-intensive chemical production, cooperation in the building of the Mozyr' Plant for the production of fodder yeasts, on USSR territory, etc.

The contractual method for the implementation of coordinated decisions insures a reliable base for comprehensive economic cooperation. The treaties and

agreements stipulate the specific ways and means for the participation of the countries in collective measures. For example, the agreement on specialization and cooperation in the production of equipment for nuclear electric power plants clearly stipulates the obligations of each of the parties. The Soviet Union will perform the functions of general designer and will provide technical assistance to other countries in the building of nuclear electric power plants and mastering the production of nuclear equipment. The agreement stipulates the specialization of the participating countries: The USSR and Czechoslovakia will manufacture reactors; the USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia will manufacture steam generators and turbines; Bulgaria, Hungary, and the GDR will manufacture shielding equipment; Hungary will manufacture the re-loading machinery, while Yugoslavia will manufacture the main circulation pipelines. The overall amount of reciprocal equipment procurement for the nuclear power plant will total several billion rubles. A special intergovernmental commission on the level of the deputy heads of state has been set up to coordinate activities for the implementation of the agreement.

The agreement on specialization and cooperation in the chemical industry is exceptionally broad. It calls for a considerable increase in the production of power-intensive chemicals in the USSR (ammonia, methanol, polyethylene, and polyvinylchloride), and the delivery of such goods to other countries within CEMA in exchange for less power-intensive or low-tonnage chemicals (plant protection preparations, dyes, and other materials for the light industry). The implementation of this agreement will contribute to the more efficient and economical location of chemical-industry projects in the members of the comity and will reduce raw-material and power outlays.

The intensification of economic relations among CEMA-member countries is insured through the development not only of multilateral but of bilateral cooperation. In accordance with agreements reached during the Crimean meetings between heads of fraternal parties and states and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, bilateral cooperation has been broadened through the addition of a new form: long-term programs for production specialization and cooperation. The inclusion of such programs in the arsenal of methods for joint-planning activities made it possible to select priority directions for specialization, insuring maximum economic results. The formulation of bilateral programs will be completed in 1979 so that the measures they stipulate may be taken into consideration in coordinating the forthcoming five-year plans.

Machine building is becoming an ever more important realm of cooperation intensification. The solution of key national economic problems in the 1980's (energy, food, transportation, consumer-goods production) is possible only on the basis of the organization of the serial production of machinery and equipment with high technical-economic indicators. For this reason, the main task of the bilateral programs is to contribute to the development of the production of contemporary machine-building output, including machines not previously produced by CEMA-member countries.

Cooperation in the technical retooling of machine building itself, which must be equipped with progressive automated facilities, assumes particular

importance. In this field the CEMA-member countries have acquired a certain amount of combined experience. In particular, cooperation has been organized in the production of metal-cutting machine tools with digital programming with proper attachments. However, all this is merely the beginning. In the next decade the CEMA-member countries must reach qualitatively new lines in international specialization and cooperation, and on this basis in the production of technically more advanced equipment.

We must point out that the development of specialization and cooperation is encountering certain difficulties. Assumed obligations are not always promptly carried out. The share of new goods in reciprocal deliveries remains insufficiently high; frequently the concluded agreements are non-comprehensive, etc. A great deal remains to be done also to intensify intrasectorial production and scientific and technical cooperation.

We know, for example, the importance of specialization and cooperation among CEMA-member countries in the production of semiconductor instruments and microelectronic circuits for the corresponding national economic sectors. However, the work done here is still insufficiently intensive, particularly in the case of control systems based on major integrated circuits and micro-processes for various types of equipment and communications facilities, and for a number of important technological processes.

The CEMA-member countries are still using a different, non-standardized base for the production of digital programming systems of the same type. So far some problems in the production of base elements, complementing goods, mathematical support, etc, remain unresolved.

So far a number of important stipulations of the 1967 document "Effective Measures to Improve Production Specialization and Cooperation," and the assignments for its implementation, particularly as regards the prices of delivered goods, remain unimplemented.

Along with the formulation of specific agreements for specialization and cooperation, it would be expedient to develop scientific-methodological work to create conditions for more intensive production and scientific and technical cooperation and for improving its mechanism.

The solution of ripe scientific and technical problems is of exceptional importance. The restructuring of the technical base of the economy, related to the priority growth of machine building, electric power industry and the chemical industry, and the establishment and development, on their base, of science-intensive production facilities, are considered by the fraternal parties a decisive means for the production of qualitatively new goods and for accelerating the pace of renovation of commodities.

Thus about 30 scientific research institutes and planning-design organizations, and over 70 industrial enterprises of CEMA-member countries are participating in the development of computers, based on coordinated plans. Between 1971 and 1980 the volume of reciprocal deliveries of computer facilities between the USSR and the other socialist countries will total some 4.7 billion rubles.

The accelerated application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in machine building is of particular importance. The technical level of the machine-building output largely determines the growth of labor productivity and the quality parameters of productive capital for decades ahead. The 33d session noted the need for a study to be conducted by the CEMA Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation, together with the other council organs, of the technical standard of output used in reciprocal trade, the identification of obsolete models, and the formulation of recommendations aimed at upgrading the quality parameters of the equipment.

The development of a tried form of economic cooperation such as technical assistance is of great importance in the technical retooling of the national economies of CEMA-member countries. This method played an exceptional role in the period of industrialization of the European CEMA countries in which, with the economic and technical assistance of the USSR, they were developing their most important industrial projects. However, its significance has not been reduced under present circumstances. This is convincingly confirmed by the very scale of the economic and technical assistance provided by the Soviet Union to the socialist countries this five-year plan. Over the five-year period its overall amount will be approximately 7.2 billion rubles, including 3.1 billion worth of credit. With USSR help 1,061 projects are being constructed in a great variety of industrial sectors in CEMA-member countries. The most extensive such construction is taking place in Mongolia and Cuba. With a view to accelerating their economic growth and developing their industrial base, 242 and 254 projects are under construction respectively in those countries.

The technical assistance provided by the USSR to countries already possessing a modern production potential also plays an important role. Suffice it to say that with its help the European CEMA-member countries have developed a modern industrial sector such as nuclear power industry.

The international economic and scientific and technical organizations of CEMA-member countries are yet another important form of cooperation. Today several tens of such organizations are already in operation. They have a solid material base, considerable financial resources, and a large number of specialists. However, many possibilities remain in this area. Many such organizations are engaged so far essentially in performing information-coordination functions, occasionally duplicating the work of CEMA organs. They have no right to resolve specific practical problems. For this and many other reasons, the attempts undertaken to operate international economic associations on a cost-accounting basis are encountering substantial difficulties.

All these problems require urgent solutions, for it is a question of matters of vital importance to the entire socialist comity. Here again the CEMA organs must play their role. They must help to raise output to the highest levels of science and technology, and help in the utilization of the powerful production forces of the socialist states with maximum results.

IV

The firm intention of the fraternal countries to continue to develop their extensive international equal and mutually profitable cooperation with all socialist states and with developing and with other countries throughout the world, was reiterated at the 33d CEMA session. This time again the fraternal countries confirmed their readiness to actively participate in the international division of labor, based on the inflexible course of their peaceful policies, in the spirit of the principles and obligations codified in the Final Act of the Helsinki European Security and Cooperation Conference. Pursuing a coordinated foreign policy, and systematically promoting peace and security, the CEMA-member countries are exerting an ever growing influence on the entire system of international relations. They are providing a practical example of cooperation based on total equality, mutual benefit, and non-interference in domestic affairs. They are in favor of freeing world economic relations from economic dictate and political blackmail.

The number of countries interested in cooperating with CEMA is rising steadily. Since 1964 Yugoslavia has participated in the work of its organs on the basis of a corresponding agreement. The Korean People's Democratic Republic, Laos, Angola, and Ethiopia are cooperating with CEMA with the status of observers. In 1973 an agreement was concluded for cooperation between CEMA and Finland; in 1975 such an agreement was concluded between CEMA and Iraq, and CEMA and Mexico.

At the 33d CEMA session observer status was granted to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Delegations from Afghanistan and Mozambique also participated in its work.

Currently CEMA maintains relations with over 60 international organizations. CEMA has been granted official status by the United Nations General Assembly, the European Economic Commission (EEC), the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific Ocean (ESCAP), the Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO).

The activities of CEMA and the principles on the basis of which it is structured are gaining recognition in a number of developing countries. Economic relations with the members of the socialist comity are a bulwark and support of the young national states in their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, for laying the foundations for and accelerating the pace of development of their national economies, for achieving economic independence, and for improving the living conditions of their peoples. Currently the CEMA-member countries are providing comprehensive economic and scientific and technical aid to 78 independent countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. About 4,000 projects have been built or are under construction with their assistance.

Pursuing a systematic course toward the expansion of economic cooperation with the developing countries, the CEMA-member countries invariably support

in the international arena their struggle for the reorganization of international economic relations, for total elimination of discrimination, and for equality and mutually profitable international cooperation.

Implementing a policy of peaceful coexistence, the CEMA-member countries are broadening, on a mutually profitable and equal basis, economic cooperation with the developed capitalist countries. Compared with 1970, in 1971 trade between them had risen by a factor of approximately 3.5, totaling 47.5 billion rubles. However, the expansion of economic relations between CEMA members and the West is hindered by imperialist circles who are trying to gain unilateral political and economic advantages. Currently, as we know, CEMA and the EEC are engaged in talks on the establishment of official relations. Equal business relations between CEMA and CEMA-member countries on the one hand, and the EEC and EEC-member countries on the other, would be consistent with their reciprocal interests. However, some Common Market circles are unwilling to recognize CEMA as a partner in cooperation. They are trying to promote the conclusion of separate trade agreements with each CEMA-member country separately.

The 33d CEMA session reasserted, yet once again, the readiness of the council and of its members to conclude an agreement with the EEC and its members. This would represent a major contribution to the materialization of detente.

The successes achieved by the CEMA-member countries and all council activities have confirmed the tremendous opportunities and advantages offered by the socialist system. The 33d CEMA session confirmed, yet once again, clearly, the essential unity of basic national and international interests of the comity members. The participants in the session expressed their unanimous conviction that reciprocal cooperation, friendship, and unity among CEMA-member countries will continue to strengthen and develop in the future for the good of their peoples and for the sake of security and peace on earth.

The CC CPSU Politburo and USSR Council of Ministers expressed their profound satisfaction with the results of the session and noted that conditions have been established for the implementation of an extensive set of measures stipulated in the long-term target programs and for completing the coordination of national economic plans for 1981-1985, and intensifying socialist economic integration. The implementation of the measures earmarked at the 33d CEMA session will contribute to the further expansion and intensification of the fraternal cooperation among the countries in their solution of problems related to the building of socialism and communism.

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INSULT TO AN IDEA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 79 pp 102-118

[Review by R. Kosolapov of the book "Kampuchiya: Ot Tragedii k Vozrozhdeniyu" [Kampuchea: From Tragedy to Renaissance], Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 255 pages with illustrations]

[Text] Filled with dynamism, and as multicolored as the solar spectrum, the picture of the global revolutionary process in the 1970's showed to mankind the gigantic and previously unforeseeable variety of means for transition to a new way of life, ways and means of social change, unusually strange zigzags in the course of events, and a number of unexpected radical changes.

Along with the Chilean revolution, which lasted three years but was unable to endure, and the Portuguese revolution whose pace slowed down, we could name tempestuous coups of the current decade such as the national democratic revolutions in Ethiopia and Afghanistan, currently subjected to hostile external pressure, and the anti-monarchic and anti-imperialist coup d'etat in Iran, currently experiencing a rather stormy and conflicting stage in its history. A popular movement won in Nicaragua. Madagascar, Benin, Angola, and Mozambique were added to countries with a socialist orientation on the African continent. A number of other peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, including the Caribbean, are closely looking at their example. The population of South Vietnam and the people of Laos began to merge within a common socialist homeland under the banners of real socialism.

However, there is one country and people whose suffering and accomplishments had touched the hearts of our progressive contemporaries in particular: first with intolerable pain and, subsequently, blinding happiness. This applies to Kampuchea, discussed in the operatively published work by Politizdat--a collection of documents and of Soviet and foreign newspaper and journal publications, covering the 1978-1979 period.

It is universally known that the people of Kampuchea, together with the other fraternal peoples of Indochina--the peoples of Vietnam and Laos--waged a long and adamant struggle against colonial oppression and the aggression of American imperialism. However, it so happened that the moment the sun of freedom rose over Kampuchea was also a moment of its eclipse. This was a

fatal sharp turn in the policy of its rulers. It was as though an iron wall came down out of somewhere, tightly separating the country from its natural and old friends and allies, marking the beginning of a period which will always be remembered by generations of Kampuchians with bitter amazement and grief.

I

The pro-American puppet regime was overthrown in April 1975 and the power shifted to the hands of the Kampuchean National United Front. The country immediately broke all relations with the outside world and launched into a strange experiment whose nature could only be guessed at for quite some time.

Two years later, Ieng Sary, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, second in command after Pol Pot, said, in an interview with an Italian journalist: "The revolutionary experience of the Khmer is unprecedented. What we are trying to accomplish has never been undertaken in history. That is why we are not following any model, whether Chinese or Vietnamese. We are reorganizing the country by taking agriculture as a base. We shall use whatever it gives us to create an industry, even though its end objective could be to serve agriculture. The Khmer people have worked the rice paddies for centuries. That is why we must begin again precisely with the rice paddies."

Judging by all available information, a plan thoroughly formulated in advance was being implemented, based on a fanatical concept weighed and sanctified by consultations with Beijing (and, perhaps, on its direct instructions). How else could we explain the fact that the evacuation of the population from Phnom Penh began literally with the entry of the "Khmer Rouge" or, as more accurately described by the people, of the "black crows" into the city. "At 0730, on the morning of 17 April 1975, the unconditional surrender of the government (the puppet, pro-American government--editor) was announced in Phnom Penh, along with an end to the civil war. The next day two million residents of the capital were already on the road. Where to? Into the rural areas, the mountains, and the forests. There, as the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique claimed, 'the Kampuchean people had to be reborn, cleansed from foreign filth, becoming even stronger than the ancient builders of Angkor'" (p 60).

Indeed, no such event had been previously recorded in history. The people of Phnom Penh had been preparing to welcome their liberators solemnly. Many thousands of people on earth in our tempestuous revolutionary age, the age of most reactionary forces threatening the freedom and progress of the peoples--the white guards and their western allies, German fascism, Japanese militarism, the imperialist colonial system, and American interventionism--had known this alarming yet joyful patience, expecting democratic changes, freedom from capitalist and imperialist oppression, and a beginning to the building of a new life! Yet, this time, this sacred feeling was deceived!

"The rejoicing crowds of Phnom Penh citizens crowded the streets," says Rum Sot, at that time a student at the philology faculty of Phnom Penh University. "There were flowers, smiles, and picturesque clothes"

"Then, suddenly . . . at first, not everyone was able to understand what was taking place. Armed people who had entered the city began to scatter the population with the butts of submachine guns and bayonets. 'Animals! Pigs! Traitors! American lackeys!' they shouted. Then a military jeep appeared on the main street and a man shouted through a megaphone: 'Everyone must leave the city! A bombing is imminent! The entire population must leave the city immediately and forever!'

"Panic broke out in the streets. The people rushed to their homes to collect their bags and baggage. They were followed by armed people who ordered them to leave everything behind. Otherwise they would be shot. Shots rang out. A mass pogrom broke out" (p 41). To the best of our recollection, only the fascist occupation forces have ever conducted themselves this way.

The subsequent fate of Rum Sot's family is typical of Kampuchea over those tragic last three years. Her father was shot and killed that same morning for the simple reason of being a physician. Her mother was felled with a hoe on the road. One of her brothers was caught trying to escape to the jungle and his throat was cut with a serrated palm leaf. Her other brother was executed for being related to a "criminal." Her ten-year-old sister and her fiance Mean Pkhim, a university instructor, were killed. Soon afterwards the man to whom Rum Sot had been "married" "administratively," died as well. The reader will come across frequent references to such lists that freeze the soul. He will be exposed to a long series of "terrible stories, greatly resembling each other" (p 134). There are frequent mentions in the book of various refined methods and instruments (including some of Chinese origin) for tortures and murder. The very description makes a person feel chilled and wretched. It is as though the journalists whose articles are included in the collection have exhausted all possible colors to depict the endless horror of the Pol Pot system, the way, apparently, the Kampuchean women were forced to cry their eyes out.

One can only be amazed at the fierce energy with which the Pol Pot people were turning their homeland into a "country of roaming death" (p 54), into a huge common grave. Apparently, they had been properly instructed, in the spirit of Pol Pot's "inspired" statement which is cited in several versions in the book, repeatedly: "We need only one of the eight million Kampuchean citizens" (p 20, see also pp 34, 55, 60, 85, and others). In this case, Pol Pot clearly intended to outdo Mao Zedong, who as we know did not object to wasting half of mankind for the sake of creating a "paradise" on earth in his own homemade model. The practical result of the implementation of such a claim is known: In three-and-a-half years over three million of the eight million-strong Kampuchean population perished in the hands of the Pol Pot people. The words of a Khmer refugee in Vietnam, a former teacher, reveal an angry feeling of justice: "The only state seal which this system deserves is a wooden stick breaking the head of a man" (p 222).

Therefore, the first and most outstanding feature of the Pol Pot system is the denial of the right to life. This immediately takes it outside the framework of the natural-historical process. Saying this, I do not wish in the

least to gloss over the monstrous reality of what has happened in Kampuchea or present all this as merely a wild whim on the part of a few maniacs, which may not even have existed. What really is the matter is that a denial of the right to life is incompatible without any (not to speak of a socialist) progress, and that a system which permits it can be considered as being nothing but a break, a violation of continuity in normal social progress in its evolutionary and revolutionary forms. It places itself outside morality and outside the law.

Could the Pol Pot order be considered consistent with Kampuchean national-cultural traditions or the level reached by the country in its economic, social, and political development, based on such traditions? It is hardly likely that anyone would dare to say "Yes." This too involves, apparently, reasons which have not as yet been thoroughly studied and interpreted. Essentially, the factors which determined that which made possible the fortunately short, bloody revelry of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary were not intra-Kampuchean contradictions or requirements in the least but the interested foreign intervention, initially on the part of the United States, and subsequently Beijing. In this case American imperialism directly passed the baton to Chinese social militarism. "There were many Chinese instructors in our country," said the old Kampuchean Su Zhin. "First they told us that they would teach us how to dig ditches and grow rice, and teach us how to build 'communism.' Yet the only thing they taught was how to kill people . . . (p 107).

The manner in which this occurred in various places is described by 32-year-old Hong Kuy. "I worked in a 'people's commune' in Kratie Province," he said. "Once a Chinese came here. He was tall, fat, wearing a green jacket. He was met by the commune's chiefs. They bowed deeply as he stepped out of the car. The Chinese had an interpreter, but I too was ordered to accompany him, having once studied Chinese. He walked around the village for 20 minutes. Then he said: 'Enough.' He then went to the home of the elder. A meal had been laid out. The Chinese ate while we stood by the door. The elder alone sat opposite him, but did not eat. He pushed plates and asked the guest to try this or that. Sated, the Chinese belched and said through his teeth: "Everything here is normal. However, there are too many people.' Then he left. The next morning soldiers killed half the village population with hoes . . ." (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 16 May 1979).

It is said that the number of Chinese advisers in Kampuchea exceeded 20,000 (see p 93). Were they aware of the mass genocide carried out by the Pol Pot authorities? I frequently asked this question in conversations with Vietnamese and Kampuchean comrades who had reached Hanoi three days after the liberation of Phnom Penh from the Pol Pot filth. Even though in the light of such statements the question may sound quite naive, it had to be asked in order to make everything absolutely clear. It is obvious that Chinese intervention, taking into consideration the tremendous casualties it provoked, exceeded manyfold Kampuchean losses (600,000 people) in the war against the American interventionists and their puppets in 1970-1975, proving to be an unparalleled cruel form of the class struggle. The impression that develops

is that in Kampuchea the Maoists tried to do and develop everything which for one reason or another they were unable to carry out in China, either because of the scale and variety of conditions prevailing in their own country, or else the obvious or concealed opposition of their compatriots, fear of possible retaliation, or pity for "their own people." Here, however, they were faced with a small country, a clean sheet of paper, in Mao Zedong's expression, on which they could write any mad ideograms they wanted. One could say it was an ideal field for endless trials and errors.

As L. I. Brezhnev said, answering the question of TIME magazine managing editor R. Cave, a pro-Beijing regime existed in Kampuchea, a Chinese model of a political system, so to say, while the mass destruction of people in Kampuchea is nothing but the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" in action on foreign territory (see PRAVDA, 10 January 1979).

"Let us recall," said Heng Samrin, chairman of the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea Central Committee, and chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council, "one unforgettable fact: The blood of our commanders and troops and of our people flowed like a river and drowned our land. Their bodies have filled nearly all bomb craters, lakes, and swamps throughout our homeland" (p 147).

II

From the very beginning of their theoretical and political activities, K. Marx and F. Engels firmly rejected all utopias. "We tried, on the one hand, to remove ourselves from any invention of a system of barracks communism," stated the circular issued by the First Congress of the Association of Communists (June 1847). "On the other hand, we tried to put a distance between us and the pitiful and base blabberings of love and tearful emotions displayed by some communists. On the contrary, we always tried to take into consideration social relations, which alone can create communism, and always tried to keep a firm soil under our feet" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 42, p 411).

The Kampuchean Maoists stood on entirely different positions. They ignored all social relations, partially, apparently, because they considered the skimpy Beijing dogmas adequate, and partially because they neither knew nor wanted to find out about the laws of social development. They not only did not try to keep their feet on firm grounds, but conversely seemed to be doing everything possible to remove them. The distinguishing feature of Pol Pot's experiment, inspired by Beijing, consists precisely of the fact that it is unrelated to past history, and that it is an artificial, an extorted formation, an ill-smelling homunculus which was born of the merger of Maoist delirium with the blood-thirsty zeal of those accepting it. The very possibility for its appearance can be largely explained by the fact that, as the Indian weekly LINK wrote, "Unlike their Vietnamese colleagues, the Khmer Rouge . . . had remained highly isolated from the outside world and, in particular, from the main flows of the international workers' movement," and therefore, lacked the necessary information about its long history and rich experience, its current

status, and its problems. "The Kampuchean leaders' liking of the Maoist doctrine," noted LINK further, "may be explained by the fact that the vanguard of the liberation movement in Kampuchea was not imbued with a progressive proletarian awareness, as occurred, for example, in the Vietnamese or Laotian parties." (p 32).

If everything which has taken place in Kampuchea under Pol Pot's leadership could be described as a movement, we should recognize precisely its anti-proletarian nature. Let us take as an example what the Pol Pot people began with: the devastation and destruction of the cities, and their liquidation as centers of the social infrastructure of any importance. Whatever the propaganda pretext under which this was accomplished--"social purges" or elimination of foreign influence, "reeducation" or increasing the number of agricultural population--in all cases it was a question of the destruction (physical, as a rule) of, above all, the urban proletariat, the industrial workers, and, with them, the toiling intelligentsia. The book states that the leaders of the Khmer Rouge brought to the level of absurdity slogans on the primacy of the country over the town (see p 219). However, such slogans, raised in their time in China, could not be brought to the level of absurdity by the simple reason that they were absurd to begin with. They were based on the specific guerrilla tactic of surrounding a town by the countryside, a tactic which could enjoy limited success in the course of a civil war but which should not be extended to the entire period of the building of socialism, and less so to the world revolutionary process. The difference between Kampuchean and Chinese conditions lies not in the exaggeration of this Maoist dogma, but in its consistent implementation. Whatever excesses they have committed over the Chinese people, the Maoists in the PRC dared to engage in only partial resettlement. For example, they could not try to resettle the multi-million Chinese cities without risking the triggering of a general protest and disturbances throughout the country. Prompted by Beijing, the Kampuchean Maoists carried out that which their Chinese patrons dreamed of: They eliminated the very possibility for establishing a power of the working class in the country and an alliance with the peasantry based on it, i.e., a socialist dictatorship of the proletariat, creating a sort of actually absurd political "model," turning Kampuchea into one big "strategic countryside," into a forced labor camp (see pp 218-219).

At the first glance it may seem that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime was able to carry out the complete "ruralizing" of the population, intending to drastically raise the level of agricultural output. "Mass executions, empty cities, forced labor, and epidemics destroyed the old Kampuchea," wrote Hamburg's DER SPIEGEL. "The new rulers wanted to have a 'purely peasant state'" (p 130). Despite all its externally convincing appearance, this claim is inaccurate. In addition to farm labor, "contrifaction" presumes the existence of petty private ownership, if not of the land, at least of some tools, the existence of a separate family plot and the use, even though limited, of its crops. Nothing similar was allowed in the Pol Pot "communes" into which people from everywhere were driven. These cells were a means not for "countryfication," but essentially for the full pauperizing of the population, for erasing the individuality of the workers, and for turning them into something similar to Chapek's famous salamanders.

The very organization of the "communes" was military. "The population of each village in Kampuchea was organized into platoons, squads, and companies. The 'subunit' in which even the slightest grumble was heard was subjected to total annihilation" (p 39). Men and women lived separately (see p 21 and others). All families without exception were divided (see p 160). Marriage by mutual consent was not allowed. At its own whim the leadership married strangers. All emotional interpersonal relations were violated. "All good mores and customs of the country were suppressed" (p 165). Last names were not used. Supervisors or representatives of the authorities addressed the Kampucheans only on a first-name basis (see p 116). Reading was banned. Interest in books or journals, or any other "contamination" with culture, were considered most severe delinquencies (see pp 58-59, etc). Generally speaking, "spiritual life" was reduced to "in the evening the population of the 'new villages' had to attend 'ideology lectures,' which as a rule ended with 'kosang,' i.e., 'reeducation.' This was a peculiar ritual for 'warning' 'commune' members. Usually, following a second 'warning' the person would disappear without a trace" (p 125). No periodicals were published in the country other than a weekly leaflet which was circulated among the leadership. The higher and secondary education system was wrecked. Any exchange of views was considered suspect. There was no correspondence, because, among other things, there was no postal system. A Kampuchean had no right to move. He was doomed to a senseless and rightless existence, to a twilight type of life, full of privations, without personal dignity or future.

"Democratic Kampuchea is ruled by Angka, the party organization. Angka is both the only party and state," Ieng Sary said in the interview I already cited. It was in the name of this mysterious organization that all crimes on Kampuchean soil were committed. "Be grateful to Angka for letting you live and allowing you to participate in our national restoration." Such was the instruction given to new arrivals in one of the "communes" by the local "kamaphibal," chairman, administrator, and military leader of the district. "You will have to work and produce, produce, produce"

"Angka gives each family two weeks to build its house. Each such house must not exceed four by four meters. It is forbidden to build bigger houses. The stairs must consist of three steps, and no more. The materials--wood, bamboo, or straw--are at your disposal in the big people's forest, where you will be taken tomorrow. You will not be the owners of your house, for here no one has private property. Everything belongs to all.

"Angka assigns to each family a 15 meter forest lot per adult. You must work this lot and, above all, cultivate the virgin land.

"Do not think that this lot . . . will be your private property. Angka is doing everything possible to kill in you this ownership instinct. Such will be precisely the case of the crop. You cannot dispose of it as you wish. It will be divided by Angka: Everyone will receive a share and to each according to his work.

"The rhythm of the work will be determined by the sun. You will begin work at sunrise and stop at sunset. You may eat and rest between noon and 1400

hours. Every evening you will be summoned to the cooperative to hear the just and farsighted advice of the Angka, which will allow you to 'reform.' Anyone who fails to fulfill the impeccable advice of the Angka will be punished. Neither your actions nor your intentions will escape Angka, who sees everything and knows everything. Think of nothing but production. Angka does your thinking for all else" (pp 72-73).

With the help of this mixture of cynicism and demagogy, involving the use of a few "socialist" verbal twists, the people were coercively turned into work cattle. All personal items were confiscated (p 80). Every member of the "commune" had only the right to one set of black cotton clothing, consisting of a shirt and a pair of trousers (pp 79, 99). Private property could also include a bowl and a spoon (p 111). "There are no wages whatever. One cannot cook for himself. The people are fed twice daily from a common pot—a thin soup with a few grains of rice, and that is all." In three years the people "have forgotten what meat, poultry, or fish look like. For three years they have not seen soap. . . . Death threatens anyone who may afford even the most minute amount of produce, or for picking a coconut for oneself (p 221). Such was the nature of this "way of life" which could be described more appropriately as a "way" of preparation to leave life.

III

The book from which such data is cited is not a theoretical study. Nevertheless, it contains some approaches to scientific socioeconomic and political characterization of social relations being promoted in Pol Pot Kampuchea. On page 26 the nucleus of its socioeconomic life is described, in the words of Belgrade's POLITIKA, as an "equalitarian village cooperative without commodity-financial relations. . . ." The accuracy of this assertion could hardly be disputed. Yet let us also note that it is insufficiently specific. Thus, it seems to ignore the coercive and anti-democratic nature of the establishment of Maoist cooperatives, as well as their organization and functioning. Equalitarian (i.e., based on the equalization principle) rural (as well as urban) cooperatives without commodity-financial relations have been known for quite some time. Occasionally they arose on religious grounds in both Europe and America. In fact, however, these were always voluntary associations which survived thanks to the internal spiritual and economic unity of their members. Could Pol Pot's "communes" be considered such associations? Does this not mean the idealizing of a fatal practice?

"Slavery? More than that. Slavery and destruction, slavery and expansionism. The sinister experiment in Kampuchea does not even resemble the system of enslavement we know from history as a socioeconomic system, such as existed in colonial Cuba," GRANMA wrote. "In Kampuchea Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, of Chinese origin, educated in France, and their staff, obeying the instructions of the Chinese leadership, established a different type of colonial yoke: It could be described as primitive fascism, for this is an unnatural form, different from any social system we know" (p 97).

The author of the article likens Pol Pot's "model" also to a return to a primitive society (ibid). "The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary dictatorial clique which

seized the power through treachery and fraud abolished everything," stated Kheo Chanda, minister of information, culture, and the press, and member of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. "You see, it decided to build a society unparalleled in history: without cities, families, money, hospitals, or schools. Giving things their proper name, this was the 'building' of a primitive communal system in its most twisted aspect" (PRAVDA, 18 July 1979). Was that what it was? The reader may be looking not only for accurate comparisons, but for precise scientific conclusions as well.

In our view, the concept of Pol Pot's "model" which comes the closest to the truth may be found in the Declaration of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, mentioned in the collection, yet unfortunately for some reason not included in it. "They," the document states on the subject of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and their families, "proclaimed a 'coercive cooperation,' the abolition of money and markets, and forcing the people to eat and sleep 'together.' In fact, they are herding our compatriots in camouflaged concentration camps, seizing all productive capital and consumer goods, forcing our people to do work beyond their forces, giving them merely a minimum of clothing and food, and forcing all population strata to live in poverty, sending them into slavery. They divide the people into different categories to dominate them better, and force them to kill one another" (NOVOYE VREMYA, No 51, 1978, p 30). On the basis of this statement it is possible to define the Pol Pot social system as a "repressive-terrorist system of state slave ownership, established thanks to foreign interference, and extant for a while largely thanks to foreign interests. "The regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique," the declaration emphasizes, "is a regime of slavery of a new type, having nothing in common with socialism!" (ibid, pp 30-31).

The way the Pol Pot clique imagined the social structure of Kampuchean society is indicative. "The entire Kampuchean population was divided into three categories. The third--the lowest--consisted of people who had served the Lon Nol regime. This included the intelligentsia, the former big merchants, and the entrepreneurs. The second category included the remaining population of the areas under Lon Nol's control. The first and superior category included the population of the then liberated areas.

"The people belonging to the second and third categories were proclaimed enemies of the nation and were subject to immediate elimination. Also subject to elimination were the 'pro-Vietnamese elements.' They included essentially the population of areas bordering Vietnam and Kampuchians of Vietnamese origin" (p 55).

"Comrades, you have achieved a splendid success," Mao Zedong said, welcoming and greeting Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. "One fell swoop and there are no more classes. Rural communes made up of the poor and middle peasantry are our future" (ZA RUBEZHOM, No 36, 1979, p 12).

What was to be the final outcome of all this? Having the country consist of the Angka as the collective slave owner with its obedient slaves--salamanders?

Are we taking here all factors into consideration, considering this a unique "pauper-socialism" with its caveman mores totally alien to proletarian and scientific socialism?

Obviously, this practice had no roots in the people, and as an artificial, negative insertion into popular life, it was doomed to failure. A contrast appears between lack of rationality and the infinite creative-positive content of the present age--the age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. The fact that it was able to occupy a certain place in the history of one of the most ancient states on earth reminds us of the way the famous square root of minus one appeared in the course of computations. It has no analog in the tangible world. However, it corresponds to a certain not immediately tangible yet real moment in its dialectically conflicting movement.

IV

Analyzing the reasons for the relative drop in the votes for the candidates of the Italian Communist Party in this year's parliamentary elections, in addition to noting self-critically errors and shortcomings within the Italian Communist Party itself, its July Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum mentioned some international factors as well. Thus, for example, attention was drawn to the fact that dramatic events such as those which occurred in Cambodia or Vietnam, or the conflict between China and Vietnam, by themselves had an adverse effect on ideas about socialism which had developed, and increased disorder, confusion, and hesitations on the ideological level, particularly among the young generation.

It is self-evident that, in this case, it is a question not of the nature of socialism as a social system replacing capitalism, but of a caricature depicted, day after day, by the bourgeois mass-information media and which cannot, one way or another, fail to influence public opinion. A different viewpoint, or blaming socialism for the negative trends in Indochina, inspired by Peking, borrowing examples from the history of the workers' movement, would be the equivalent of considering as the true objectives and organizational and moral principles of the First International of Marx and Engels, the infamous programmatic stipulations of the anarchic Socialist Democratic Alliance, whose magnificent "socialist-democratic" title did not prevent it from becoming a malicious disorganizer of international cooperation and of the class struggle waged by the proletariat by the turn of the 1870's.

This analogy is not accidental. Many of the alliance's actions, over a century old, and its method and phraseology strikingly resemble the Maoist devisive activities within the international communist movement of the 1960's-1970's. The hegemonistic claims and intrigues of the members of the alliance and the Maoists confirm, despite all national-cultural and space and time differences existing between them, their unquestionable socio-class similarity.

Marx and Engels explained the appearance of the alliance by the fact that the by then extensive program of the International Association of Workers made it

possible for "declassed elements to penetrate it and to create within it secret organizations whose efforts would be directed not against the bourgeoisie and the existing governments but against the International itself" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 18, p 327). The alliance was betrayed by its lumpen-proletariat sympathies and its attempts to rely on pauperized strata. "Italy," state Marx and Engels citing Bakunin, "has something which other countries lack: an ardent and energetic youth, thoroughly confused, without career possibilities, seeing no solution, a youth which, despite its bourgeois origin, has not been morally or mentally exhausted to the extent of the bourgeois youth of other countries. Now it is hurling into revolutionary socialism, accepting our entire program, the program of the alliance" (ibid, pp 375, 451-452).

The alliance did not even concern itself with the fact that the "revolutionary socialism" it proclaimed was neither proletarian nor scientific, and that Marx and Engels had all possible reasons to state that in Italy at that time this was not a "alliance of workers" but a rabble of declassed elements led by "lawyers without clients, physicians without patients and without knowledge, pool-room students, traveling salesmen, and other salesmen, and, above all, journalists working in small newspapers of a more-or-less questionable reputation." "who found in the International both a 'career' and a 'solution'" (ibid, p 376).

One century later, under the conditions of a different age, dominated by the working class, and with a sharp turn of the political axis of the planet to the left, in one would say entirely different cultural-historical environment, all of a sudden, the same song sounded ever more loudly. The dream of the anarchists of a "legion of classless youth" (ibid, p 391), which should prepare itself, in its ignorance, for the role of vanguard, was embodied in the bacchanalia of the Red Guards, unleashed by Mao Zedong. It was culturally orchestrated by the concept of the "rebellion of the rejected," by Herbert Marcuse, who recently died ignored by all, and who, only a decade ago, was the idol of the left wing. The numerous bandits of the Kampuchean Angka, totally ignorant of the alliance or Marcuse, extensively proved what a classless, loose, and irresponsible riff-raff could accomplish. History avenged itself for the ignorance of its lessons with bloody irony. It presented our contemporaries with a new historical spiral in the effect of the law of negation of the negation, in a most merciless fashion. Whereas one could still mock the stupid handful members of the alliance, while doing everything possible to block its harmful work, the sinister butchery of the Pol Pot clique must only be mourned. This lesson must never be forgotten.

How could such a thing occur?

Let us read through the alliance documents, thoroughly studied by Marx and Engels, and cited by them textually. From beginning to end, they are imbued with the cult of robbery and merciless violence. According to the alliance this is proof of the vitality, passion, and strength of the people. It considers the bandit the "true and only revolutionary--a revolutionary without phraseology, without bookish rhetoric, an irreconcilable, tireless, and

irrepressible revolutionary in action, a people's-social revolutionary, rather than a political or class revolutionary . . ." (ibid, p 393). What kind of "revolutionary socialism" could this be? It is, rather, a criminal "socialism"! "Thank God," wrote MOSKOVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, the organ of the militant reaction, with unconcealed relief, on the subject of the trial of "Nechayev" anarchists, in 1871. "We do not find among our people revolutionary elements other than people who, imperceptibly, direct themselves either toward the mental hospital or the den of swindlers!" (No 161, 1871). This is quite a noteworthy tirade! Are similar class feelings not expressed today by imperialist propaganda in terms of Pol Pot's "revolutionism"?!

The purpose of the alliance was to destroy everything for the sake of achieving the "total amorphousness," for the retention of even "a single old form" would turn it into the "embryo" from which all others would develop (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 18, p 393). It preached systematic murder and proclaimed as criminal any views of the future, "for they hinder pure destruction, and delay the outbreak of the revolution" (ibid, p 394). "Without recognizing any activity other than destruction," a leaflet stated, "we agree that the forms in which such activities must be manifested could be exceptionally varied. Poison, the knife, the noose, etc. The revolution sanctifies everything" (ibid). Had we not been certain that the Angka activists had never read this, they could be accused of plagiarism!

"To us thinking is valuable only to the extent to which it could serve the great cause of radical and ubiquitous total destruction," the anarchists proclaimed (ibid, p 395); "we are confident that the true men of action will now abandon all theory, not to speak of doctrinarism" (ibid, p 396); "we have only one negative, firm plan--merciless destruction. We firmly refuse the elaboration of future conditions of life as incompatible with our activities; for this reason we consider sterile any exclusively theoretical mental work We undertake exclusively the destruction of the existing social system" (ibid, p 397). Could it be that such telepathic signals from the past inspired the Pol Pot people thoughtlessly to expel three-and-a-half million people--almost half the population of the country--from towns and villages, on the roads and into the jungle, totally unconcerned with transportation, food, soap, medicines, or future housing?

The alliance had threatened some to "cut off their tongues" (see ibid, p 398); others were threatened with "deletion from the list of the living" (ibid, p 413). It advocated the conversion of anarchy into a series of murders, initially individual and, subsequently, mass (ibid, p 398). In a word, it promised all the "benefits" which many decades later, with the blessing of the Maoists, the Kampuchean traitors offered their own people. Even details of the regulation of life in the "cooperatives" of the future, formulated by the alliance, coincide, to an amazing extent, with what the Pol Pot people reached experimentally, so to say. "With total publicity and activity, any kind of ambition, as understood today, and all lies will disappear without a trace At which point the aspiration of everyone will be to produce for society as much as possible and consume as little as possible; it is such and awareness of usefulness to society that all pride and ambition of the

working people will consist of" (ibid, p 414). Is this a "kamaphilbal" speech! It is only the reference to the source that identifies the author of such words. "What a splendid example of barracks communism!" noted Marx and Engels on this subject (ibid).

The founders of scientific communism defined mercilessly and accurately the class inner meaning of the anarchist venture, stating that "the Alliance for Socialist Democracy is of pure bourgeois origin" (ibid, p 331). Unceremoniously and with irrefutable arguments in their possession, as suits proletarian revolutionaries, they exposed its wild "Tatar fantasies" (ibid, p 414). Not only the methodology but the content of their critical analysis of the ravings of the ideologues of the declassed vagabonds retained their topical importance. The mob wearing "socialist" clothing considers the "centralization of workers' forces" (ibid, p 415), the proletarian organizations, and a system of organization their most hated competitor. "The successes of the common movement are a misfortune to it," Marx and Engels wrote of the alliance, as though predicting one of the Maoist features, "unless that movement humbly accepts its sectarian yoke" (ibid, p 379). The statement that as long as the working class has its representative organs, anarchists acting under the guise of "our committee" (quite similar to the mysterious Angka!--editor) "will be unable to take over the public wealth or harvest the fruits of the lofty and ambitious aspiration which they so eagerly try to promote in others: Do much work in order to consume less!" (ibid, p 415) strikes directly at the Maoists and their followers, who have done everything possible to decapitate and bleed white the Kampuchean nation, above all by depriving it of its own working class.

V

The International Association of Workers cannot be held responsible for the "ideas" and "line" of the Alliance for Socialist Democracy. The forces of real socialism and of the international communist and workers' movements cannot be considered responsible for the stupidities and crimes of Maoism and its supporters. For the second decade running, the CPSU and the other fraternal parties have been adamantly explaining the bourgeois-nationalistic and anti-socialist nature of Beijing's official doctrine and policy, which became particularly clear in recent years and were expressed through an open propensity for an alliance with world imperialism and the forces of extreme reaction. Let those who have ears listen. It is not for the sake of beautiful words but for properly cautioning their class brothers against possible and occasionally fatal errors that the Soviet communists call for carefully distinguishing among the various concepts presented as socialist, making fine distinctions among their nuances, and providing an accurate scientific assessment to each of them.

The other side of this problem is the extent to which we are able to defend our own idea, the honor of scientific socialism and its implementation by the members of the socialist comity, taking into consideration the complex dialectical correlation between socialist ideal and socialist practice, and not allow the new system to be ascribed that which, in fact, belongs to

recurrences of the capitalist system. We must recall the perspicacious warning issued by V. I. Lenin on the possibility of the petit bourgeois outlook to penetrate again and again, and therefore for its corresponding possibility to twist assessments of reality within the ranks of the broad anti-capitalist front. "What we are experiencing now is frequently only ideological: arguing against theoretical corrections of Marxism. That which today shows in practice in a few specific matters affecting the workers movement, such as tactical differences with revisionists and discord on such grounds," Lenin pointed out in 1908, "will be necessarily experienced by the working class on an incomparably broader scale, when the proletarian revolution will aggravate all controversial problems and will focus all differences on areas of most direct importance in defining the behavior of the masses, making it necessary in the heat of the struggle to separate friends from enemies, and reject bad allies for the sake of striking crushing blows at the enemy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 17, pp 25-26).

However, let us go back to the "pauper-socialism" or, which is one and the same, the "new type slavery," as planned and implemented by the Beijing strategists and the Phnom Penh tacticians of Maoism. In fact, this was an artificial extension of the class struggle in the form of civil war without a clear definition of the class enemy, yet with an adamant promotion of a general hysteria of terrorism, absence of the guarantee of safety, and total impunity for the killers. It was a war of all against all, orchestrated by skillful and experienced manipulators.

An article taken from the French newspaper LE MATIN describes a characteristic event of a column of people being driven "into the interior," during a halt in the vicinity of a pagoda of a settlement. "Mango trees heavily laden with fruit were growing behind the temple with a gold-painted pediment. Two boys, 11-14 years old, were unable to resist and climbed a tree to pick a few mangoes. A Khmer Rouge approached the tree and, without saying a word, aimed his rifle and shot them in cold blood. The boys fell off the tree, mortally wounded. The Khmer Rouge turned to the others, frozen in horror, and said: 'Watch out! Touch nothing without the permission of the "organization." You must know that everything belongs to the people and everything will be distributed justly. Everyone will have his share. No one has the right to pick anything by himself. Get rid of your dirty habits!' The Khmer Rouge who said this was no older than the two boys he had killed for a few green mango fruits" (p 71).

This case among other seems to shed an inner light on the atmosphere of the "radical social revolution in all fields" and the "leveling of the society." Illiterate peasants from the first category and young, ideologically helpless soldiers of the "liberation forces" were chosen as its blind weapons. "The exposure and destruction of "enemies" was comprehensively encouraged. Credit was given for each murder. People were promoted, thus encouraging even greater zeal. The pendulum began to swing ever more violently. Added to the desire to destroy the "enemy" was the intoxication of impunity and power. "In the past you were my neighbor. You were literate. You had a skill.

I was a nobody who had to cringe before you. Now it is I who determine your fate." The blood which was shed stupified, promoting most base instincts. At this point the leaders of the regime did not have to "charge" anyone with ideas. Mass murders became the norm. Yet another element--fear--was added to such ideas and the intoxication with power. A person who, day after day, kills those like him, cannot but be afraid of the people surrounding him" (p 56). The reader will shudder at the confession of one of the executioners in the mass executions, a soldier named Tum (see pp 73-76), who had retained some good features of a human being, yet became even more terrifying in his desire to surmount this "shortcoming"--the inability to injure (kill!) a woman. "You must know," Tum told his collocutors, "that in our society no one has the right to love or not to love. Angka thinks and decides. It is the brain, while we are the arms and the body. Have you ever seen the arms rebel against the brain?" (p 75). Does this not prove that the "arms" did not know what they were doing?

The true names of all these things are the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" in action on foreign territory, and the export of counterrevolution in its Beijing variant--not as restoration of the bourgeois order, as we have become accustomed to think, but as a despotic establishment of a human-hating utopia, a kind of "cave socialism."

We should not think that the Kampuchean minions of Beijing and their Chinese instructors could have brought from Maoist China something entirely new, something which did not occur in the "mother country" of Maoism, as it had nothing else to offer. The scale of the Chinese tragedy of the 1960's-1970's is still generally unknown to the rest of the world. In any case, in terms of the absolute number of victims, it is hardly less than the Kampuchea tragedy. However, whereas in China one could still speak of a deformation of socialism, for until the Eighth CCP Congress and, for some time immediately after it, the Chinese people lived and worked under the conditions of a generally guided development of the national-democratic system which implemented socialist changes, and under which the cadres of the Chinese communists could then become familiar with Marxism-Leninism in its original version and directly study the experience of the building of socialism in fraternal countries, in Kampuchea the deformation acquired an entirely separate life. What was deformed? Everything! It would be unsuitable even to mention socialism here, as it was nipped in the bud. Even the most insignificant remaining forms of human community life, all social institutions, regardless of their age, and all works of culture were distorted, twisted, mangled, and destroyed. The Pol Pot people broke the ribs and the heads not only of their fellow citizens, but of a thousand-year-old civilization, burying with bulldozers on Kampuchean soil, along with the corpses of the victims, the numerous cultural strata, the priceless wealth of the people, turning them into dead dust.

Unleashing their infamous "Cultural Revolution," with the help of petit bourgeois anarchy the Chinese Maoists were able to suppress centers and beginnings of a proletarian organization, developing in the country. They shook up the entire party, in an effort to totally change its ideological-class aspect. They disassembled and reassembled a new state apparatus. They

revised the legislative foundations. The current social and political system in the PRC can be judged only by taking into consideration the consequent aggravated contradiction between the superstructure, subjected to the influence of the subjective factor, and the more resistant and less yielding base. Consciously or subconsciously, the Maoists in Kampuchea tried to avoid the appearance of such a contradiction. Naturally, this had fatal consequences on the destinies of the Kampuchean people. A suitable "base," which could be supported only by non-economic coercion, and only through the "authority" of a heavy stick, was applied to the already existing "rural" superstructure displaying the mores of the high road.

"The Kampuchean 'Maoist model,' being the mirror of Maoism, is not a precise Chinese copy," GRANMA wrote. "Chinese Maoism retains the cities, money, religion, and customs. The Kampuchean model retained nothing. Was this accidental?" (p 96).

It was not. Deliberately prolonging in Kampuchea the state of civil war, essentially the Beijing Maoists undertook a profound "prophylactic" treatment to prevent the appearance of forms of people's authority and of a collectivistic social system in the country, reflecting the general laws of transition from capitalism to socialism, discovered by Marxism-Leninism and collectively formulated by the international communist movement. They acted with such zeal to "protect" the Kampucheans from the "epidemic" of scientific communism that, not relying on the "fascination" of their doctrines, they deemed it more convenient to re-invent and apply the military-slave-owning methods of social organization, and "once and for all" reduce the number of people. Thus the Kampuchean civil war was, essentially, less an internal than an intergovernmental phenomenon--Beijing's punitive expedition, and its "sanitary" measure, which was implemented by the "Sonderkommando" consisting of obedient Angka "hands." It represented the destruction of the Kampuchean nation from outside, by the will of a great power, skillfully presented as self-destruction.

It would be impossible to understand the events without clarifying the nature of the distortion in the PRC of the people's democratic regime with the features of a proletarian dictatorship. In this case, usually we mention more the influence of the petit bourgeois element and the peasant masses than the influence of the declassed environment. This is explained, above all, by the fact that petit bourgeois and declassed masses behave, as a whole, in quite the same fashion, and that it would be erroneous to pit one against the other, for they intersect and partially coincide, and secondly by the fact that obviously in the countries of Europe and North America their share of the population is far lower compared with the Asian countries; finally, thirdly, the usual categories of "peasantry" and "petit bourgeoisie" are more clearly demarcated in various studies and easier to use. Yet in the case of Western European and Asian conditions, for example, they represent far from identical and, in some aspects, even qualitatively different social types. In one case this may turn out to be the owner of a plot of land or, in any case, a minimum competitive private farm, having a certain standard of modern general and professional culture; in the other, it may be a poor and illiterate wage earner "who has not only failed to rise above the level of private ownership,

but has not even reach it" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 42, p 115). This frequently occurs because the human material awaiting its social "self-determination" is a huge reserve not included in regular economic relations for the active rural population settling the land, the unskilled proletariat, the poor of the cities, and the entire variety of bottom strata.

The unwitting error of some authors is that, identifying Mao Zedong with one of the Western European petit bourgeois ideologues, such as Proudhon, they forget to study the level of class organization or, conversely, the amorphousness of the masses they describe. Yet it is precisely this that could give us answers to a number of questions which the world revolutionary process found in Asia.

In addition to everything else, the petit bourgeoisie in all its varieties and the lumpen proletariat are linked by a sociopsychological feature objectively determined by the capitalist system. This feature was defined by Marx as jealousy. The jealousy shown by the petty private owner of the more successful one, the middle and the big owner, or the jealousy of the pauper of anyone more prosperous. Hence their jealous-predatory attitude toward someone else's property, education, and development, which, on the one hand, leads them to plunder and robbery, and, on the other, promotes equalization-acetic feelings based on the formulas "if I have nothing, no one should have anything," or "if not everyone has enough, let everyone have a little bit." Such was the basis of the fear-instilling views of the alliance (which, since it was accused of murdering only one person--the student Ivanov--was considered "more ideological" than was, for example, the blood-intoxicated Makhnov horror); it was precisely this that stimulated the spreading of Maoism.

Yet is the declassed mass always treacherous and dangerous to the working people? Has it not given birth to truly proletarian revolutionaries, ideological knights who were able and ready to fight for it to the end? Yes, this did occur and a number of great names could be cited in this respect. However, that same mass, as Marx and Engels wrote, could take either the side of the revolution or the side of the reaction. "The lumpen proletariat, this passive product of decay of the lowest strata of the old society," we read in the Communist Party Manifesto, "sometimes becomes involved in the proletarian revolution. However, by virtue of its entire position in life, it is far more inclined to sell out to reactionary intrigues" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 4, p 434). Such an assessment cannot be explained in the least with any kind of dislike displayed by the Marxists toward anyone. It is related to the fact that the pauperized mass has never been nor could be a more-or-less compressed, dense, and homogeneous group. Whereas the working class objectively rallies, on the one hand, in its organizations within large-scale capitalist production, and on the other hand by virtue of the general conditions of exploitation and protection of its interests in the class struggle; conversely the lumpen proletariat is scattered and atomized by the very conditions of its social life in the bourgeois society. It would be difficult to find within it the universally recognized norms of collective responsibility and class morality, not to mention discipline and solidarity based on a common ideological platform. In this case a great deal depends on

the circumstance, the mood, or the superficial impression which an occasionally strong impetus could trigger or result in a sharp turn. This mass is sensitive to the attention it receives and the flattery. It is both cynical and sentimental, withdrawn yet trusting. Occasionally an honest person may not reach an agreement with it, whereas a clever adventurer could do anything with it. When addressed, it demands a certain amount of acting and does not tolerate a purely business approach. Once fascism accumulated its political capital largely based on its tastes. Attempts to repeat this today keep recurring.

Another feature of the declassed elements is their ability to be extremely suspicious today, while losing all vigilance tomorrow. The anti-Kampuchean activities of the executive apparatus of the Kampuchean Angka proves this most vividly.

VI

A separate topic, one way or another covered in the book, is beating and burning out the brains and intellect of the Kampuchean nation and of its best educated segment, carried out with maniacal consistency and a kind of sadistic pleasure. "Specialists, skilled workers, and capable and talented cadres were liquidated," I was told last January in Hanoi by Rokh Samay, general secretary of the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea. "You may find it difficult to imagine this, but even secondary school seniors in our country are almost non-existent." The people's revolutionary tribunal which tried and sentenced in absentia Pol Pot and Ieng Sary with the death penalty for their crime of genocide committed against the Kampuchean people, drew up the sad result: According to the prosecutor's accusation, "80 percent of teachers and instructors have been destroyed. Only 69 of 683 physicians and pharmacists remain" (ZA RUBEZHOM, No 36, 1979, p 12). 90 percent of the men of arts have perished (see PRAVDA, 24 August 1979).

"Long before 1975," recalls the battalion commander Thom Boret, "I felt that Pol Pot and his retinue had begun to follow a line aimed against the veterans of the national liberation movement. In our district organization constant meetings were held at which those who had participated in the war of resistance against the French colonizers were criticized. We, the young, were forced to do this. We were told that only we were able to understand the new revolutionary course of the leadership, and that the senior generation of revolutionaries had been strongly penetrated by Vietnamese ideology and failed to understand local conditions. We believed this and considered that our senior comrades indeed had to be reeducated in order to be in step with the times. They were taken to 'political courses' (we were told) and if anyone would ask why one or another comrade had not come back, he would be told that the comrade had been appointed after the 'courses' to another province. By 1975 not one veteran had remained in our organization" (p 53). Along with this campaign Mao Zedong's famous "Red Booklet" was being disseminated, immediately proclaimed as the "encyclopedia" of the Kampuchean revolution.

Thousands of Kampuchean revolutionaries who had undergone political and professional training in Vietnam at the request of the Khmer people's revolutionary party, became victims of persecutions and reprisals (see p 28).

. . . The "black crows" entered the capital with clearly formulated ideas not only concerning the urbanites, but all objects of culture and the entire spiritual potential. The objective was to lower to zero level the cultural standard of the people. "Most precious ancient manuscripts in Buddhist temples and museums, government reports, bank accounts, books, dictionaries, manuals, and even calling cards were to be destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of books were thrown into the Mekong River. Bonfires of 'seditious' literature were lit. The libraries of Phnom Penh University and the Buddhist monastery were burned down" (p 120).

Anyone practicing an intellectual profession could survive only by concealing his status. Even that was not always helpful. You could be killed if seen carrying a piece of paper or a pencil (see p 221). The targets were determined quite simply. "I killed above all those who wore glasses," admitted Samu, a former Pol Pot security agent. "If you wear glasses it means that you know how to read. And, perhaps, also harbor harmful thoughts. Generally speaking, eyeglasses are an invention of the bourgeoisie" (PRAVDA, 18 July 1979). Such was the simple interpretation, in the language of the killers, of the world "practice," as discussed by the mentioned "kamaphibal": "Your culture is a degrading culture which exists for the sake of contributing to the exploitation of man by man and the rule of the strong over the weak" (p 73).

Most of those who burned books, destroyed statues, and hit eyeglasses did not even suspect that they were leading their own nation and, with it, themselves, to oblivion. The policy of total obscurantism, depersonalization, and destruction of the Kampuchean people, as the naked eye can now see, were links in a devilish plan aimed at "raising a new race of Kampuchians--a race of morally damaged individuals who could only reproduce themselves, maintain their existence on the necessary level, and coolly eliminate substandard individuals" (p 45).

What "standards" were demanded of the people? Essentially, Ieng Sary answered the question. They had to be individuals who could work the rice fields. That was all. In this case the regime was amazingly unpretentious.

Let us recall that same Ieng Sary, landing at the airport in New York, to participate in the United Nations General Assembly, boastfully stated: "We have cleaned up our cities" (p 128). What was to be done with this barren pile in which the toil of centuries had been invested and where many generations of Kampuchians had grown up? The new aspect of the country arose in front of our eyes: Kampuchians turned into salamanders, all day long in water to their knees, bending their backs on the rice paddies, dead streets, abandoned housing, neglect of public buildings and parks and squares. The "Chinese neutron bomb" had not been dropped in vain (see p 94)! Had the Pol Pot people decided to refute the Russian saying that a holy place cannot stay empty? For whose sake was the rice to be produced, for whose sake was "living space" cleared?

The collection's materials clearly answer these questions. Resettlers from China and Chinese living abroad were expected. The fate prepared for Kampuchea was to become a Chinese province in which the slave labor of a few, specially sorted and trained aborigines and cities "cleared" from their populations would provide all the necessary conditions with which to organize the normal life of the citizens of a great power. It is claimed that some 10 million of them would have come (see p 52). Such was the simple case, regardless of the complex theoretical camouflage. The vestiges of the halo of "sacredness," with which the fanatical supporters of even a false truth are always given, are vanishing. It turns that the "pauper-socialism" model as well does not have a self-seeking end in the least. It is not "art for art's sake," as occasional attempts are made to present it. It has a very practical, a pragmatically considered meaning. It is merely an attention-drawing and misleading ideological-political lever for the real "geopolitical" interests of Beijing, a tool for a new model colonialism or, if one wishes, "social-colonialism," which is trying to fill the place of U.S. imperialist colonialism. In this case it would be inept and clumsy to use the word "system." We are faced with nothing but "gas chamber" of a Maoist model. In this case it is easy to explain the puzzlement that even the Nazis, "even though this does not justify their crimes in the least, did not destroy the people of their own country" (p 100). The point is that the Nazis considered themselves and their fellow citizens as members of a "higher race." What was planned for Pol Pot's Kampuchea was the "coming" of such a race from the outside--from the Celestial Empire itself.

True, a certain lack of clarity remains of a personal nature, so to say, in connection with the behavior of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. It is hard even to imagine simple citizens, not to speak of political leaders, who would remain not only deaf to the hellish tortures of their people but would even willingly doom them to slaughter. ". . . Pol Pot should not be overestimated as a theoretician," the book states. "He was an executive and undertook the implementation of his objective with the persistence of an agent who has received a good down payment. In Kampuchea the mass murder of the people, the elimination of entire population strata, and genocide on the scale of the entire country which Pol Pot described as his homeland, make us question whether or not this was his nation, not formally but in fact, spiritually, so to say. All Kampuchean hindered Pol Pot" (p 55).

It is believed that Pol Pot's personal sympathy lay with China. His father was half Chinese and his mother was Chinese. Ieng Sary as well is considered three-quarters Chinese. Both are married to Chinese women. Naturally, however, they were not eager to publicize such blood ties (see LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 16 May 1979). It is more likely that both Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are Chinese nationalists who the Maoists tried to place within the Kampuchean national liberation movement. However, not a great deal could be explained by national origin alone. Answering my questions, the Vietnamese comrades related Pol Pot's unparalleled personal cruelty (it is said that he "entertained himself" by burying children alive—ibid) with the fact that he, like Mao Zedong, is the son of a landowner. However, this too may be a fact contributing to the explanation without being the explanation itself. A better

answer is obtained by the statement that Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, and the others like them, belonged to the rejects of the exploiting classes who joined the national-liberation struggle for careeristic considerations.

After all this, is it necessary to prove that the mass destruction of the Kampuchean population, encouraged by Beijing, was not in the least a civil war in the precise meaning of the term? It was a colonial war concealed as civil war, carried out by spiritually blinded Kampuchians, similar to the wars waged by Cortez and Pizarro in the 16th century, the infamously cruel destroyers of flourishing countries in Central America. This sheds a new light also on the nature of the Chinese intervention which replaced in Kampuchea all familiar forms of the class struggle in the transitional period with a class struggle waged by the social-colonialists, aimed at blocking the appearance here of any basis for proletarian socialism.

What kind of civil war was that? Did it in fact take place? Yes, it did. However, it was a different war which began somewhat later. "As early as 1976, in many areas, and even in Phnom Penh, personnel of the authorities and army cadres, ranging from the central to the zonal and district organs, were opposing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, together with a considerable percentage of the population," said Rokh Samay at the Hanoi session of the presidium of the Organization of Solidarity of Asian and African Peoples (January 1979). "Peasants in many villages in Battambang, Kompong Cham, and the eastern, northeastern, southeastern zones rebelled and courageously fought for their right to life. . . .

"In 1978 the rebel movement expanded. Its peak was the May uprising of workers, peasants, soldiers, and engineering and technical and administrative workers in the provinces of Kompong Cham, Prey Veng, Svay Rieng, Ratanakira, Modolkira, and other areas" (p 166). On 2 December 1978, at their constituent congress, the true revolutionaries and patriots of the country founded the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea.

Since then the revolutionary struggle "rapidly spread through all population strata, giving them faith in the inevitable victory, firing them like a spark which sets aflame the dry steppe" (P 167). Victory came. On 7 January 1979 the red flag with the golden depiction of the five-powered Angkor Wat flew over suffering Phnom Penh. The people firmly rejected the dark shroud of Maoism with which, for years, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique extended the night of colonialism. "Kampuchea became not only the first experimental model for implanting outside the PRC the Maoist model of political system and genocide, but a country in which the first anti-Maoist people's revolution won," wrote Rokh Samay in PRAVA (p 251).

An anti-Maoist revolution . . . is a new phenomenon in our age of transition. It is a new target for historical and sociological research, requiring a comprehensive interested analysis. The uprising against genocide and slavery of a new type, against "pauper-socialism" and "social-colonialism," and against great-power hegemonism and the reactionary utopias of Maoism, and for organizing life according to the Marxist-Leninist tenets and the theory of scientific communism, as well as for social progress toward democracy and socialism along the non-capitalist way.

It is symbolic in a sinister way that, in accordance with their idiotic logic as flunkies, the Maoist puppets tried to stop Kampuchean history at a precise hour: on 17 April 1975, at 0925. "The clocks on the sports stadium and on the other main buildings in the capital were stopped on that day and hour by order of the tyrants" (p 98). This was seen by the Kampuchians and by hundreds of foreign journalists who were celebrating, in January 1979, in Phnom Penh, the victory of the people. Now no one will stop any longer the clocks recording the latest history of Kampuchea!

Naturally, it would be difficult to cover exhaustively the content of any book. It is understandable that in the collection "Kampuchiya: Ot Tragedii k Vozrozhdeniyu," I focused, understandably, my attention on the first of the two sections respectively entitled "The Tragedy of the Kampuchean People," and the "Rebirth of Kampuchea." This gap in my review could be easily filled by reading the book. Here the reader will find abundant factual data and initial attempts to interpret a number of phenomena and topical problems, which unquestionably would be useful to propaganda workers, teachers, and social scientists.

As to the shortcomings of the collection, its compiler and editors should have made it more complete. Mandatorily they should have included in the book the 10 January TASS report on L. I. Brezhnev's meeting with American journalists at which he assessed the events in Kampuchea. The collection would have strongly benefited also by including in it the declaration of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, which was published in December 1978 in NOVOYE VREMYA. Nor have the editors been able to avoid the repetition of similar facts in the book and, something quite annoying, to spell consistently identical names and geographic locations.

. . . Were I to be asked to describe in a few words the content of this book, I would say that it is a book about insulting an idea, the idea of socialism, and about the defense of its dignity. It is for this that all communists, all supporters of democracy and social progress, the international working class, the forces of national liberation, and the peoples must be eternally grateful to the Kampuchean revolutionaries, and to their brothers and allies in socialist Vietnam.

"The Angkor temple was not lost in the jungles when the jungles spread like the sea. It is from the depths of this jungle that the stones which, nine centuries ago, became the supreme symbol of the nation, even though dedicated to the gods, were restored.

"That is precisely the way this nation will rescue itself from destruction and 'Sinization.' It will be saved through the uprising which puts to shame 'Maoism' and asserts the priceless wealth of fraternal solidarity. . . .

". . . Unquestionably, through its lightning and victorious actions, Kampuchea proclaimed the advent of the beginning of the end of 'Maoism'" (p 96).

Insulting socialism through words and actions cannot be left without convincing rebuff.

INFLUENTIAL FACTOR OF WORLD POLITICS

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[Article by R. Tuzmukhamedov]

[Text] One of the characteristic features of the contemporary political circumstances is the increased role of the developing countries in world affairs. The direct consequence of this fact is the increased influence and significance of the nonalignment movement, which includes the majority of countries which rejected the chains of colonial dependence, gained their sovereignty, or else firmly took the path of independent development after World War II. In the nearly two decades that have passed since its organizational establishment the movement of nonaligned countries, having rallied a large group of countries in different continents, became an influential factor in international relations. It continues to make a substantial contribution to the cause of strengthening the peace and international security, in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, and in acknowledging the right of nations to be the masters of their destiny, and strengthening the political and economic independence of the liberated countries. Life has repeatedly and convincingly proved that socioeconomic and cultural progress in these countries is closely linked with the struggle for detente and the consolidation of universal peace.

The regular meeting of the leading organs of the nonalignment movement, including the 6th conference of heads of states and governments, which took place from 3 to 9 September, occurred in the first 10 days of September 1979 in Havana, the capital of socialist Cuba. This summit meeting was quite different from previous ones, which was a manifestation, above all, of its particular political significance. The conditions in which the Havana conference took place, and its proceedings and results, are unquestionably worthy of attention also from the viewpoint of assessing the position and role of the movement in present-day world politics, together with its prospects.

Let us begin with the fact that no single summit meeting in the entire history of the nonaligned movement has been so representative. In Havana 55 delegations were led by heads of states and governments. In addition to the highest number of full members in its entire history--92--also record setting was the number of observers and guests representing 39 countries, national-liberation

movements, and international organizations. Another first in the history of the movement was the fact that it was the first time that its supreme organ was meeting in a Latin American country, in a continent which is becoming, to a growing extent, the arena of social ferment and revolutionary tempests, even though U.S. imperialism is still considering it as its privileged "sphere of influence."

With all their significance, however, not even these quantitative or, if we may say so, geopolitical aspects determined the particular importance of the sixth conference of nonaligned countries. More important was the fact that this broad and influential international forum took place at a time when, under the conditions of the predominance of a trend toward detente, forces hostile to the cause of the peace, freedom, and independence of the peoples are demonstrating their particular stubbornness in their desire to stop the positive changes in international life. On the one hand, the national-liberation movements are gaining new successes. The number of countries firmly taking the path of free and independent development is rising. It is becoming ever more obvious to the progressive public and the broad popular masses of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that their socioeconomic and cultural progress is most closely linked with the successes of the struggle for detente and consolidation of universal peace. On the other hand, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, courageously defending their freedom and independence, remain the targets of intensified provocations and threats. Imperialism and the reaction are applying their efforts to undermine the forces of social progress in Afghanistan. An uncontrolled and explosive situation describes the state of affairs in the Middle East. Imperialism is continuing its maneuvers with a view to the preservation of colonial-racist regimes in Southern Africa.

Under such conditions, as was pointed out by the authoritative circles of the movement, the further consolidation of nonaligned countries on an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and peace-loving platform would contribute, in addition to everything else, to strengthening the process of detente, for which reason it is particularly undesirable to those who oppose the strengthening of the independence, peace, and security of the peoples.

The very decision to convene the conference in the capital of a socialist country widely known for its consistent and decisive struggle against U.S. imperialism and support of national-liberation movements, assumes prime political importance. The opponents of nonalignment are concerned with the fact that the holding of the conference in Cuba also predetermined, in accordance with established procedure, its leading role till the next conference (Baghdad, 1982) within the entire movement and its Coordination Bureau.

It is obvious, above all taking into consideration the fact that long before the Havana conference, extensive and clearly coordinated propaganda-diversion campaign was launched by imperialism, aimed at somehow discrediting socialist Cuba as a member of the nonalignment movement. Both the capitals of the leading capitalist countries, as well as Beijing, joined efforts in this

thankless undertaking, in an effort to cast aspersions on Cuba's policy and proclaim it incompatible with the principles of the movement. Going further, with the help of some allied regimes, the imperialist and Beijing circles launched a frontal attack using the rostrum of the conference of ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries, held in Belgrade in July 1978. Demands were heard not to hold the conference in Havana. Appeals were even made to remove Cuba from participation in the movement. Such sallies, however, were firmly rebuffed at the Belgrade forum, which reiterated, as was intended, that the conference will take place at the appointed time in Havana.

The subsequent development of events proved that, defeated in Belgrade, the alliance of reactionary forces did not stop its propaganda campaign against Cuba and, essentially, against the entire nonalignment movement and its basic principles. Furthermore, this alliance began to resort to newly refined and thoroughly developed methods of political-propaganda struggle, aimed at attempting, to one or another extent, to disorganize the nonalignment movement, and achieve its withdrawal and alienation from the global front of anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces and, above all, from the countries of real socialism.

In this respect, the line of imposing on global public opinion, particularly in the nonaligned countries, the idea that this movement has not only been split into "radicals" and "moderates," but that both are "headed" by socialist countries--Cuba and Yugoslavia--between which a struggle for leadership is being waged, presents a danger to the implementation of the long-term tasks of the movement. The American newspaper THE WASHINGTON STAR, for example, wrote the following in the days of the conference: "The main rivals at the conference are Cuba and Yugoslavia." According to the bourgeois press, the former, allegedly, is pulling the movement "into the Soviet camp," while the second is trying to balance "at an equal distance the two blocs" in the world, i.e., socialism and imperialism.

Promoting this propaganda line, the imperialist information media clearly expressed their preference for the positions supporting "pure" nonalignment. In the final account, however, they are obviously hoping to create within world public opinion the impression that the movement is torn by conflicts through the fault of the socialist countries and that, in any case, it is threatened "from the left." As was justly noted during the conference by APS, the Algerian news agency, "imperialism has begun to consider the non-alignment movement as an object which, allegedly, should be defended from 'communist subversive activities.'" Attempts to inflame passions on the subject of the so-called "Kampuchean problem," in its interpretation provided by imperialist and Beijing politicians, and some others, served the same objectives of drawing the attention of the members of the movement and of broad public-opinion circles, away from the anti-imperialist nature of the policy of nonaligned countries.

That is precisely why the Havana meeting of the heads of two socialist countries, active in the nonalignment movement, Comrades Fidel Castro and

Josip Broz Tito, assumed such great importance. As a result of their talks, which, as was noted by the Cuban press, took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, both sides agreed on the need for all members of the movement to work for insuring the success of the conference and for strengthening the movement of nonaligned countries, avoiding aspects which could either divide or weaken it. Both leaders once again noted the aspiration of their countries for a lasting peace for the benefit of all, and stressed the importance of strengthening the process of detente for the sake of this peace. They emphasized that such is precisely the direction followed within the movement by Cuba and Yugoslavia. Joint belief was expressed of the need to assert and implement the historical principles and objectives of the nonalignment movement.

The participants in the Havana conference and the progressive public throughout the world were greatly impressed by the speech delivered by Fidel Castro, the new chairman of the movement, with which the conference was opened. The clear and principled positions it contained on the basic problems of the agenda contributed to the clear definition of the role of nonalignment in the struggle against oppression, inequality, and injustice promoted by the imperialists in relations between peoples and countries, directing the movement to a more active, substantive, and constructive participation in the efforts for the defense of international peace and security. The speaker pointed out the main enemies of the movement and discussed the basic global political problems it faces. Comrade F. Castro's speech clearly disappointed the organizers of the anti-Cuban stir within the imperialist camp because of some other aspects as well. It clearly formulated the principle-minded foreign-political position of a socialist country, emphasizing the natural and historically tested experience of class-political ties linking it with the other countries of real socialism.

Both the Havana conference and its preparations took place against a socio-political background sharper than ever before. This was no accident. This gravity was due not only to the stir raised on the subject of the conference by reactionary circles, but because of objective reasons which forced these circles to increase their fierceness and try to globally coordinate their efforts aimed at emasculating the anti-imperialist direction of the movement. The reasons for this are obvious. Both the national liberation of the overwhelming numbers of the movement and the strengthening of their independence, as well as the appearance, the development, and consolidation of the non-alignment movement itself became possible, above all, because after World War II world socialism--the force which definitively eliminated the imperialist monopoly on the destinies of the peoples--was organized and strengthened rapidly. Monopoly capital lost its former possibility to command in world politics, drown with impunity in blood the uprising of nations fighting for their freedom, and dictate to weaker countries how to conduct their affairs. In the course of their appearance and their pursuit of an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial course, the young states enjoyed, and are enjoying, the reliable support of the world socialist comity. The anti-imperialist and peace-loving interests of socialist and nonaligned countries objectively coincide. Strengthening unity for the sake of such interests is to the

advantage of said countries. The blocking of such unity and efforts to weaken it benefit imperialism and the opponents of the freedom, independence, and progress of the nations. Such is, in its general feature, the reality of the historical development of today. It is being continually and naturally confirmed by the entire course of development of the nonaligned movement.

Suffice it to recall a few facts. Two of the six conferences of heads of states and governments conferences--the supreme organ of the movement--have been held in the capitals of socialist countries. Today the movement includes five socialist countries. The overwhelming majority of new members of the movement have gained their independence. They were able to defend and strengthen it and progress on the path of independent development, relying on the comprehensive support and aid of world socialism. All developing countries following a path of socialist orientation are members of the non-aligned movement. Meanwhile, Chile's place is vacant, for by decision passed in 1974 the fascist-leaning junta was expelled. The same situation prevailed in its time with the pro-American regime of Lon Nol in former Cambodia. The movement did not accept as members the Thieu regime--Washington's puppet in Saigon--nor is it admitting the regime of another American stooge, that of Pak Chong-hui, in South Korea.

It was no accident that the message addressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz on the occasion of its inauguration was so consonant with the objectives of the movement and understood by its participants. The Soviet state, the message pointed out, "has always considered, and considers, its sacred duty to struggle for universal peace and security, for equal international cooperation, against imperialism and colonialism, and against all forms of inequality and oppression of the peoples." The Soviet Union systematically promotes the intensification of detente, the spreading of political detente throughout the world, adding to it military detente, and conversion to real disarmament measures. The Soviet Union opposes the division of the world into confronting military-political blocs and, together with the other members of the Warsaw Pact, as we know, has frequently asserted its readiness to disband its organization, along with the disbanding of NATO and, as a first step, the abolition of their military organizations, starting with a reciprocal reduction of military activities. The USSR supports the struggle of the developing countries for the restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equality and justice, excluding all discrimination. It firmly supports the right of peoples to dispose of their own resources and carry out socioeconomic changes consistent with their interests and which strengthen the sovereignty and independence of the young liberated states.

Therefore, objective factors rather than anyone's political desire, are promoting the unification of the efforts of nonaligned and socialist countries in the struggle for achieving general democratic, anti-imperialist, and peaceful objectives. A number of speakers at the Havana conference discussed the vital importance of the further strengthening of this union. At the same time, they were against any reduction in the role of nonalignment in world politics and demanded its equal participation in the worldwide anti-imperialist front.

The objective sociopolitical factors of the contemporary stage of world development, revealed particularly sharply in connection with the conference, are of a long-term nature. Taking also into consideration the processes of socio-class polarization which are taking place in the liberated countries and related socioeconomic developments, there are grounds to assume that in the next few years the pressure on the movement of nonaligned countries as a whole and on its individual members exerted by the international alliance of reactionary forces will rise and assume a greater variety of forms. This urgently requires higher vigilance toward the intrigues of the enemies of the movement and of the freedom, independence, and security of the peoples of non-aligned countries and of all states.

Taking into consideration the noted characteristics of the situation and the difficulties encountered by the participants in the Havana conference, above all the unprecedented concentrated and comprehensive pressure exerted on them by the Western capitals and Beijing, we reach the conclusion that the conference was particularly important not simply for the preservation but for strengthening the unity among the overwhelming majority of participating countries which had not abandoned any of the objectives and principles of the movement, repeatedly asserted at previous forums.

In its final declaration, the sixth conference formulated in detail the principles and objectives of the movement. It expressed its satisfaction with the successes achieved by the process of detente and called for its extension to all parts of the world and for consolidating in international relations the principles of peaceful coexistence. It welcomed the efforts of the European countries to expand their cooperation based on the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The document expressed satisfaction with the conclusion of the Soviet-American SALT II treaty and expressed the hope that both countries will reach agreements in other fields of disarmament, nuclear above all. The conference pointed out that imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, including Zionism, and all other forces which are trying to perpetuate unequal relations, are the opponents of positive trends in the world. It firmly opposed the support given by the United States, Britain, and other Western countries to the racist regimes in Africa, classifying them as accomplices of the latter. The conference proclaimed the puppet Muzorewa regime in Rhodesia illegal and condemned Western attempts to legalize it. It earmarked specific measures to help in the liberation of Namibia.

The conference indicated that the movement of non-affiliated countries deems the liberation of Palestine and of Arab territories occupied in 1967 the cause of all nonaligned countries. Its members condemned the U.S. policy in the Middle East and the Camp David accords as violating the rights of the Arab nations and the Arab people of Palestine and as legalizing the occupation of Arab territories. A special committee consisting of members of the Coordination Bureau were assigned to study the question of suspending Egypt's affiliation with the movement and to submit its conclusions to the next meeting of the conference of ministers of foreign affairs to be held in Delhi at the beginning of 1981. It reasserted that the PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. Israel's policy was condemned as racist, expansionist, aggressive, and discriminatory.

Noting the growth of tension in Southeast Asia, the conference stated that peace in that area is possible only on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-use of force, and rejection of aggression. Attempts to retain the representatives of the blood-shedding Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, inspired by imperialist and Beijing circles, as representing Kampuchea in the nonaligned movement, failed. It was decided, in the interest of strengthening the unity of the movement, that since on this matter its members differed in their views or had failed to reach as yet specific conclusions, temporarily Kampuchea's place would remain vacant until the question of its representation is resolved by the conference of ministers of foreign affairs to be held in Delhi, based on the report of the special committee.

The conference considered in detail the situation in Latin America and noted its growing role in the nonaligned movement. It firmly supported the struggle of its peoples against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, and in particular demanded of the United States to close down its bases in Cuba and Puerto Rico. The document emphasizes that the main obstacle on the path to economic progress by the members of the movement is imperialism. It notes the adamant need for the creation of a new international economic order.

The conference expressed its gratitude to all "other peace-loving and freedom-loving states striving to achieve justice," for their cooperation with the nonaligned countries in the efforts of the latter to achieve their objectives and tasks. It expressed its "readiness to continue to cooperate with such countries on the basis of equality."

The documents, along with most speeches at the meetings, reflected the growing unity of efforts on the part of the young states aimed at insuring their independent development and satisfying their legitimate economic requirements. The attractiveness of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist objectives of the nonaligned movement and the growth of its international influence have been reflected in the fact that in the course of the last conference its ranks were reinforced: Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Suriname, and, as the sole legal representative of the fighting people of Zimbabwe--the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front--joined the movement. Thus the number of full members rose to 95. The number of members of the Coordination Bureau rose to 36.

Closing the conference, F. Castro, the new chairman of the movement of non-aligned countries, recalling the attacks launched against it by the bourgeois and Beijing propaganda, could state quite legitimately that, ". . . We can boldly say that our movement is more united, more powerful, stronger and more independent than ever before, and that our movement is precisely ours to a greater extent than ever before." Already now Havana may be considered as an important landmark on the way to the unification of the nonaligned movement with the struggle for peace, freedom, independence, and progress of the peoples, and for the better future of mankind. Systematically supporting the anti-imperialist and peace-loving foundations of the movement, the Soviet Union expresses its satisfaction with the successful results of the conference, emphasizing its significance as an important factor in the struggle for a

better future. As its results confirm, the sixth conference proved the maturity and staunchness of the movement. It made a substantial contribution to strengthening the unity of anti-monopoly forces fighting imperialism and colonialism and for the right of the peoples to be the masters of their fate and for strengthening the political and economic independence of the liberated countries. The difficult path of consolidating and developing such achievements lies ahead.

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FOR THOSE TURNING TO THE GREAT HERITAGE

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[Review by R. Petropavlovskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the index "Predmetnyy Ukazatel' ko Vtoromu Izdaniyu Sochineniy K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa (1-39 toma)" [Index to the Second Edition of the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels (volumes 1-39)]. First and second part. Editors: M. P. Mchedlov (editor in chief), G. A. Bagaturiya, Yu. Ye. Volkov, L. I. Gol'man, V. Ya. Zevin, N. N. Ivanov, I. G. Kaz'min, V. E. Kunin, A. I. Malysh, and G. D. Obichkin. Politizdat, Moscow, 1978. Part one: A-M, VIII, 455 pages; part two: N-Ya, 510 pages. Previously published works referring to vols 1-39 included "Ukazateli ko Vtoromu Izdaniyu Socineniy K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa" [Indicators for the Second Edition of the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels] (Politizdat, Moscow, 1974), containing the following: "Indicators of the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels, Cited or Mentioned in Their Works," "Name Index," "Index of Periodical Publications," and "Alphabetical Index of Works Included in the Second Edition of the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels" (Politizdat, Moscow, 1967)]

[Text] Concluding the publication of the second, 50-volume edition of the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee has published a series of reference aids for it. It published the Subject Index for the basic 39 volumes of the works. This manual is needed by anyone who turns to the treasury of the thoughts and experience of the founders of scientific communism. Cataloguing the subject content of the Works, it helps the reader to study the works and correspondence left by Marx and Engels.

V. I. Lenin's familiar statement about Marx provides a clear idea of the scale of the scientific exploit of our great teachers: "He critically re-worked everything created by human society. He did not ignore a single item" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 304). Converting socialism from utopia into science, Marx and Engels interpreted and, on the basis of a unified conceptual-methodological basis, developed the huge mass of questions pertaining to phenomena in nature, society, and the mind. All this, without any exception, is of the greatest interest to specialists in various professions, readers of different categories, and consequently needs a topic interpretation. That is why the approach to the works of Marx and

Engels must be distinguished by its scope, covering a great variety of problems, and by its encyclopedic nature, leaving unattended "not a single item." At the same time, it must have the integrity and system consistent with the principles and the spirit of Marxism, monolithic in its unity. It is precisely such features that characterize the "Predmetnyy Ukazatel'," published by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The various sections of the work contain the philosophical, economic, sociological, and political categories of Marx' and Engels' doctrine; it singles out the most important historical events, political currents, and parties; thoroughly considered statements reflecting the ideological and political struggle waged by Marx and Engels for the unification of the proletariat and for combining revolutionary theory with the workers' movement; indicate the theoretical and practical activities of the leaders of the proletariat; and present their principled positions in all basic sectors of scientific knowledge.

The compilers of the index faced the task of placing over 20,000 subject sections and subsections in such an order that the reader could, first of all, easily find the needed data; secondly, see this material within a system related to the general Marxist concept; thirdly, acquire data precisely within the amount and level of detail needed in each specific case. This problem was resolved by classifying within the index of a main series of items, alphabetically, and secondary and tertiary items which break down the basic items into details covering the topic from various sides, no longer alphabetically but, essentially, according to the logical principle of proceeding from the general to the specific and from the basic to the secondary, or on the basis of chronology. A number of items are cross-referenced. This method of presentation facilitates the use of the index.

The preparation of the new index was helped by the experience acquired by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in the course of its work on indexes related to the works of V. I. Lenin and the main works and letters of K. Marx and F. Engels. However, a number of decisions on the classification and location of the items had to be developed in the course of the compilation of the subject index on a new basis.

Taken as a whole, Marxist theory is presented in the index above all in the section entitled "Marxism (General Characteristic)." Its 20 subsections list the page numbers of the various works in which Marxism is presented as the natural result of historical development, covering its theoretical sources and components, its formation and basic development stages, creative nature and transforming role, significance as a revolution- · turn in the history of social thinking, theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, guide to revolutionary action, theoretical foundation of the proletarian party, and many other aspects. Furthermore, there are cross-references tying this section to the sections on "Dialectics," "Dialectical Materialism," "Historical Materialism, and Materialistic Understanding of History," "Scientific Communism," "Marx," "Marxist Political Economy," "Marxist Philosophy," and "Engels."

How does the index show the content of the works of Marx and Engels dealing with specific problems? Let us take as an example a basic Marxist concept such as communism. In the general alphabetically listed series it is listed in 12 consecutive sections. This indicates the fundamental and comprehensive nature of this category, and at the same time enables the reader to refine the direction of his area of interest. As a whole, this is a thoroughly developed text, covering 34 pages, offering an extensively developed theoretical and practical guide on this problem. It enables us to find in the works of Marx and Engels all essential concepts related to key problems of the transition from capitalism to communism, Marxist propaganda, and struggle against concepts alien to Marxism. In addition to the basic sections on communism its various problems are considered in a number of other items, such as "The Proletarian Party," "The Workers' Movement," etc.

The philosophical problems contained in the works of Marx and Engels are contained within general topics (other than those already mentioned), such as "English Philosophy," "Ancient Greek Philosophy," "Ancient Roman Philosophy," "Idealism," "16th Century Italian Philosophy," "Chinese Philosophy," "Materialism," "Metaphysics," "Nature Philosophy," "German Philosophy," "French Philosophy," as well as, in general, "Philosophy." Furthermore, the main alphabetical listing in the index includes the individual philosophical categories and problems and the names of major philosophers.

The index deals extensively with political-economic problems--Marxist and bourgeois political economy (classical and vulgar), Marx' "Das Kapital," A. Smith and the "Physiocrats," D. Ricardo and the "Ricardian School," and laws and categories in general and separately, production, its types and methods, distribution, exchange, purchase and sale, and trade, capital, capitalist production method, economic crises, etc.

Naturally, the index presents most completely the sectors of knowledge directly related to the basic components of Marxism. However, the compilers have consistently considered also a great variety of groups of problems pertaining to other branches of knowledge. In particular, the index deals extensively with the study of countries. For example, the item "Russia" alone has nine sections covering topics such as "History," "Economics," "Social and Political System," "Science, Culture, and Spiritual Life," "The Revolutionary Movement in the 19th Century," "Marx' and Engels' Study of Russia and Their Relations with Russian Revolutionaries and Men of Science and Culture," etc. Also extensively covered are facts and problems of world history and the history of individual nations. In general, specialists in a great variety of fields will find in the index items pertaining to their range of specific interests.

Creating a manual aimed at helping students of the works of the founders of Marxism, and seeking their "advice" in its analytical work, the collective of compilers concerned itself with defining thoughtfully and accurately the general principles governing the compilation of the index. This applies, in particular, to references to the text in the items. In this connection let us note that for the overwhelming majority of items the subject index provides

the necessary differentiation and details. The number of items containing unbroken groups of one hundred or more references to the text is relatively few.

The index compilers have carried out an exceptionally responsible and labor-intensive work by selecting and editing formulations for all topic items of the first, second, and third gradations. They had to provide clarity and brevity directly on the basis of the terminology used by Marx and Engels, and in accordance with the achievements of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The specific requirements of subject indicators had to be met as well. The compilers have been successful in all this. They have resolved particularly successfully the problem of the classification of subitems in which brevity and a strict sequence of words are not rigid. They use textual statements by Marx and Engels such as, for example, "no nation oppressing other nations can be free," "revolutions are the locomotives of history," etc.

Finally, particularly important in rating a compilation, is the completeness with which the index covers the various topics in Marx' and Engels' work. A comparison in terms of the completeness of its items between this index and similar "small" indicators covering "Anti-Duhring," "Dialectics of Nature," and "Das Kapital," and the letters written by Marx and Engels (vols 20, 23-26 and 39 of the Works) proves that the index has not neglected anything of essential significance already found in previous indexes. Furthermore, new references are given even for volumes which had already been "referenced." The breakdown of references to texts dealing with more specific items has been considerably increased. Therefore, in the combined index this work has been raised to a higher level.

Naturally, this does not mean that in all its items the index covers absolutely everything contained in the works. Such completeness is impossible to begin with. However, in terms of the enclosed items, the detailed familiarization with the index enables us to state confidently that no single problem of Marxist theory, in all its structural components, has been omitted by the compilers. The same could be said in terms of all most important events and facts of history, social reality, culture, and awareness, as reflected in the works of the founders of scientific communism.

Yet, approaching the index from the standpoint used to judge encyclopedias, nevertheless, we could point out subjects which should be included in the manual, such as, for example, "way of life," "system (economic, moral, etc)," "social oppression," "clericalism," "reaction and reactionaries," "aggression," "intervention," "occupation," "sovereignty," and "expansion."

In connection with the increased role of moral-ethical problems in our social life interest in them has risen. The works of Marx and Engels contain a large number of data on this subject. Concepts such as "good and evil," "duty," "dignity and honor," "individualism," "collectivism," "conflict," "prestige," "principle-mindedness," "conscience," "comradeship," "respect," "honesty," "egotism," etc, could have been added to the listed items. A very useful section would have been that of "The Moral Model," which would depict

revolutionaries, leaders of the workers' movement, and people of science whose moral qualities were highly valued and noted by Marx and Engels,

Obviously, wishes related to the singling out or adding of new items could be taken into consideration in preparing the next topic index covering the works of K. Marx and F. Engels from the 40th through the 50th volumes. Naturally, even with a most scrupulous consideration of all parts of the text, classified under the topic items, inevitably a number of meaningful features will remain uncovered. That is why, studying the works of the founders of scientific communism, it would be insufficient to study only the separate pages as listed in the topic index. The index can fulfill its general purpose by being a base, an aid in the profound independent study of Marxism.

This work, published by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, is the result of the extensive and most responsible work of a collective of highly skilled specialists. Unquestionably, it will be a valuable and reliable guide and loyal assistant of all those who are mastering Marxism-Leninism and are trying, from the basis of its positions, to interpret the problems raised by life.

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