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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 15, October 1979

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ON THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT OF THE USSR PARTY-GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO THE
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 3-4

[CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR
Council of Ministers announcement]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
and USSR Council of Ministers express their complete satisfaction with the
results of the official, friendly visit paid to the German Democratic
Republic (4-8 October 1979) by the USSR Party-Government delegations headed
by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
chairman.

The visit of the Soviet delegation which participated in the celebration of
the 30th anniversary of the republic became an event of outstanding signifi-
cance both on the level of the further strengthening of interaction between
the CPSU and the SED, and the USSR and the GDR, as well as from the viewpoint
of the vital interests of peace and international security.

An exchange of views was held on all most important aspects of cooperation
between the two countries in the course of the talks and meetings between
Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the members of the Soviet delegation, on the one
hand, and E. Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman
of the GDR State Council, and the GDR Party and state leadership, on the
other. The basic directions leading to its perfecting and long-range
intensification were defined. The combination of the economic and scientific
and technical possibilities of the two countries with a view to the joint
solution of major economic problems has already yielded major fruitful
results. Unquestionably, the program for production specialization and
cooperation between the USSR and the GDR through 1990, initialed in the course
of the visit, will provide a new impetus to this important project.

The exceptionally warm welcome given the Soviet delegation in the GDR
developed into a demonstration of the unbreakable fraternal ties linking the
peoples of the USSR and the GDR. For three decades the close alliance between
the two fraternal states has reliably served peace and construction. We can
confidently note that it will continue to serve these objectives.

The celebration of the 30th anniversary of the GDR became an impressive review of the accomplishments of the German working people achieved under the leadership of the SED in all fields of social life--in the development of socialist democracy, economic upsurge, blossoming of science and culture, and upgrading the prosperity of the masses. Systematically implementing a policy of peace and defense of the rights of nations to free and independent development, the GDR has gained high international prestige and its voice is being heard ever more strongly in European and world affairs.

The CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers deem it essentially important that the new Soviet initiative on problems of military detente and disarmament, expressed by L. I. Brezhnev in his Berlin speech, has met with the full support of the GDR and the other fraternal members of the socialist comity. It was accepted with great interest by the influential circles of a number of countries and strengthened the hopes of the peoples for a durable peace.

At the same time, it is noteworthy that the NATO countries, along with acknowledging the positive nature of the Soviet initiative, are continuing to look for farfetched reasons for the implementation of dangerous plans of deploying in Europe a new American nuclear missile weapon of intermediate range, i.e., to disturb the balance of the military forces of the two groups which has developed on the continent.

The Soviet initiative has opened the possibility to prevent a new upswing of the arms race, take the path of real disarmament, and protect and multiply the results of detente and peaceful cooperation. Whether or not this opportunity will be seized depends on the United States, the FRG, and the other NATO members. The leaders of the Western countries must display a feeling of responsibility and answer the example of the Soviet Union in a spirit of good will. This is expected by the nations.

As to the Soviet Union, as L. I. Brezhnev stated in Berlin, it will work with all its energy and persistence to make the 1980's free from suspicion and fear and, above all, from the arms race.

Fully approving the activities of the delegation, the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers have instructed the corresponding departments to insure the full implementation of the agreements achieved between the USSR and the GDR in the course of the visit.

5003
CSO: 1802

L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE CEREMONIOUS MEETING IN BERLIN ON THE OCCASION OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE GDR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 5-9

[Speech by L. I. Brezhnev delivered in Berlin on 6 October 1979]

[Text] Dear Comrade Honecker!

Dear friends!

- During these holidays it is a great happiness for us to be here with you. We have brought you the fraternal greetings of your loyal friends and allies--the 18 million Soviet communists--members of Lenin's party--and the greetings of the entire Soviet people on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR! (Applause)

I thank our good friend Comrade Erich Honecker, CC SED general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and noted leader of the international workers' movement, for his good words expressed on the Soviet Union and its policies (applause). In turn, I wish to emphasize that we continue to see in the communists of the GDR and in the people of the GDR reliable fellow workers in the common cause, loyal to our common great ideals, adamant and skillful in their work, and firm in the face of all trials (applause).

Each one of the past 30 years the Soviet Union and the other members of the great socialist comity marched on the side of your republic. We marched forward together, drawing faith and courage in our reciprocal support and fraternal solidarity.

The Warsaw Pact, whose 25th anniversary shall be celebrated soon, became a reliable instrument of our security and joint struggle for peace. CEMA became a good forum for extensive and equal economic cooperation.

The experience of our interaction in all fields is a convincing example of the invincible power of socialist solidarity. Our common will is that this shall continue in the future as well (tempestuous applause).

Yesterday a new and important document of our cooperation was initialed--a program for production specialization and cooperation between the USSR and

the GDR through 1990 (applause). Briefly stated, it consists of the following: Wherever possible and useful we shall supply one another resources and production possibilities in order to be able to more successfully resolve even the most complex problems of economic development (applause).

It has become the norm of our parties, state and public organizations, enterprises, and scientific and research centers, I would even say a vital need, to maintain constant creative contacts. Thousands and thousands of working people in the Soviet Union and in your republic know each other personally. Millions maintain close relations within the various organizations. This, comrades, is very good. Friendship among the peoples is the greatest wealth, which must be valued, protected, and increased! (lengthy applause).

During these anniversary days it is worth recalling the past. In the autumn of 1949, when the GDR was founded, the political situation in Europe, and not in Europe alone, was particularly tense. The squalls of the cold war were flying over the continent. The NATO bloc--the main military instrument of imperialism--had already been created. Some Western politicians threatened to convert the cold into a hot war. Balancing "on the brink of war" was proclaimed as just about the main principle of foreign policy of the imperialist camp.

However, the dawn of socialism which rose over many countries in the second half of the 1940's became brighter and brighter. The appearance and establishment of the GDR was another tremendous victory for the cause of socialism and peace, and was of truly historical significance (lengthy applause).

The year 1945 when the final act of the most blood-shedding war in the history of mankind ended here, in Berlin, is becoming ever more distant. Today Berlin enjoys a good reputation as the capital of the GDR (applause). The nations cannot fail to be grateful to the SED and the government and working people of the GDR for saying a categorical no to fascism and militarism and for justifying the hopes of the fighters on the anti-Hitlerite front (stormy applause).

The content of the policy of any country can be easily understood by its answer to simple questions: What does it give to its citizens and what does it bring to its neighbors and to the world at large.

In the GDR, as in the other socialist countries, profound concern is being factually displayed for the prosperity of the working people, and for every member of society to be able to look into the future with confidence. Here the best traditions of the German labor movement are being protected and developed; the ideals of a brilliant galaxy of German revolutionaries, humanists, and philosophers are being implemented.

The republic brings to its neighbors a friendly disposition and readiness for cooperation and reciprocal understanding. Along with the other members of the socialist comity it is doing everything possible to prevent mankind from finding itself, yet once again, harnessed to the fatal yoke of war.

All this is worthy of profound respect. This is the root of the steadily rising prestige of the GDR in the world (applause).

The international-legal recognition of the GDR became, essentially, a turning point in the strengthening of European security. As you know, it was not easy to come by. The members of the socialist comity fought for decades for this recognition, for the conclusion of the familiar treaties of the 1970's, for the acknowledgment of postwar realities, and for the holding of a European conference.

The European Conference passed the Final Act--something like a security charter for the peoples of Europe, a charter for peaceful life and peaceful relations among countries. It is our warm desire for this charter to be implemented in full (applause).

Judging by their statements, the state leaders of the West also seem to desire this. Unfortunately, however, the actions of our partners quite frequently follow a different direction. We cannot fail to see the real facts: The supporters of the arms race use any, one could even say nonexistent, fictitious pretexts to heat up the atmosphere and to urge on preparations for war. As to Europe, they are planning to put a mine under the building of peace, under its very foundations.

The dangerous plans of deploying on Western European territory new types of American nuclear missiles, currently proclaimed by Western propaganda, are quite alarming. Let us frankly say that the implementation of such intents would substantially change the strategic circumstances on the continent. Their purpose is to disturb the balance of forces existing in Europe and to try to insure military superiority for the NATO bloc.

As to military superiority, as the saying goes, it must be taken with a grain of salt (applause; animation in the hall). Naturally, the socialist countries do not intend to look indifferently at the efforts of NATO's militarists. In that case we would have to take the necessary additional steps to strengthen our security. We have no other solution. However, one thing is entirely clear: the implementation of NATO plans would inevitably aggravate circumstances in Europe and would greatly spoil the international circumstances.

It is no secret that, along with the United States, the FRG has not been allocated the least important role in the formulation of such dangerous plans.

Speaking frankly, those who make the policy of that country are faced today with a serious choice. They must decide what is better for the FRG: to cooperate in strengthening peace in Europe and promote peaceful mutually profitable cooperation among European countries in a spirit of good neighborliness and growing reciprocal trust, or contribute to a new aggravation of the circumstances in Europe and in the world by locating on their territory American nuclear missiles aimed at the USSR and its allies. It is obvious that in the second case the position of the FRG itself would worsen considerably. It is easy to understand the consequences which it should expect should this new weapon ever be launched by its masters.

Naturally, all this applies to the other European NATO members as well who would have the "luck" of deploying on their territories American nuclear missiles of intermediate range.

As to the Soviet Union, I repeat, again and again: We are not aspiring to gain military superiority. Our intentions have never included, nor do they include, threatening any country or groups of countries. Our strategic doctrine has a strictly defensive line. Assertions to the effect that the Soviet Union is increasing its military might on the European continent on a scale not necessitated by defense requirements have nothing in common with reality. This is a deliberate misleading of the broad public.

In Europe as in all other areas on earth we want peace, a durable peace (lengthy applause). This is the very basis of our foreign policy, its backbone. We shall pursue this policy systematically and steadfastly.

As chairman of the USSR Defense Council I state most clearly that over the past 10 years the number of carriers of nuclear weapons of intermediate range on the territory of the European part of the Soviet Union has not been increased by a single missile or airplane. On the contrary, the number of intermediate missile launching pads and the power of the nuclear charges of these missiles have been even somewhat reduced. The number of medium-range bombers has been reduced as well. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has not deployed at all such weapons on the territories of other countries. For a number of years we have equally not increased the size of our forces located in central Europe.

Furthermore, we are ready to reduce the number of intermediate nuclear weapons deployed in the western areas of the Soviet Union, compared with the present level, but naturally only if Western Europe does not additionally deploy nuclear weapons of intermediate range (applause).

I also wish to solemnly assert that the Soviet Union will never use nuclear weapons against countries which refuse to produce or acquire such weapons and do not have them on their territory (applause).

Moved by the sincere desire to come out of the stalemate of long efforts aimed at achieving military detente in Europe and give an example of switching from words to real actions, in coordination with the leadership of the GDR and following consultations with the other Warsaw Pact members, we made the decision unilaterally to reduce the size of Soviet forces in central Europe. Over the next 12 months as many as 20,000 Soviet military, 1,000 tanks, and a certain quantity of other military equipment will be withdrawn from the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

We are confident that this new, specific manifestation of the peacefulness and goodwill of the Soviet Union and its allies will be approved by the peoples of Europe and the world over (stormy applause). We call upon the governments of the NATO countries to properly evaluate the initiatives of the socialist countries and to follow our good example (lengthy applause).

Our country favors the further expansion of measures of trust in Europe. In particular, we are ready to reach an agreement on the advance information stipulated in the Helsinki Final Act on large-scale military exercises by land forces to cover a longer period of time and not stop on the level of 25,000 men, as is the case currently, but less, the 20,000 level, for example. We are also ready, on a reciprocal basis, not to conduct military exercises involving the participation of over 40,000 to 50,000 men.

Naturally, the proposals of the socialist countries on providing information on major airforce exercises and navy maneuvers conducted close to the territorial waters of other countries which are signatories of the European Conference remain in force.

We would like to suggest to the West yet another thing: let us in the area defined in the Helsinki Act provide information ahead of time not only on military exercises but on movements of land forces numbering over 20,000 men.

Other ideas aimed at strengthening the trust among countries and lowering the danger of an outbreak of war in Europe could be considered as well. As before, we consider a general European conference on the political level, whose preparations and holding is a very topical, one could say ripe, task, would be the most suitable place for discussing a wide set of measures for military detente in Europe.

As we know, important SALT III talks lie ahead. We are in favor of initiating them immediately following the enactment of SALT II. Within such talks we agree to discuss possibilities to restrict not only intercontinental but other types of armaments, naturally taking all pertinent factors into consideration and while strictly observing the principle of equal security of both sides.

Thus, the USSR, the GDR, and the other socialist countries in Europe offer the clear prospect of really insuring to all European nations life under conditions of security and peace (lengthy applause). The matter is now in the hands of the Western countries. Their answer would indicate whether or not they are ready to take into consideration the desires and vital interests of the peoples. We hope that realism, governmental wisdom and, finally, simple common sense would assume the upper hand (lengthy applause).

Dear comrades!

In today's stormy world our socialist comity offers a reliable ground under our feet. We created it ourselves, promoting the steadfast progress of our economies, developing socialist democracy, insuring the steady growth of the prosperity of our nations, and strengthening our defense through joint efforts. Our ties are profound and varied and we are learning how to cooperate ever better and better.

Socialist internationalism is the political and moral force which enables us to achieve many victories in the struggle for peace and social progress (lengthy applause).

It is noteworthy that the great holiday of the GDR is taking place in an atmosphere of true internationalism (lengthy applause).

Long live the German Democratic Republic--a reliable bastion of peace and socialism in Europe! (tempestuous applause).

May the inviolable friendship between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic and between our Marxist-Leninist parties continue to strengthen! (tempestuous applause).

Long live the great comity of socialist states! (tempestuous applause).

Long live peace and communism! (tempestuous and lengthy applause; all rise).

5003

CSO: 1802

REVOLUTION, PEOPLE, HISTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 10-21

[Text] K. Marx described revolutions as locomotive engines of history. He is also the author of the expression people's revolution, which has entered the political literature of our age. Citing these words and revealing their profound content, V. I. Lenin explained that the people's mass can never be such an active maker of a new social order as during a revolution, when it performs miracles. In the course of the revolution contradictions which have taken decades and centuries to ripen come to the surface, and the making of the revolution represents their solution and a sharp turn in the life of society.

The October Socialist Revolution, whose 62d anniversary will be solemnly celebrated by the Soviet people and all progressive mankind, was the greatest of all social revolutions ever made in world history.

The October Revolution in Russia was made by the working class allied with the poorest peasantry, under the leadership of the Leninist party. It was joined by everything that was progressive, honest, and conscientious in the people, for which reason it became a truly people's revolution. The Great October radically changed the historical destinies of our country and people, and laid the beginning of a new, a communist system, whose first phase has already reached its developed forms. The revolution, as was pointed out in the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," signed by Lenin and ratified by the Council of People's Commissars in the first month following its victory, took place under the banner of the emancipation. "Everything alive and viable is freeing itself from the hated chains." That is how the declaration described the beginning of the new era opening in the history of our homeland.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is of universal-historical significance as a powerful booster of social progress. As Lenin said, it "hurls sparks throughout the world," inaugurating the transition from capitalism to socialism, the age of the establishment of communist civilization. It indicated to all nations the path of the struggle for a just and democratic peace and for rescuing mankind from the horrors of war and its consequences. Many progressively thinking people on earth realized that it was no longer

possible to live as in the past, as they were forced by capitalism, and that they had to fight for a new and just order. Under the influence of the victory of the October Revolution, revolutionary workers' parties of a new type, communist parties, began to be organized in many countries. They became the most influential sociopolitical force of our time. Describing the main features of the historical process from the October to this day, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, drew the general conclusion that "the path which took history to socialism is the highroad of world history and of all human civilization."

It is entirely understandable that the victory of the October Revolution was enthusiastically welcomed by the working people of other countries as their own victory over the exploiters. Reporting to the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets on numerous responses received from abroad, Lenin said that there had been no single meeting of working people in such countries where the news of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet system had not been welcomed with thunderous applause.

Our revolution was welcomed also by the progressive intelligentsia the world over. Romain Rolland, the great writer and man of world culture, described the Soviet system as "the youngest, the most sincere, and boldest democracy in the world." Another universally famous French writer, Anatole France, wrote: "If people who love justice are still to be found in Europe, they must respectfully bow to this revolution which, after so many centuries, has brought the world a first attempt of a power controlled by the people and for the people." Subsequently, when the Soviet system entered its mature age and led the people to the victory of socialism, Lion Feuchtwanger, the greatest German writer, assessed it as follows: "In the course of 2,500 years people have suggested various systems for a sensible organization of the state and society. . . . However, it is only now that, for the first time, it has been possible to implement such an intention."

In their attempts to belittle the significance of the October Revolution as the greatest event, far exceeding the boundaries of its age, the reactionary bourgeois ideologues are giving it a distorted presentation, describing it as the plan of a small group of people, a sort of "pocket" coup, of a type frequently occurring in the practice of the capitalist states, carried out not by the people but by various political cliques engaged in infighting for ministerial positions. Albert Reece Williams, the American journalist, drew the attention to this in his time. He pointed out that the writings of bourgeois scientists provide a number of all kinds of information pertaining to the October Revolution other than about the revolution itself, "for such books say little or almost nothing about the people. Yet, it is precisely the people--workers and peasants--who made that revolution." The revolutionary actions of the people's masses which shook the entire world, witnessed by the Americans John Reed and A. R. Williams, were truthfully and vividly described in their outstanding, still contemporary-sounding works. The deep roots of the accomplishments and ideas of the Great October Revolution lie in its popular nature.

In the days of preparation for the socialist revolution, when Lenin wrote his famous works "The Bolsheviks Must Seize the Power," and "Will the Bolsheviks Retain the State Power?" and when he stated at the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, to the entire world, on behalf of the Bolshevik party, that "it is ready at any minute to seize full power," the leaders of bourgeois and petit bourgeois parties prophesied that, should such a system be established, it would last no more than "a couple of weeks." The Russian "forecasters" repeated after their foreign like-thinking fellows, predicting the inevitable and imminent end of the Soviet system. All these "oracles" neither understood nor wanted to see the fact that the multimillion-strong masses of working people, constituting the majority of the people, were following the Bolsheviks, the soviets. Yet, the people's system is the most solid and viable system. Today this has been confirmed through the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In the limited idea of the bourgeois classes that people's masses are something faceless, shapeless, dull, insensitive, uncontrollable, capable only of destruction and suitable only as an object of exploitation and "canon fodder." Marxism-Leninism provided a new understanding of the toiling masses, proving their true vocation as a powerful revolutionary force, as the creators of the new, actively and conscientiously building a communist society. Such opportunities were extensively displayed in the October Revolution, the building of socialism, and innumerable practical affairs.

Through its outstanding accomplishments the Soviet people earned universal fame as fighting and building people. The communist party is providing an organized and planned nature to its activities, while Marxist-Leninist theory is the scientific base directing such actions toward the objective.

The bourgeois falsifiers of scientific communism who reject the decisive role of the people's masses in historical creativity also distort the Marxist-Leninist understanding of history as a single process, legitimate in all its variety and conflicting facets, carried out through the efforts of millions of people. They try to depict the Marxist-Leninist views of this objective process by resorting to false, primitivistic comparisons either with a "stone block" rolling, unrestrained, down a mountain slope, or a car sliding along tracks, carrying impotent and helpless people not knowing where they are being taken and unable to affect the predetermined path. The purpose of such analogies is to promote a mistrust among the people of the Marxist-Leninist concept of social development.

We find in Lenin a small publicistic note "On Climbing High Mountains. . . ." It describes how difficult it is to rise up a sharp untrodden slope. Incredible difficulties and dangers to be surmounted await a person engaged in such a climb. Yet, what a tremendous moral satisfaction is gained by this person in conquering the peak. Was this not a similar difficult and totally unknown path that the Soviet people had to cover in its ascension to the heights of developed socialism? The main thing was that it was able to cover this entire distance without ever losing sight of the final objective.

Allied with the peasantry and under the leadership of the Leninist party, the working class was able to resolve the most complex sociopolitical problem of retaining the entire power in the center and locally, and organizing the administration of a huge, underdeveloped country, wrecked by the exploiting classes. It crushed the fierce opposition of the bourgeoisie and its political parties and created a powerful state of a new type representing and defending the interests of the working people--the soviet socialist state. For the first time in history, under conditions of a hostile encirclement, our country accomplished a revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. It proved the power of a proletarian organization as an irreplaceable tool in building the new society. It practically confirmed the accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the transitional period and its corresponding state of proletarian dictatorship. Accomplishments of the Soviet people such as socialist industrialization, agricultural collectivization, cultural revolution, and just solution of the national problem have become part of history forever. Twice our people had to defend their revolutionary gains in blood-shedding wars, against the internal counterrevolutionaries and foreign interventionists in the civil war, and against the fascist aggressors in the Great Patriotic War, at the cost of huge casualties. Twice the national economy wrecked by such battles imposed by the enemies of socialism had to be rebuilt. Our society had to undergo most severe trials and pass through fire and blood to achieve universal-historical victories, making them even more precious to every Soviet person.

Marxism-Leninism never promised an easy road to socialism. "Naturally," Marx wrote, "it would be very comfortable to make world history had the struggle been launched only providing that it had impeccably favorable chances." Lenin described the revolution as an incredibly complex and painful process of the dying of the old and the birth of the new social system. He pointed out that "revolutions which, once won, could be put in one's pocket and one could rest on his laurels have never existed in history. Anyone who considers such revolutions possible is not only not a revolutionary but the worst enemy of the working class." When the Soviet people were undertaking the building of socialism, Lenin said: "The time of the naive, utopian, imaginary, mechanistic, intellectual socialism, when matters were presented in a way to convince the majority of the people, paint a beautiful picture of socialist society, and make the majority adopt the socialist viewpoint, are past. Also past are the times when such children's stories were used to entertain oneself and others." Lenin proved that mankind could reach socialism only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. This represents the power of the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of society and carry out their functions in the interest of this majority.

The historical experience of the Soviet Union confirmed the accuracy of the theory of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. If some people are still thinking of acting by ignoring the laws which have developed in the establishment of real socialism, in the final account such people would be corrected by history and forced always to take them into consideration in the course of their work and struggle.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is a universal-historical process with a single content. The different ways through which individual countries reach the new system are manifested within the framework of that single process rather than despite it. The variety of forms of transition to socialism is determined by the profound historical, social, and economic characteristics of each country and the life of each nation, and the international circumstances in which this transition takes place. Consequently, this variety is dictated by objective conditions rather than subjective conclusions and wishes to build "not like the others," and to design one's own speculative "model" and plan regardless of the existence of factual experience acquired by many countries. It has always been useless to re-invent something.

For over one-quarter of a century the Soviet state was like a besieged fortress, constantly threatened by imperialist aggression. It was only thanks to the amazing endurance of the people and the wise Leninist foreign policy of our party and Soviet state that it was able to safeguard the peace needed for the building of socialism years on end.

- The most complex international and domestic circumstances, some times fraught with mortal danger, demanded iron discipline, organization, and strict centralization. The innovative nature of the arising problems in itself made errors possible. Furthermore, the Soviet system was forced to apply some temporary legal restrictions, fully justified under the conditions of the struggle, affecting mainly the bourgeois elements still extant in the country rather than the broad toiling masses, i.e., restrictions which did not affect democracy as such.

Properly assessing what was taking place, all progressive people on earth admired the accomplishments of the Soviet people and followed their unparalleled struggle with tremendous attention. In 1937, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the outstanding German writer Henrich Mann wrote about our country the following: "Let the Soviet Union know what a humanistic example it has given the world. Wherever people may have struggled for their freedom, independence, and the right to build their own happiness, always the great image of the Soviet Union has been by their side." That which, decades ago, was entirely clear to many representatives of world culture who had seen with their own eyes the selfless struggle waged by the Soviet people and had heard their pulse beat, is now questioned by some foreign leaders who have not taken the trouble to study and objectively assess what really took place.

The Soviet people have carried the heavy burden on their powerful shoulders. Enemy intrigues, provocations of traitors and renegades, hesitations and cowardice of people of little faith and capitulationists, temporary misfortunes and individual failures, or the invasion of foreign aggressors have been unable to break their will, shake the firmness of their militant spirit, or force them to deviate from the Leninist way. Each day lived by the country was filled with the heroic efforts and gigantic toil to which the communist party--the leading force of the Soviet society throughout its development--inspired its people.

At each of the specific historical stages the party resolved problems of varying complexity and nature. However in that its policies were always subordinated to the supreme strategic objective of building a communist society, expressing the interests of the working people, and retaining a strict sequence and continuity. The party is as united and unbreakable as the very process of the building of socialism and communism. The entire post October history of the Leninist party and its course, and its leadership in the development of society inseparably combine the past with the present, the implemented tasks and the tasks implemented today will be implemented in the future. Times may have changed but each period, as it was completed, prepared the ground for the next period. One generation of Soviet people replaced another, continuing what was undertaken by its predecessors using the acquired theoretical knowledge and practical experience, and the ability not to repeat the old errors and to avoid new ones. Today, as decades ago, we could say after V. Mayakovskiy: "The party is the immortality of our cause."

Across the years and decades the visible ties stemming from the Great October Revolution stretch toward our times, linking our past with our present. The Soviet people have never rejected nor will reject any single historical period in their revolutionary-transforming activities, and will not allow anyone, under any pretext, to denigrate them or question their necessity in their time.

The accomplishments of both individuals and entire nations are judged by their results. What crowned the efforts of the Soviet people was developed socialism, which is the highest stage of social progress today. Mankind has never before had such a society. "The developed socialist society is a legitimate stage in the socioeconomic maturity of the new system within the framework of the first phase of the communist system," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "This, to repeat V. I. Lenin's words, is fully established socialism from which begins a gradual transition to communism. It is precisely this stage of development of socialism that has been reached in our country."

The basic features and distinguishing characteristics of the developed socialist society are reflected in their summed-up aspect in the new USSR Constitution, which has been in effect for the past two years and is determining the entire way of life of our people.

We have created powerful production forces based on a progressive industry, science, and technology, and a large-scale collectivized and mechanized agriculture. The highly developed socialist economy insures conditions for the steady growth of the people's prosperity and the all-round development of the individual, and for the blossoming of culture in all republics. A further socialization of the economy is taking place, and a steady rapprochement between the state and the kolkhoz-cooperative forms of socialist ownership.

The face of the social structure of our society is shaped today by the alliance among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's

intelligentsia, in which the working class is the leading force. A further gradual elimination of major disparities between town and country and between people engaged in intellectual and physical work is taking place. The formation of a new social and international community of people--the Soviet people--unparalleled in history, has become a major indicator of the growing social homogeneousness of the Soviet society and of the successes of the Leninist national policy. A way of life, an outlook, moral norms, and national values, shared by all Soviet people, independent of social and national differences, are assuming ever greater importance in our country.

All Soviet people are the children of a single socialist homeland, heirs of the ideas of the great Lenin, and perpetuators of the cause of the October Revolution. The high patriotic feeling of affiliation with one's heroic nation, and personal involvement in its historical accomplishments and actions fill the hearts of the citizens of our country with legitimate pride, encouraging them to work enthusiastically for the good and glory of their free fatherland.

As A. Tvardovskiy rightly wrote:

No one in our Union is alone, not simply himself but somehow more than that, together, as a Soviet citizen. There is no greater happiness and honor.

The Soviet Union is a socialist state of the whole people stemming from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat after functions of the latter were exhausted. Socialist democracy is gaining a further all-round development. This is manifested in the more extensive and active participation of the toiling masses in the administration of all realms of society. In practical terms the people act as the masters of their fate. The state of the whole people is acquiring ever greater material opportunities for insuring and guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the citizens. The Soviet people well know that it is always watching over their profound interests and is protecting their civic and human dignity.

The economic and defense power of developed socialism is so impressive that no longer anyone nurtures the hope of speaking with the Soviet Union "from a position of strength," or trying to impose upon it its own will or interfere in its internal affairs. The international prestige of the USSR as an active fighter for strengthening the positions of world socialism and for the national liberation of all peoples oppressed by imperialism and fighting it, for the social progress of mankind, for peace, for the implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, for the prevention of aggressive wars, and for stopping the arms race and promoting total disarmament, has risen immeasurably. The Soviet people are pleased with each positive result of our foreign policy and its support by all peace-loving nations, and by the growing international prestige of the homeland of the October socialism and of developed socialism, and by the strength and faith which progressive mankind has in the world socialist comity.

The CPSU, its Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, are engaged in uninterrupted tremendous efforts to insure favorable external conditions for the development of our country. Detente, for the expansion and consolidation of which the Soviet Union is struggling, remains the dominating trend of intergovernmental relations despite the opposition of world reaction. In his recent Berlin speech Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated new initiatives aimed at achieving military detente in Europe, expressing the peace loving and goodwill of the USSR and its allies, in opposition to the sinister imperialist plans of deploying on the continent new types of nuclear missiles.

The accomplishments of our people are tremendous. However, also tremendous are the problems which they must resolve. We are coming to the end of the fourth penultimate year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, whose basic directions for the development of the national economy were approved by the 25th CPSU Congress. New plans are being developed for the future. The communist party does not conceal from the people either our shortcomings or the difficulties which they will have to surmount, or the complex problems requiring urgent action. The November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum stressed that the party considers upgrading the effectiveness and quality of all our work the means for resolving most such problems. It was pointed out that this most important project is being implemented too slowly and that it is hindered not only by objective reasons but by the force of inertia in planning, economic management methods, and economic thinking. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" stipulates a system of measures for the steadfast upsurge of the country's economy and the prosperity of the people. Unquestionably, the existing shortcomings in our national economy will be uprooted in the course of the implementation of this decree.

The unquestionable successes of the Soviet state in the field of the communist education of the working people and the molding of the new man, comprehensively educated, politically conscientious, and convinced builder of communism, are unquestionable. However, here as well not everything has been accomplished, and many omissions remain. This was pointed out in the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Dangerous vestiges of the old society in the minds and behavior of the people have not as yet been eliminated. They include, for example, various manifestations of nationalism, veneration of the patriarchal system, the desire to resurrect and squeeze inside the living organism of socialist reality a long-obsolete petit bourgeois individualism with which to replace its own workers collectivism. The bearers of such trends are not passive. They are trying to assume militant and occasionally even offensive positions.

It is sometimes asked: How could all sorts of vestiges develop in our country if socialist ideology has long become ruling, and if most people and been born, grown up, and raised under the Soviet system? However, we must not forget that any ideology, including the most reactionary one, once it appears acquires a relatively independent existence. Ideas, whatever their kind,

remain even when the social conditions under which they appeared have been virtually swept off the face of the earth. Such ideas and corresponding moods may be transmitted through various forms of social consciousness and daily contacts from one generation to another. Nor should we ignore the influence which bourgeois ideology has on some segment of the Soviet people and foreign propaganda aimed at promoting this. It is precisely capitalism's ideological opposition to anything new and progressive that was described by Lenin as being most profound and most powerful.

At the end of last year LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published the article "Clear Social Criteria." It justifiably condemned cases of violations of socio-class criteria of critical analysis found in the works of some authors, attempts to idealize the past and the weak sides of the outlook of great Russian writers, and present in a positive light not only the true values of the past, but its reactionary aspects as well.

It is justifiably stated that the past is the foundation of the present. However, this does not mean in the least that everything in it was positive, and that all that it had should be dragged into our present life. Deviations from class positions under the pretext of improperly understood "nationality" occasionally sneaks into some works.

In 1977 the book by Yu. Loshchits, "Goncharov," on the life and activities of that great writer, was published within the series "Lives of Outstanding People." The book contained a great deal of interesting data. It was well illustrated and written in a vivid style. However, one is amazed and puzzled by the author's description of Oblomov and of the so-called Oblomovism. He writes that "the 'Oblomov problem' is very contemporary." Yet, what does this "very contemporary" aspect contain? Is it that "building his ideal-tranquil life, Il'ya Il'ich is unable to defend it, assert it powerfully, and make it a model, an inflexible principle?"

Yu. Loshchits tries to convince us that as though the mantle of idleness and stupidity conceals in Oblomov a wise man who was able to understand, better than anyone else, that the active world in which people "formulate plans, dream, push, and agitate themselves," in which "they are disturbed in vain," does not lead to anything. Through his entire existence of total idleness he blamed and condemned this kind of behavior.

The author does not even mention the fact that I. A. Goncharov depicted in his novel a picture of the social degeneracy of the Russian nobility and that the historical meaning of Oblomovism was exposed over a century ago by N. A. Dobrolyubov as the offspring of serfdom, when the lord of the manor owned 300 Vaneks, Vaseks, and Zakharoks who did everything for him and should any one of the fail to help the lord put his sock on, he got kicked "in the mug." Lenin frequently used the term "Oblomovism" to expose the patriarchal way of life of landlords in the enslaved countryside, criticizing the routine, sluggishness, and lack of concern in the activities of some Soviet organizations. Yet, for some reason, the author ignores all this.

Occasionally motives dissonant with their time sneak into the pages of our periodical press. A year ago, for example, V. Astaf'yev published a small story entitled "Falling Leaves." It was written in a talented way but, in this case, what was noteworthy was not the aesthetic but the ideological side.

The author expressed his thoughts on the yellow leaf which had fallen from the birch tree and the feelings created by the departing summer, and the impossibility to fulfill the wish of "remaining alone with himself." "We have no time to stop," he complains. "We rush around, run, tear around, dig, grab, say meaningless words, and say a great deal of self-soothing words. Yet, here is the truth: the worse things become in nature, the more we gossip. . . ."

And also:

"I really feel that I have wings and would like to move them and rise above the earth. However, my wings have dried out, and withered away. I shall never take off. All that I have left is a strange human sadness and I shudder at the sudden thought of the secret of our lives. Fearing this secret, nevertheless, we are adamantly trying to find it and fly away, absolutely fly somewhere. Perhaps fly to the place where, once, we flew like a living leaf on a small green planet?

"Who can tell us about this? Who would console and calm us, confused and disturbed, along with the entire human tyga rustling under the winds of the world and, at the appointed hour, by order of what we describe as fate, would fall on the ground one by one?"

These are not thoughts of a literary character, but the direct speech of a writer. Naturally, every person is free to think anything on the subject of any phenomenon, and to describe even brief moods. However, why then engage in summations and speak on behalf of everyone: "we," "to us." This now becomes the picture of social life. Yet, is this real life? One reads such hopeless lines and one feels the whiff of an environment in which dimness and helplessness of outlook paralleled dimness and helplessness of dreams. What kind of active position in life of a fighter for communism could it be with such sermons favoring the construction of "ideal-tranquil life," or the wish "absolutely to fly away somewhere"?

I cannot live in tranquility if my entire soul is afire. I cannot live without combat and without storms in drowsiness. Let others be happy for being away from the noise of battles and wish for modest joys and grateful prayers. My lot is to strive to the struggle. I have a burning zeal in me. The boundaries of life are tight for me and prevent me from swimming against the current. The pitiful century is not dragging us alone in shameful idleness. Man acquires his full power in daring and aspirations.

These are a few lines from a poem written by 18-year-old Marx, imbued with an entirely different world outlook, which unquestionably is closer to that of the overwhelming majority of our contemporaries.

"Who were our fathers and grandfathers?" asks in his book V. G. Komarov, Hero of Socialist Labor, leader of an assemblyman brigade at the Moscow Machine-Tool Manufacturing Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze. He answers: "They were fighters, builders of a new life. . . ." "What have we become?" "The same type of builders creators but, this time, on the solid foundation of the new life laid by our predecessors." ". . . Day after day," he writes, "the heroic history of our party, state, and people--the pioneers of communism--is being filled with new documents, new facts of selflessness and heroism. Hundreds of thousands of lives--before and after us--are the eternal flame of continuity. Optimism is yet another quality inherent in the Soviet people, in the Soviet worker. We formulate plans and we know that we shall fulfill them. Our plans are tangible. . . . As Soviet workers we see that our country has reached tremendous heights in all realms of life. And now new and even greater prospects are opening up to us."

That is how the progressive Soviet worker conceives, realistically, of life in our country and our people, and quite clearly sees his place in it.

Our party has formulated the problem of historical importance of developing in the Soviet people a Marxist-Leninist outlook, a communist morality. Entirely surmounting the views and mores of the old society is part of the solution of this problem. The extensive system of measures aimed at improving ideological work, developed in the CC CPSU decree, offers new opportunities for the implementation of the party's programmatic objective in the field of communist upbringing and the further assertion within the social consciousness of the masses and principles of scientific communism.

The books by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] have and will retain their tremendous educational significance. With vivid and captivating examples, easy and understandable by even the broadest masses, they depict the recent historical past of our people. They show the origins and reasons for the exploits accomplished by simple Soviet people convinced of the justice of their cause, well knowing for what they struggle and, for this reason, capable of great deeds.

The building of a communist society in our country is taking place under the conditions of the struggle between two world systems--socialism and capitalism. This struggle is extended to ideology as well. The offensive of the most progressive, communist ideology against the obsolete bourgeois ideology, experiencing a state of profound crisis, is triggering the fierce resistance of the forces of the old world. This is entirely natural, for, as Lenin pointed out, "The history of ideas is the history of change, and consequently the struggle of ideas." Contemporary humanity lives under the conditions of a general change of ideas, when Marxist-Leninist scientific outlook is exerting an ever growing influence on the awareness of the peoples fighting imperialism and for peace and democracy, social progress, and socialism.

Clinging to life, bourgeois ideology is resorting in this struggle to the basest methods and means, such as lies, slanders, and distortions of fact, thus hoping to cast aspersions on real socialism in the eyes of the people's masses and undermine the influence of socialist ideology.

One of the favorite methods used by the reactionary ideologues is to ascribe to socialism the vices of bourgeois society itself, such as, for example, the absence of individual freedoms. They have been so overzealous in falsifying the Marxist-Leninist understanding of freedom and the practice of its establishment in the socialist countries that, at home, they have not only removed from the minds of many people even the bourgeois views of freedom, but have made the people fear it. In one of his novels, mentioning an Associated Press news item, Irving Wallace writes that only 1 out of 50 people polled by the journalist in Miami agreed to sign a typewritten copy of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, even though it is proudly cited by the political leaders of the United States, who claim that to this day it is the basis of political freedom in the United States. Two of those asked described it as "communist raving." One threatened to call the police. "All the others who took the time to read the first three paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence," the author points out, voiced the following thoughts: One said: "Only a psychotic would write this." Another one said: "This obscenity must be reported to the FBI." Yet another one described the authors of the declaration as "Red troublemakers." The journalist followed this with a survey containing an excerpt from the Declaration of Independence among 300 members of a youth religious organization, and 28% of those surveyed stated that the excerpt had been written by Marx.

The reactionary foreign propagandists raise a lot of noise on even petty and isolated cases of the adoption of strict yet just measures against criminal elements in the socialist countries. However, they ignore the daily heart-rending pictures of the police, triggering reprisals on the streets of the cities, beating up hundreds of people and throwing them in jail merely for demanding freedom and the right to live and work. The bourgeois falsifiers consider "normal" the horrifying facts of the incalculable crimes committed by Chile's Pinochet regime against the citizens of its country. In their degenerate mores the destruction of over three million totally innocent people in Kampuchea by the former puppet regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, which horrified all progressive mankind, means nothing.

The laws and the logic of the class struggle make it incumbent upon us to promptly rebuff all ideological diversions and sallies against socialism and not dignify with our attention the dirty insinuations of professional slanderers and political rogues eager for popularity.

In the ideological struggle against Marxism-Leninism and scientific communism lies and slanders have always been the weapons used by the most sinister forces. However, they have never brought them the successes they hoped for. The progressive German writer Thomas Mann justifiably described anti-communism as the "main stupidity of our age."

When the Soviet state entered the path of socialism and was barked at behind every bourgeois gate, without entering into petty quarrels promoted by political slanderers, sweeping them off, Lenin said: Let the pug-dogs of bourgeois society bark, that is why they are dogs. Meanwhile, we will follow our way.

For over 60 years the Soviet people have gone forth, continuing the cause of the October Revolution, embodying in life the ideas of Leninism. As was justifiably pointed out the 25th CPSU Congress, had anyone asked in our country a party member, or a Soviet person, as to whether he would like to choose another road, he would answer in the negative. "Our path is the path of truth, the path of freedom, the path of people's happiness." The banner of the Great October Revolution is in the reliable hands of the Soviet people and its communist party, waving high over our socialist fatherland.

The Soviet people have not built communism as yet, but have achieved tremendous results. Behind them lie the great history of heroic efforts and victories. Ahead lie new concerns, tasks, projects. No one has been able to stop the victorious march of the Soviet people in the past, and no one and nothing will stop it in the future. Solemnly celebrating the 62d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, they look with pleasure at the accomplishments and with justified optimism look at their future. They are firmly resolved to bring to a victorious end the revolutionary cause launched under Lenin's leadership in the unforgettable autumn days of 1917--the building of a communist society. This will require time, a great deal of effort, the inspired toil of millions of people, high-level organization and political conscientiousness, the solution of most complex problems, the surmounting of major difficulties, and the opposition of world reaction. Our people have all the necessary qualities to accomplish this, and unquestionably will display them in full.

History itself is helping us. Allied with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, the international proletariat, and the working people the world over, unquestionably we shall implement our communist ideals under the tried and wise leadership of the Leninist party, loyal to the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine, doing everything necessary to insure its final triumph.

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union--the inspirer and organizer of the victorious October Revolution, and the leading and guiding force of Soviet society!

Long live the great unbreakable unity between party and people!

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A CAUSE OF THE ENTIRE PARTY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 22-43

[Report by M. A. Suslov at the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers on 16 October 1979]

[Text] Lengthily applauded, M. A. Suslov presented to all the participants in the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers the warm greetings and good wishes of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

Comrades!

Nearly six months have passed following the adoption of the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Within that time party meetings, plenums, and aktivs were held in the party organizations of all republics, krays, oblasts, and soviet and state organs, at which the party members discussed attentively and with interest the stipulations and recommendations of this most important party document.

The numerous letters sent by Soviet citizens to the Central Committee confirmed that workers, kolkhoz members, employees, economic managers, men of literature and the arts, scientists, and journalists--people practicing a great variety of professions--see in this decree a direct appeal to them, a clear answer to the questions raised by life of improving educational work further.

The CC CPSU decree became a major event in the ideological and political life of the party and the entire people. It sums up the practice of the party's ideological-educational activities, particularly in the period noted by the landmark 23d, 24th, and 25th CPSU congresses. It provides a profound study of the problems related to various aspects of ideological work at the present stage, noting its strong sides and major shortcomings. We must emphasize here the particular importance of the corresponding instructions given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum. The nature of the decree is based on the vital needs of the current stage in the development of Soviet society, the characteristics of the confrontation between the two world systems, and the role which has been objectively assigned to the party's activities under contemporary conditions.

The purpose of our conference, convened by decision of the CPSU Central Committee, is to discuss the course of implementation of the decree and means for the effective implementation of the assignments it contains. What makes this even more important is that it is of a long-term nature and represents an expanded program for action in the field of ideological-educational work.

I

Comrades! The main characteristic of the activities of the CPSU as the party of scientific communism is the organic combination of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of the working class and the historical creativity of the people's masses. At all stages in the struggle for the creation of the new society our Leninist party has invariably followed the Marxist principle of not only interpreting the world but changing it.

The party guides the forward movement of our society toward communism on the basis of a profound scientific knowledge of the laws governing social development and a thorough study of past accomplishments, the factual circumstances, and the leading trends in sociopolitical life. Fifteen years have passed since the October 1964 CC CPSU Plenum which became a historical landmark in our party's life. The plenum was of the greatest possible importance in strengthening the leading and guiding role of the CPSU, the assertion of Leninist norms and principles of party life, collective leadership, creation of an atmosphere of respect for and trust in cadres, and developing a truly creative work style. The plenum's decisions played an outstanding role in the formulation of the party's political course under developed socialist conditions. The systematic implementation of this course was marked by outstanding accomplishments by the party and the people.

The all-round consideration of the new social experience and the thorough study of the vital needs related to the material and spiritual progress of society are the basis of the great ideological-theoretical and practical work tirelessly performed by the party and its Central Committee, headed by the loyal heir to the cause of the great Lenin, the outstanding leader of our party and Soviet state and of the international communist and workers' movements, and the tireless fighter for peace, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The historical decisions of the 23d, 24th, and 25th CPSU congresses were a vivid manifestation of the force of the party's collective judgment and the scientific substantiation of its socioeconomic and political strategy. Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, theoretical power, and tremendous practical experience have equipped our party with the exceptional ability for scientific predictions. This has been confirmed by the entire course of contemporary historical progress.

Lenin's instruction of the need "strictly to distinguish among stages which are different in their nature, and soberly to study the conditions of their development" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 9, p 131), is considered by the party as a mandatory methodological base in formulating the tasks which society must implement at each new stage of social progress.

Our party can resolve the basic problems of the development of the economy, social relations, socialist democracy, culture, and communist education only on the basis of their profound scientific interpretation. This is due to the fact that our country and our heroic people were assigned the historical mission of blazing virgin paths and resolving essentially new and varied problems related to the further development of mature socialism.

The doctrine of developed socialism as a lengthy and historically necessary stage in the establishment of the communist system and its transition to a higher phase was an outstanding accomplishment in the field of theoretical thinking, widening the horizons of revolutionary theory and practice. A number of most important directions followed in CPSU theoretical and practical activities are directly linked with this doctrine which was comprehensively substantiated in the materials of party congresses, Central Committee Plenum decisions, and other party documents.

At the developed socialist stage the constructive possibilities of our system and its truly humane nature are becoming ever more apparent. This was reflected in the new USSR Constitution. Its adoption was not only a historical act of codifying the achievements of mature socialism and creatively summing up the practice of the building of communism, but a powerful incentive for the further perfecting of the entire system of sociopolitical relations. The fruitful activities of the party in guiding the socioeconomic and political processes in the country, the energizing of the work of the soviets of people's deputies, and the ever wider and direct participation of the citizens in governmental affairs are all aimed at the further systematic development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of Soviet statehood.

Today we have reached a level of development of the economy and social relations and level of moral-political unity within Soviet society in which a solid foundation has been created for a new powerful upsurge of the material and spiritual forces of the country. On this basis the party is resolving complex, large-scale problems, above all in the fields of economics and education. Successes in these two most important realms of social activities are organically interdependent. That is precisely why the Central Committee passed, systematically, in April and June of 1979, the following two decrees: "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" and "On Further Improvements in the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs." A decision of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers was also passed on improving planning and intensifying the influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality.

Recently, on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's initiative, the CPSU Central Committee passed new, important decisions on key problems of development of the country's productive forces. With a view to stably upgrading production effectiveness, it was deemed necessary to insure the priority development of the power industry, and to urge on vitally important economic units, such as transportation, the fuel industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, machine building, and chemistry. The party's course toward the further upsurge of agriculture has remained unchanged.

The solution of such problems, particularly topical today, will enable us to mobilize to the fullest extent all available resources and achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution in order to insure the harmonious and comprehensive development of all economic sectors and rayons in the country, above all on the basis of intensive and quality factors. This will enable us to increase the production of consumer goods and insure the further enhancement of the material prosperity of the Soviet people.

Therefore, the party's most recent decisions operate together, on an inter-related basis. Their implementation will insure the fullest possible revelation of the creative forces of the Soviet people, the ever broader and more interested participation of the working people in social affairs, and a considerable increase in the effectiveness of constructive labor. It is exceptionally important to explain the policy of the CPSU and the party's decisions profoundly and with substantiation, and to mobilize and inspire the people's masses for the successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan and the creation of favorable conditions for the next, 11th Five-Year Plan.

Comrades! In the course of its activities the party takes into consideration the close interconnection between USSR domestic and foreign policy. Life has convincingly proved the accuracy of the scientific analysis of the world's revolutionary process and entire international development provided at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Relying on Marxist-Leninist theory and its political experience, our party and its Central Committee are carefully following the development of events, profoundly analyzing occurring changes and, in the complex and contradictory foreign political circumstances, systematically implementing their principled course in the world arena.

The most important task of our foreign policy was, and remains, to strengthen the unity of the world socialist comity.

The fraternal friendship and cooperation among socialist countries are strengthening with each passing year. The strengthening of mutual relations, and the growth of their joint economic power, steadily increasing on the basis of socialist economic integration, are also leading to the blossoming of the economy and culture of each nation, and to strengthening the sovereignty of all socialist states.

The 25th congress's conclusion on the increased comity in the policies, and economic and spiritual life of the fraternal countries has been confirmed by the entire course of social development. This comity is manifested also in the similarity of basic tasks in ideological work. This can be clearly proved by the warm and interested attitude with which the Central Committee decree on ideological work was received by the parties within the socialist comity. The conference among secretaries of central committees of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological problems, held last June, represented new useful steps in the further broadening of ideological cooperation.

The historical superiority of socialism and its unquestionable successes are increasing the attractiveness of our ideas and the coordinated nature of the

foreign policy of the socialist states. Today all progressive mankind clearly realizes that the Soviet Union and all members of the socialist comity are the main bulwark of peace and a firm promoter of the course of detente.

By its very nature detente means the practical application in international relations of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence. The international acknowledgment of such principles, including their acceptance by the governments of the biggest Western countries as foundations for relations among countries with different social systems, is a historical accomplishment, a proof of the changed ratio of forces in the world arena. The fact that for four decades mankind has had no world war is the greatest merit of socialism and a success of all peace-loving forces on the planet.

The conclusion of the Soviet-American SALT treaty by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and U.S. President J. Carter was a major step toward the elimination of the threat of nuclear war and termination of the arms race. The enactment of SALT II, based on the equality and identical security of the two sides will open the way to the formulation of new measures to limit and curtail strategic armaments and will help to achieve success in other directions in limiting armaments and in disarmament.

The concepts formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in Berlin, in his speech on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR, are of great importance to strengthening universal peace and, above all, the security of European peoples. Having asserted the inflexibility and consistency of the Leninist course of the CPSU and the Soviet state, he justifiably criticized the attempts of the NATO leadership to launch a new spiral in the arms race and achieve strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies. NATO's sinister plans of deploying new American intermediate-range missiles and to convert Western Europe into a launching pad for nuclear weapons aimed against the Soviet Union were exposed in the eyes of the entire world.

Unlike such plans, as was stated in Berlin, the Soviet Union decided on a numerical reduction of its armed forces and armaments in central Europe.

The new Soviet initiative is yet another unquestionable proof of the sincere aspiration of our country toward peace on earth and toward strengthening the trust among countries on the European continent. Naturally, we are justified in expecting of the Western European countries that they draw from the constructive activities of the USSR conclusions consistent with the interests of the peace.

The unanimous support which progressive international public opinion expressed for the stipulations contained in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech convincingly proves the just and constructive nature of the peaceful policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state, and the resolve of all honest people on earth to promote the further intensification of detente and the consolidation of peace on earth.

Detente and the successes of the cause of peace and international security offer more favorable conditions for the further development of the struggle waged by the peoples for their national liberation and social progress. Many of them, having rejected the yoke of colonialism and reactionary dictatorial regimes, are taking a path of socialist orientation.

Naturally, the path followed by the peoples in their struggle is difficult. This struggle is being waged under complex and conflicting conditions. Nor should we ignore the attempts of imperialist reaction to divide the forces of national liberation and the nonalignment movement which has become an influential factor in global politics.

As a whole, the international circumstances are developing in such a way that the peoples of the socialist comity, the national-liberation movement, and all peace-loving forces must devote many more efforts to surmount the sharp resistance of the enemies of peaceful development, including the U.S. military-industrial complex. The purpose of such efforts is the further materialization of detente and, above all, the termination of the arms race and the dissemination of detente to new areas of international life and throughout the world.

Beijing's policy is a major obstacle in the struggle for such objectives, as it acts together with imperialist reaction and the militaristic forces. We firmly condemn the great-power hegemonistic ideology and policy of Maoism as profoundly hostile to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of socialism and to the cause of the peace and liberation of the peoples. At the same time, however, we are doing everything we can to normalize intergovernmental relations with the PRC on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. On this matter everything depends on the willingness of the Chinese side to display a sober, constructive approach in the current talks.

Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their creative application under the specific conditions of each country and in the elaboration of strategy and tactics are a reliable guarantee for successful activities for each truly revolutionary party and the entire international communist movement.

In our time the prestige of the Marx-Engels-Lenin doctrine is higher than ever. Its ideological influence and the example of real socialism have great power. This frightens our class enemy. Hence the raging attacks launched against Marxism-Leninism. Hence also the considerable energizing of all sorts of bourgeois and petit bourgeois falsifications of Marxism-Leninism, and the appearance of ever newer and more refined revisionist and reformist interpretations of Marxism. In the final account, all of them are aimed at discrediting the experience and accomplishments of real socialism and at undermining and dividing the world communist movement.

Our party systematically favors strengthening the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are pleased with the successes of the fraternal parties in their struggle for the vital interests of the working class and all working people and against the omnipotence of the monopolies and imperialist reaction.

The communists of all countries--the bearers of the most humane and optimistic outlook--deem it their duty, armed with progressive revolutionary theory, to fight against the class enemies, firmly rebuff anti-communism, and involve on the side of socialism and the ranks of the fighters for peace and social progress ever new millions of people in all continents and parts of the globe.

In the course of our ideological work we must take into consideration, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, that "the positive changes in world politics and detente create favorable possibilities for the extensive dissemination of the ideas of socialism. On the other hand, however, the ideological confrontation between the two systems is becoming more active and imperialist propaganda, more refined" (L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course]. Speeches and Articles, vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 533). Through their creative development of contemporary problems of social development our ideological workers must intensify their struggle against bourgeois ideology and the manifestations of right-wing and "left-wing" opportunism.

The powerful creative force of Marxism-Leninism--the theoretic foundation of all revolutionary-transforming activities of the CPSU--is manifested ever more completely and vividly in the persistent and consistent struggle for peace and social progress, as well as in the solution of the great problems of economic and sociopolitical development of our society.

II

Comrades! The CPSU continues to proceed from the fact that the molding of the new man is the most important structural part of the entire cause of building communism. The education of the new man as a creative, spiritually rich, and harmoniously developed individual is our programmatic objective.

Practical experience indicates that the reaching of a major strategic objective is never achieved separately from the solution of current and related problems. The molding of the new man is most closely linked with the entire set of economic, social, and political problems. Without a high cultural standard, education, social conscientiousness, and ideological maturity, the party teaches us, communism is as impossible as it is without a corresponding material and technical base. This means that the molding of the new man is not only the result of, but the most important prerequisite for the building of the new society.

The party proceeds from the familiar Leninist concept that the state is strong with the conscientiousness of the masses. It is strong when the masses know everything, can judge about everything, and undertake everything consciously. Constant concern for the steady enhancement of the consciousness and activity of the masses, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, remains the base and the main content of party work (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 13, p 376). For this reason the Central Committee decree considers further improvements in ideological and political-educational work the most important all-party cause and a subject of tireless concern by all party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations.

The main characteristic and the source of the effectiveness, vital strength, and activity of all our ideological work is its scientific nature. Intensified interest in theory and comprehensive concern for its development is the main revolutionary tradition and our party's inviolable law of life.

The direct turning to the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which constitute the foundations of our revolutionary science, by party cadres, all party members, and ever broader circles of working people, has become more topical than ever. Let us emphasize that this is a question of their profound and overall study and dissemination, rather than a brief and superficial familiarization with some concepts found in the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics. The thoughtful study of CPSU history, the documents of party congresses, and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who is making a big individual contribution to the scientific elaboration of the problems of communist construction, is required.

That is precisely the way Marxism-Leninism and its dialectical-materialistic study method can be mastered. It is only at such a point that the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism and the scientific substantiation of our party's policy can be truly understood.

Marxism-Leninism is a high accomplishment of social science. Indeed, mastering it requires complex and intensive work and constant addition to and renovation of knowledge. ". . . We must first learn; secondly, we must learn; thirdly, we must learn," is Lenin's legacy. He warned that "in order for science in our country not to remain a dead letter or a fashionable statement (which, let us frankly admit, is quite frequently the case in our country), so that science may indeed become part of our flesh and blood and a structural element of life, fully and truly" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 45, p 391). These Leninist words still sound fresh and topical for all party members and, particularly, for the workers on the ideological front. The profound mastery and creative application by ideological cadres of the theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism is a necessary prerequisite for further improvements of all ideological work.

Marxism-Leninism is a steadily developing theory. This is based on the scientific interpretation of complex processes of contemporary social development and the study of new phenomena. In the course of its theoretical activities the party always relies on the studies of Soviet social scientists.

In recent years certain successes were achieved in Soviet social science. Active studies are underway on the creation of the material and technical base of communism, the improvement of social relations, and the molding of the communist outlook of the working people.

However, life and social practice do not stand idle. They formulate increased requirements facing Marxist-Leninist theory and face it with new tasks. The social sciences as well must not fall behind life. Research effectiveness can and must be considerably upgraded. Developing in each scientific collective an atmosphere of creative and bold research, we must firmly

abandon phenomena alien to true science as speculative judgments, scholasticism, quotation mongering, superficial comments, and even formalistic exercises presented as innovations.

The main way for upgrading the fruitfulness of the social sciences is the even greater concentration of the efforts of scientists studying the basic problems raised by the current stage of social progress.

As defined by Lenin, dialectical materialism is the living soul of Marxism. The role of dialectics as the general theory of development and as a logic and theory of knowledge determines the particularly topical nature of its further development. In particular, we must find the ways to its specific application to the study of the most complex phenomena and processes in all fields of reality and to the materialistic interpretation of the latest accomplishments in the natural sciences.

In the field of historical materialism and scientific communism problems appear today on the foreground, such as the further growth of the social homogeneity of our society with the leading role of the working class, the rapprochement among nations and nationalities, the strengthening of the new historical community--the Soviet people--and the laws and characteristics governing the formation and development of social consciousness under contemporary conditions.

A number of more specific yet no less urgent and topical problems for which our science must provide an answer exist. As we know, the 25th congress indicated that the growth of material possibilities must be always accompanied by upgrading the ideological-moral and cultural standard of the people. Otherwise we may have recurrences of philistine and petit bourgeois mentality. In this connection our philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, and pedagogists face a number of problems, in particular the elaboration of problems related to shaping sensible requirements. Our party cadres and practical workers in the field of education await from the scientists considered recommendations on the means for the solution of this important social problem.

The need for further intensified work on socialist political economy as the basis of all economic sciences and the theoretical base of CPSU economic policy becomes ever greater.

The study of the entire set of ownership relations within our economy, and the structure of the economic and management mechanisms, and the more rational coordination of economic interests and actions of all economic units and between sectorial and territorial planning, become particularly important. The Marxist social scientists must pay tireless attention to the systematic study of processes occurring within contemporary monopoly capitalism and the problems of the world revolutionary movement.

The increased role of social science in ideological work is inseparably linked with the need to upgrade the quality and comprehensiveness of scientific research, basic research in particular. Without basic research in all

directions of the social sciences, ideological, propaganda, and educational work would be unable to fulfill its assignments in full. The USSR Academy of Sciences and its institutes, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences, the higher educational institutions, and all our theoreticians and scientific cadres play an important role in the organization and pursuit of such studies.

Working for the comprehensive upgrading of scientificity of ideological work, and arming the cadres with Marxist-Leninist theory in its state of crystal purity, we shall be able to move our common cause ahead in an important sector such as political education.

As we know, in our country many millions of Soviet people are engaged in the study of Marxism-Leninism. The molding of a communist outlook begins at school and continues in secondary specialized and higher educational institutions.

The working people in the country are studying Marxism-Leninism in a widespread political-education network. In the past school year over 22 million people attended the party training system alone. This is a major accomplishment. However, we would be wrong to limit ourselves to the mere notice of this fact, ignoring the objective problems which arise here.

The task is, above all, to achieve a deeper and more comprehensive understanding by the broadest possible masses of the topical problems of party theory and politics. The study of the basic Marxist-Leninist concepts must lead precisely to the broadening of outlooks and to upgrading the political standards of the working people. In this case we must proceed from the principle of unity between cognitive and practical activity. That is why the Central Committee decree calls for knowledge to be turned into conviction, into a manual for action, into an active position in life adopted by the Soviet person, who displaying high conscientiousness, is dedicating his forces to the common cause and irremediably opposes any displays of alien ideology and morality.

Naturally, scientific ideas in their entire depth must be taken to the broad toiling masses in an understandable language, firmly uprooting various types of clichés or pseudoscience. Striving toward maximum popularity in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory, it is important always to remember that here there are limits which no popularity could or should exceed. By this I mean the depth and meaning of thoughts. Such is precisely, to use Lenin's words, the popularization of our great doctrine among the broadest possible masses as distinct from base popularization.

Today the mechanical repetition of self-evident truths instead of the creative interpretation of vital problems, and the formalism and tendency toward blabbering, still encountered in our propaganda, and the gray, "formal" style of the materials are particularly intolerable. As the decree points out, these and other shortcomings substantially reduce the effectiveness of the influence of the educational work on the minds and feelings of the people.

It cannot be claimed that little has been mentioned in the past about such shortcomings. The trouble lies elsewhere. It is that some workers are totally unable to convert from general considerations of shortcomings to specific activities aimed at their elimination and their decisive removal from our practice. Yet, this is precisely what the party's Central Committee decree demands.

Directing the party and the other organizations to insuring the high scientific level of educational work, the CC CPSU also makes it incumbent upon all of us to intensify the concreteness and effectiveness of propaganda and agitation and their link with life, with the solution of economic and political problems. The Central Committee decree requires "the explanation of the socioeconomic policy of the CPSU aimed at upgrading the material prosperity and culture of the people, and the comprehensive development of socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. We must actively contribute to the successful solution of the historical task of combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. We must sum up and extensively disseminate progressive experience and the success of Soviet science and technology. We must adamantly struggle for strengthening labor and state discipline, upgrading responsibility for assignments, displaying economy and thrift toward socialist property, and be against waste, departmentalism, and parochialism. The Soviet person must clearly realize the social significance of his individual participation in the implementation of national economic plans and in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress as a decisive prerequisite for the further strengthening of the power of the homeland and for the victory of Communism."

Therefore, the Central Committee decree offers an extensive formula for linking propaganda with life. Here let us merely emphasize that this requirement is addressed not only to our entire propaganda system, but to each of its units, including verbal political agitation and propaganda. The CPSU has always used them as an important tool for the political education of the masses. No technical means, even the most advanced, could replace the direct live contact between the agitator, speaker, or lecturer and the masses. It is precisely propagandists, agitators, and speakers, well familiar with the local situation--at the enterprise, shop, brigade, kolkhoz, and sovkhos--that are doing great work to concretize general political-propaganda assignments in terms of the conditions of the specific collective.

The CC CPSU decree calls for promoting the militant and aggressive nature and party zeal of propaganda and agitation. We must decisively struggle against alien influences and vestiges of the past, and against anything which hinders our progress. Propaganda and agitation must mobilize public opinion against phenomena hostile to the Soviet way of life, such as drunkenness, hooliganism, parasitism, the aspiration to take more from society without giving it anything in return, misuse of official position, money grabbing and bribery, negligence and waste, bureaucracy, and a callous attitude toward the people.

We must combine this irreconcilable struggle with comprehensive support of everything that is new, progressive, and promising, with all valuable popular initiatives, and all shoots of the communist future

The ideological-political and moral upbringing of the youth, our replacement, is the subject of particular party concern. As was pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress, all educational work with the youth must be structured in such a way that beginning a labor career and an active involvement in conscientious participation in the building of communism strengthen the heated enthusiasm inherent in young people and the passionate belief in communist ideals. The young people must be helped to understand and rate in the best possible way that which was achieved after decades of heroic struggle waged by the party and the people, and what remains to be done with the active participation of the youth; from childhood they must become accustomed to industriousness and civic mindedness.

Constant attention must continue to be paid to the physical upbringing of the Soviet people, the growing generation in particular. We must strengthen the physical-culture movement, improve conditions for the practice of physical culture and sports, and use for this purpose the propaganda value of the 1980 Olympic Games. This is the duty of the party and all public organizations, and of enterprise and establishment managers.

Our young people must become physically and spiritually tempered. Serving in the Soviet Army is an excellent school for such training. The Central Committee decree formulates in this connection a number of specific assignments facing the party and Komsomol committees and Soviet Armed Forces. The principal among them is to develop in the young generation a feeling of historical responsibility for the fate of socialism and for the prosperity and safety of the fatherland.

Developing in all Soviet people a pride in our socialist homeland, and further strengthening of the fraternal friendship among nations and proletarian internationalism are important tasks of ideological-political upbringing. This unbreakable friendship, and the great feeling of comity and indivisibility of the historical destinies of the Soviet peoples are asserted in the joint struggle waged by the working people of all nations and nationalities for new successes in the building of communism.

The propaganda should bring to light the laws governing the development of socialist nations. It must show the specific and visible signs of the gradual rapprochement among nations in the course of the building of communism and the fraternal cooperation among all nations who have created the powerful Soviet economy--the single national economic complex.

The interconnection and unity between patriotic and international upbringing are manifested both in respect for the national dignity of the people and their national cultures, as well as irreconcilability toward recurrences of nationalism and chauvinism.

We must firmly oppose all sermons of national exclusivity or attempts to review on the basis of non-class and non-historical positions one or another phenomenon, figure, or concept of the past. We must also struggle against manifestation of parochialism, which frequently dons the garb of a certain local patriotism.

The problems of patriotic and international upbringing become particularly topical under the conditions of the aggravation of the ideological struggle, when nationalism is becoming one of the main supports of the imperialist special services in the course of their subversive activities against real socialism.

In the realm of communist upbringing there is no non-essential, secondary problem. We must not ignore any single aspect of molding the personality of our contemporary in order not to damage all education. That is precisely why the Central Committee decree, entirely in accordance with the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress, concretizes the means for the pursuit of a comprehensive approach to the organization of all education, insuring close unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing in accordance with the characteristics of the various groups of working people.

III

Comrades! The CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress and the Central Committee decree draw the attention to the vitally important Leninist upbringing principle: unity between word and action. This principle is directly and inseparably linked with what precisely makes Leninist party propaganda invincible: its truthfulness, principle-mindedness, and realism. ". . . If we are not afraid to tell openly even the bitter and difficult truth," Lenin emphasized, "we shall absolutely and unquestionably learn how to surmount any and all difficulties" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 44, p 210).

Everyone is well familiar with these Leninist concepts. Unfortunately, however, there still are people who violate them in practice, who say one thing and do something else, easily assume all obligations without fulfilling them, and try to smooth over and bypass unresolved and sharp problems, and conceal the shortcomings and difficulties found in real life. "Such an approach, a trend toward showiness," the Central Committee decree indicates, "does not help matters, but only hinders the solution of our common problems. Wherever criticism and self-criticism are not honored, and publicity in social affairs is muffled, the activity of the masses is directly damaged. Yet, it is precisely the activity of the masses that is an important source of the strength of the socialist system."

Unity of word and action and agitation through action are of decisive importance in effectively influencing the human mind and feelings.

The meaning and purpose of educational work would be seriously undermined wherever chattering replaces painstaking daily work, wherever effective measures are replaced by verbosity, and where after a lecture on economy the people see in the plant's yard rusting metal and discarded machine tools, and where the absence of basic order is concealed behind extensive assurances and meaningless promises.

The specific action, the real accomplishment, is not only the highest result of educational work, but the most powerful educational factor as well. That is why the party calls for the main efforts in the development of ideological-

educational work to be focused within the labor collective where, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "The great concepts of politics and economics are translated into the language of practice, where the attitude toward life and society is largely shaped in the people" (L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim Kursom." Speeches and Articles, vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 331).

The CC CPSU decree calls for upgrading the responsibility of the leading cadres for the educational consequences of economic activities and full utilization of the educational opportunities offered by progressive experience, socialist competition and progressive forms of labor organization. The very practice of work at an enterprise must stimulate the struggle waged by the working people for effectiveness and quality, stronger discipline, greater responsibility for assignments, economy, and a thrifty attitude toward socialist property.

We must always remember the great educational power of scientifically organized labor, and the fact that in the course of resolving clearly formulated problems, reliably supported from the material-organizational and moral-political viewpoints, features develop in the Soviet person, such as a conscientious and creative attitude toward labor, social activeness, and high morality. Responsibility for the molding of such qualities is assigned by the party to economic cadres as well, together with the party and social organizations.

Enterprise managers must directly participate in educational measures. The party ascribes great importance to this. However, the main thing is the educational effect of organizational and economic work itself. Practical experience has indicated that wherever economic cadres do not take into consideration the educational consequences of their activities the creative initiative of the masses is not fully revealed. Conscious discipline yields to formal discipline. The necessary moral-psychological climate does not develop within the collective, and in the final account production results suffer.

The leader of the collective largely determines the creation of an atmosphere which would help to bring to light the human capabilities and stimulate labor and social activeness. In this case the manager himself must be distinguished by his creative attitude to the work, competence, initiative-mindedness, a feeling of high party responsibility, simplicity and accessibility in contacts with people, profound knowledge of their interests and demands, honesty, principle-mindedness, and modesty. Such a leader can lead the collective, facing it with complex problems related to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of governmental assignments and socialist pledges. Regular business reports submitted by economic managers at party and trade union meetings of the collective are of major educational and mobilizing significance.

Brigades, livestock farms, and production sectors are major links in educational work. Here every person is visible to the others. Here it is easier to determine the potential of a worker and take his individual characteristics into consideration. Requirements facing the managers of

primary labor collectives and primary party units and party groups rise considerably whenever it becomes a question of the upbringing of young people entering production work. That is why in the choice of foremen, brigade leaders, party group leaders, trade union organizers, and Komsomol organizers we must mandatorily take into consideration their human qualities, prestige, and ability to see to it that the party word reaches every individual.

At the present time the growing influence of socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor on economic processes and on a number of phenomena in social life is becoming ever more obvious. The CC CPSU emphasizes that the record-setting indicators of innovators are not self-seeking, but a most important means for the mobilization of the labor energy of the masses for accelerating the growth of labor productivity and are a powerful reserve for upgrading effectiveness and quality. Practical experience has proved that wherever the competition takes place not formally, and wherever it is considered as an effective lever for production upsurge, its educational role is manifested particularly vividly: the organized mechanism not only insures high labor accomplishments but creates examples worthy of emulation.

Yet, there are still cases in which managers of some enterprises rely not on a good organization of the work, but, in an effort to conceal faults in their activities, demand the revision of plans downward, and occasionally engage in padding figures and defrauding the state. The appearance of prosperity which is created in this case discredits, in addition to causing direct economic damage, the idea of socialist competition and greatly harms the education of the working people. This practice both violates the plan and the law.

The possibilities at our disposal could be used most fully only when each collective and individual worker would use them conscientiously, with a profound knowledge of the nature and objective of the measures taken by the party and the government, when they have a clear idea of their role in the work of the tremendous national economic mechanism. "The question is," Lenin said, "for the conscientious worker to feel himself not only the master of his plant, but the representative of the country, to feel responsibility" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 36, pp 369-370). The high moral qualities of the Soviet people and their political culture are manifested precisely in their attitude to the work, to the assigned work sector, and to their social duty.

All of you well know that this year's conditions for industrial and, particularly, agricultural production were very complex. The severe winter followed by a drought in a number of parts of the country called for the intensive efforts of millions of working people. We can be justifiably proud of the high awareness of duty and selflessness with which the Soviet people are working at plants, mines, electric power stations, fields, livestock farms, construction projects and in all parts of our country to fulfill the 1979 plans and their socialist pledges.

Today, as yesterday, and as in the previous five-year plans, purposeful ideological and mass-political work is one of the most important factors in

the solution of all national economic problems. Again and again Lenin's perspicacious statement is confirmed to the effect that in economic construction under socialist conditions "agitation and propaganda will play an ever growing, a tremendous role" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 407).

IV

Comrades! Our mass propaganda and information media must play an important role in the implementation of the Central Committee decrees. The party and its Central Committee have always considered the press, television, and radio broadcasting powerful ideological weapons, and an irreplaceable means for the communist upbringing and organization of the masses, and an important factor in the molding of public opinion. Essentially, there is no ideological functions which, to one or another extent, is not inherent in mass propaganda and information media. The word printed in a newspaper or heard on the air enjoys great authority among the people.

Yet, the overall level of our printed and radio and television propaganda must be made consistent with the tasks of the building of communism, whose scale and complexity have risen, and the higher educational level and culture of the Soviet people, as well as the aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena.

Our mass propaganda and information media are fully capable of fulfilling their duty to the party and the people only by considerably intensifying the concreteness, meaningfulness, operativeness, and party zeal of their materials, and on this basis the effectiveness of their work. In this case the main attention must be focused on the major, the topical problems of life.

The effectiveness of the press and the other mass propaganda media is found, naturally, above all in the skillful dissemination of our accomplishments, progressive experience, and example of the best. Positive experience should be depicted in such a way as to make its nature clear, to interest millions of people in it, and to promote its extensive dissemination in practical work.

The party, soviet, trade union, and, above all, economic organs must pay careful attention to press materials which analyze the results of the socialist competition, reveal additional reserves, and popularize progressive methods management, labor organization, utilization of new equipment, and means for upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. Lack of attention to materials disseminating progressive experience and the methods of innovators represents carelessness and unused production reserves.

The concern of the party committees about the effectiveness of the press, television, and radio, must be constant. It is directly related to the development of ideological maturity, principle-mindedness, and professional daring in the journalists, and their readiness to intervene in life, in the

complex problems of production, economics, and culture actively and usefully to society. It is concerned for the development of a truly party, creative atmosphere in editorial rooms and of promoting social principles in their work. We cannot tolerate a situation in which, as it said, "The writer writes somewhat and the reader reads somewhat," no one affects no one, and everyone is pleased. Journalism is a militant matter demanding high moral-political and business qualities and moral strength, and above all profound convictions and serious knowledge.

All manifestations of a passive attitude on the part of press organs are intolerable also because a number of unresolved problems and shortcomings and, occasionally, distorted phenomena remain in our life, contradicting the essence of the socialist way of life. The Soviet people come across all of them at work and at home. If a printed organ which is to enjoy prestige among the readers, and if the journalists think of how to carry out their professional mission, they cannot, they must not forget the need to systematically present to the judgment of the public the problems affecting it, and to hit accurately omissions and shortcomings, while promoting what is new and progressive. It is precisely such a press that can successfully act as the combat organizer and educator of the masses, raising the energy of the working people for the sake of surmounting shortcomings and difficulties and resolving the various problems of the building of communism.

Struggling for an effective press means insuring truthfulness, substantiveness, and the topical nature of published materials, consistency, and party principle-mindedness in covering problems. In this case the party committees play a great role, as was emphasized in the CC CPSU decree. A great deal depends on whether or not the party committees develop in the personnel of soviet, economic, and trade union organizations a proper attitude toward criticism in the press.

The party's Central Committee and, personally, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, are providing real examples by supporting critical articles in the press and correcting, whenever necessary, economic managers and ministry and department workers, demanding of them to react more effectively to criticism and to take proper measures to improve the situation. In this case the CPSU Central Committee is guided by Lenin's instruction. Lenin demanded a thorough investigation and study of the facts and a mandatory and immediate reaction to critical reports in the press and criticism in general. He called not for formal answers but for a businesslike sensible reaction.

However, the journalists themselves must always remember that a superficial sharpness and sensationalism lower, as a rule, the significance of their critical articles. The mobilizing importance of critical writing, its constructive nature, and clear aim and efforts to eliminate shortcomings and difficulties created as a result of bureaucracy, indifference, and slackness of personnel of whatever rank or, what is most frequently the case, their support not of state but of departmental and parochial interests, is the main thing.

In each matter and, particularly, in criticism one must be consistent. The party committees and their press organs must, in all cases, try to correct shortcomings and eliminate their causes. For example, if after an article a newspaper does not report on the adopted measures, the reader will begin to suspect that the newspaper found no support and was unable to carry out that which it called for. In the propaganda, the ideological sense, therefore, we reach negative results. This cools off the people and triggers skepticism.

The CC CPSU decree discusses in detail the measures which must be taken by the editors of mass propaganda and information media so that the level of their work be consistent with contemporary requirements. Party committees which promote their factual implementation exactly and demandingly act properly. Practical experience indicates that supporting and daily guiding the activities of their newspapers, radio, and television, the party committees not only upgrade the prestige of the press but increase the power of their ideological influence on the course of the economic and cultural development of the rayon, oblast, or republic.

It is particularly necessary to mention the charge of educational influence carried by documentary-publicistic and fiction works on television and radio which enjoy a truly incalculable audience. It is necessary to work tirelessly along this important direction, without lowering exactingness, and remembering that an undemanding and weak artistic standard, and petty broadcasts not only spoil the taste but teach the audience, the youth in particular, to engage in superficial judgments concerning phenomena in life and adopt a light-hearted attitude toward art.

Let us say a few words on the vital tasks in the realm of artistic creativity under contemporary conditions. The party has always considered the idea-mindedness and artistic level of our works of literature and art as inseparably linked, as a single criterion in the evaluation of their merits. This is twice as justified today, when the artistic interpretation of phenomena in life and socialist reality cannot be conceived without a profound understanding of the economic, social, and spiritual processes occurring in society.

The men of literature and the arts are making a substantial contribution to the spiritual development of the Soviet person and his moral perfecting and aesthetic upbringing. We are pleased to note that the development of our literature and art is following the path of the ever deeper and more fruitful study of the character of the contemporary hero--the builder of communism--and the bold facing of the complex and topical problems of our time.

It is no secret, however, that along with talented and high idea-minded novels, plays, and motion pictures, indifferent works appear as well. Here and there we see a trend toward petty topics, naturalistic depictions of life, and a world of petty, philistine passions. Some works also contain non-historical, distorted ideas of the past, strange attachments for historical adventurers, and superficial judgments of our time. Such phenomena must not be ignored by the creative organizations and their printed organs.

The CC CPSU decree on the development of the creative activeness of writers, painters, composers, theater and motion picture workers, and journalists is directly linked with developing in them high-level ideamindedness and civic mindedness. This gives priority to the task of perfecting further the ideological-political upbringing and Marxist-Leninist education of the artistic intelligentsia. The creative unions must contribute to the all-round broadening of the ideological outlook and upgrading the skill of the artist, and focusing his attention on socially significant problems.

V

Comrades! We are summing up the initial results of the work done by the party organizations for the implementation of the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." We have covered only the initial yet important stage related to the profound clarification of the nature of the party's requirements and the beginning of the efforts to implement them.

We could note with satisfaction that the decree was efficiently discussed by the party members and the working people. This is the unquestionable merit of our party committees. Extensive work on the implementation of the decree is being promoted by the party organizations of Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of republics, krays, and oblasts.

It is important, however, to clearly realize that any, even the most impeccable decisions, becomes a real force which guides the course of events only when it is systematically implemented and has a specific positive influence on conditions in one or another organization or labor collective. It is precisely on this basis that the CPSU Central Committee will assess the effectiveness of the work done.

Earmarking specific measures for the implementation of the decree, the party members have drawn the attention to the fact that this work should not become a regular campaign project. Unquestionably, this approach is correct. It is no accident that today problems of the practical organization of ideological-educational work and of the coordination of ideological activities assume particular significance. We must extend our ideological influence on the entire mass and, at the same time, reach every person individually. This calls for the skillful utilization of all means of ideological and educational influence. As a rule, success is achieved wherever party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, labor collectives, families, schools, administrations, and the public act together, and where ideological stipulations are purposefully embodied in practical actions in the realms of labor, training, and way of life. In this connection we must emphasize the role of the ideological commissions of the party committees and the established system for the dissemination of the best experience in the organization of educational work.

The study of the activities of the party committees for the implementation of the present decree indicates that in the course of this work we

frequently come across precisely the shortcomings which, as the decree points out, substantially lower the effectiveness of ideological influence. Party and non-party members have written to the Central Committee to this effect and, as you well know, materials on the subject have been printed in our party press.

In a number of organizations talks on the significance of the decree and on the fact that it must be implemented are not supported by factual measures and by a self-critical study of the situation precisely at the given enterprise or establishment. Occasionally the people limit themselves to abstract considerations "about existing shortcomings," remaining captive of general statements and failing to relate words with actions. For example, as was reported in PRAVDA, such was the spirit in which the CC CPSU decree was discussed by the collegium of the USSR Gosstroy.

Adamantly working for the all-round improvement of education and the dissemination of progressive experience in ideological work, we must do everything possible to avoid conventionality, which inevitably leads to formalism and loss of initiative. Attempts to squeeze the education process within the framework of purely quantitative, formal criteria and evaluations, cause great damage as well. With such a simplistic bureaucratic approach the number of measures implemented remains the only visible thing. Such a careless educational system, which combines, as Lenin said, "the obsolete old and lifeless fashionable," does not contribute in the least to success in ideological-educational work.

Naturally, a truly creative approach has nothing in common with a nihilistic attitude toward the ways and means of party ideological work which were developed and tested through practice. It is no secret that formalism in educational work--its major shortcoming--is enduring and many-faceted. It frequently grows on the soil of using in this complex and delicate area of a variety of artificial innovations, ways and means which are only superficially effective, noise, and chatter. This is categorically counterindicated by the very nature and spirit of communist education.

It is important to find and extensively use new forms of work which would enable us to take more fully into consideration the characteristics of educational activities in one or another area or one or another social group. Thus, for example, the holding of joint political days greatly contributes to upgrading the effectiveness of education. The practical experience of party committees in a number of cities and oblasts indicates that such days, if properly organized, make it possible to encompass population groups to which frequently insufficient attention is being paid. They make it possible to feel more closely the problems which concern the working people, give convincing answers to them, and enable both ideological and other organizations to formulate corresponding recommendations.

Success in educational work largely depends on relying on the aktiv, on public opinion. We know how intolerant Lenin was of any violation of

Soviet legality and, particularly, crime. He called for waging a merciless struggle against it, more actively involving in this effort the broad toiling masses.

That is the way the party formulates the matter today as well. The recently passed CC CPSU decree "On Improving the Protection of Law and Order and Intensifying the Struggle Against Violations of the Law" indicates the need to engage in a more decisive uprooting of criminality and other antisocial phenomena.

The struggle for strengthening socialist law and order is an inseparable component of the party's organizational and ideological work. Intensifying educational work and preventing delinquencies among minors and upgrading in this respect the role of the family, the school, and the collective, must become a topic of particular concern.

We must not tolerate the fact that some party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organizations underestimate the entire importance of the struggle against criminality and engage in such efforts formally, making poor use of the available arsenal of educational and preventive measures. The actions of the militia and the prosecutor's office do not always have the necessary aggressive nature in the struggle against delinquents. Let us also mention the fact that, here and there, the class-political assessment of manifestations of philistine morality and private ownership mentality has been dulled.

In a word, we must focus all means of influence and mobilize the collective efforts so that an honest attitude toward labor and socialist ownership and social duties, and the principles of communist morality become the personal convictions of every person and a norm governing his behavior.

The fact that our mass information media are the pioneers in the struggle for the dissemination and implementation of decrees is worthy of approval. Newspapers, television transmissions, and radio programs have acquired a deeper content. They have become more interesting, lively, and sharp and, something particularly important, they have come closer to the people. News has become more meaningful and varied. The handling of major problems and critical materials has been noticeable. The use made of letters to the editors has improved.

We can note with satisfaction the substantive formulation and interpretation of important socioeconomic problems in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and some other newspapers which concern themselves with topical problems of production and way of life, morality, and morale. The new transmissions of the Central Television and the All-Union Radio, entitled "Problem, Search, Solution," "Meetings at Your Request," and others appeal to the broadest possible audiences. As was required by the Central Committee decree, major economic managers, noted scientists, specialists, and heads of ministries and departments participate in them. They answer the questions of the working people, including justifiable claims and

legitimate demands of the Soviet people. They describe the ways shortcomings will be corrected and the possibilities which exist for upgrading the effectiveness and quality of the work of enterprises and sectors.

The number of abstract appeals has noticeably declined in the coverage of the socialist competition. The press justifiably prefers to disseminate news on the competition among collectives who have chosen tried and effective work methods. For example, the competition among collectives applying the L'vov system for quality-control management, following the Shchekin, Ipatov, or Yampol'skiy methods, the method of the construction brigade headed by N. Zlobin, and the experience of Leningrad and Krasnoyarsk enterprises for the comprehensive solution of problems related to the building of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES are being extensively disseminated through the press, television, and radio.

Unquestionably, there is progress here even though the practice of creating sensationalism on the subject of shallow or purely formal innovations has not been outlived.

As a whole, we cannot as yet say that all press organs and propaganda media have undertaken the profound and comprehensive implementation of the tasks formulated in the decree. Editorial rooms are still insufficiently energetically promoting improvements in the quality of submitted materials, operativeness of information, and real effectiveness.

Nor could we say that the stipulation in the decree calling for the differentiated dissemination of information and for the need for the printed organs to have their own "face," their range of basic topics, variety of genres, and be concerned with style and language, has been implemented. Thus, we still frequently come across headings containing formalistic appeals to "tighten up," "enhance," "double the energy," and so on. As a result of frequent repetitions, such appeals lose their meaning. Instead of such declarations the content and meaning of labor initiatives and shock-work methods should be described convincingly. On this level we are interested in each bit of acquired experience and manifestation of patriotic initiative by the working people.

Within a relatively short time the press, television, and radio have done a certain amount of work to expand and intensify foreign political propaganda. The television screen shows daily new information-publicistic telecasts which combine operativeness and specific political analysis. The round-the-clock service of Radio Moscow in English, which has considerably broadened Moscow's international audience, is now reaching all continents.

Our mass propaganda and information media and ideological institutions must continue comprehensively to improve their propaganda and counterpropaganda. They must convincingly describe the achievements and advantages of the Soviet political and social system, and the peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet state. We must extensively publicize the right to work, education, free medical services, and housing--basic human rights which are not found in the United States or the other capitalist countries, and which are guaranteed in the Soviet Union.

Our propaganda must sharply react to changes occurring in the world. It must provide substantive and prompt rebuttals to all ideological intrigues and insinuations, and expose the falsehood of enemy propaganda. In this case we must bear in mind the ideological enemy and his special services are constantly engaged in slanderous propaganda campaigns which frequently assume the nature of psychological warfare waged against the USSR and the other socialist countries, and do not balk at open provocation. Imperialist reaction is trying to undermine the spirit of detente and return the world to the origins of the cold war. It is precisely for the purpose of promoting such dirty objectives that the problem of the imaginary violation of human rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union was "fabricated." Today, when this campaign of slanders and lies has been played out, our opponents are seeking other occasions and other means-- anything will do. We must be able to expose even the most refined enemy provocations.

We must systematically develop in the Soviet people political vigilance, sharp class sensitivity, ideological unity and conviction, awareness of the superiority of our system and our ideas, and readiness to defend the homeland and the revolutionary gains of socialism. We must ably, skillfully, and convincingly expose the vices of capitalism as a system of exploitation, oppression, and violence. We must prove through practical examples and specific human destinies what mass unemployment and hopeless poverty mean, and the bloody crimes committed by the imperialist bourgeoisie whenever its rule is really threatened.

We must systematically depict the successes of real socialism and strengthen international solidarity with the peoples of the socialist comity, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement. One of the permanent tasks of the mass information media is to cover life in the socialist countries in its entire variety, paying particular attention to the specific positive experience in resolving topical social problems of the fraternal parties, and the political, ideological, and economic cooperation among fraternal countries and the equal and mutually profitable nature of their relations. It is also important to depict the selfless struggle waged by the fraternal communist and workers' parties against imperialism and the threat of a new war, for the ideals of communism, and for the basic interests of the working class and all working people, and for social progress.

The aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena requires the further perfecting of our foreign political propaganda as well as upgrading the level of ideological upbringing within the country. We must intensify education in a spirit of communist conviction, intolerance of bourgeois ideology, and ability to provide a decisive and substantive rebuff to all the intrigues of the ideological enemy.

Comrades! The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" defines the basic directions of party activities in this most important realm of social life. One of the main

prerequisites for success in such activities is the Leninist style of work--a creative style based on profound Marxist-Leninist understanding of the essence and nature of social phenomena, alien to formalism and campaign mongering. The use of this style by ideological cadres means insuring not only a good and effective organization and coordination of all ideological-political work, and making the actions of ideological organizations and educational means purposeful, but being constantly in the midst of such work, follow its factual results, and meet the growing spiritual requirements of the working people.

All party committees have elaborated, approved, and begun to implement long-term comprehensive plans for ideological activities. Now we must organize control of execution. The party committees must not ignore any one of the directions or aspects of the entire area of communist education.

Equally systematic work with ideological cadres must become an inseparable component of such organizational activities. Combining trust in such cadres with high exactingness for the implementation of their assignments, the party deems it necessary to considerably improve their training and orientation on topical problems of domestic and international life.

The multimillion-strong army of ideological cadres enjoys the high respect and love of the party and the people. These are people who are dedicating their forces, knowledge, and abilities to the political education of the masses, the development in them of high moral qualities, and the enhancement of the spiritual and political standards of our people.

The implementation of the CC CPSU decree is a complex and truly creative matter. We communists, must not forget even for a minute Lenin's behest of "mandatorily going further, mandatorily achieving more, mandatorily converting from easier to more difficult tasks. Without this," Lenin emphasized, "no progress at all is possible, nor is progress in the building of socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 37, p 196). This is made incumbent upon us by the content and spirit of the Central Committee decree which is imbued with the ideas of a creative and steadily developing Marxism-Leninism. This also helped by the existing favorable political circumstances in the country.

Comrades! There is no nobler task than taking to the masses the word of the party and educating millions and millions of people in a spirit of loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and loyalty to the immortal ideals of communism. We justifiably say that communist education is an important front in the struggle for communism. The implementation of the CC CPSU decrees, and perfecting the work on the education of the working people will contribute to upgrading all organizational and political work among the masses aimed at achieving new successes in the building of communism.

Allow me, dear comrades, to wish you with all my heart and, through you, all workers on the ideological front great new successes!

The report was heard with great attention and was interrupted frequently by lengthy applause.

PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATION AND LABOR COLLECTIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 44-56

[Article by Yu. Razumov]

[Text] One of the laws of the forward movement of Soviet society on the path to communism is the expansion and intensification of the functions of the socialist labor collectives. This process is indivisible from the further strengthening of the role and influence of the primary party organizations as the political nucleus of the collectives, as their leading force. "The entire life of society—economic, political, and spiritual—is reflected in the labor collective, in the work of its party, trade union, and Komsomol organization," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, has said. "Essentially this is the basic cell of our entire not only economic but political organism."

Within the labor collective politics and economics are concentrated in practical actions. A number of governmental affairs and problems of implementation of national economic plans are resolved, and new relations are established among people on the collectivistic base inherent in socialism. Here the ideological-political, labor, and moral components of communist education become closely interwoven and directly interacting. The all-round development of the individual takes place. Here a person undergoes labor and political training and becomes imbued with a feeling of responsibility not only for his individual work but for the end results of the activities of the enterprise, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, construction project, or establishment, realizing his involvement with the affairs of the entire society. It is only within the collective that the people truly feel their full satisfaction and happiness from creative and inspired toil. The influence of labor collectives is not limited to the production area. They are extensively active outside it, participating in the shaping of the socialist way of life.

Concerned with upgrading the role of labor collectives in the solution of production, social, and ideological-educational problems, the party takes measures to make their activities ever more meaningful and active. This is equally the aim of the instructions issued by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses and a number of Central Committee decrees.

The legislative codification in the new USSR Constitution of the functions and rights of labor collectives in areas such as production planning and social development, training and placement of cadres, resolving problems of enterprise and establishment management, improving working and living conditions of the workers, upgrading their skills, strengthening labor discipline, and the communist education of the working people are of great importance. In accordance with the country's Fundamental Law 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" calls for the active participation of production labor collectives in the formulation of five-year and annual plans, control of their implementation, discussion and solution of problems of the use of funds for the development of the production process and sociocultural measures, housing construction, and material incentives. The proper and effective utilization of such rights contributes to the even greater increase of the importance of labor collectives in social life.

All this increases the responsibility of the primary party organizations for the state of affairs in labor collectives, for insuring their high-level organization and coordination, and for creating favorable conditions for creative work by the individual.

Leading Power

Together with the shop party organizations and the party groups, the primary party organizations are the wide root system of the CPSU. They are the active promoters of party policy. It is this, above all, that determines their role in the labor collective. "The primary party organizations," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "are in the front end of economic and cultural construction. They operate within the very thick of the people. Through all their work they actively contribute to combining party policy with the live creativity of the masses and the successful solution of economic-political and ideological-educational problems."

The network of primary party organizations is growing steadily. On 1 January 1979 the CPSU had over 403,000 primary and 436,000 shop party organizations, and 586,000 party groups. Of the overall number of primary party organizations 167,000 operated industrial, construction, transportation, and communications enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other production collectives. In our national economy there is virtually no single important sector, no single labor collective of any size without primary party organizations. In sectors where there are less than three party members and where no party organization or party group can be established, the party committee (party bureau) frequently appoints one of the party members as party organizer.

The 25th CPSU Congress provided a powerful impetus to upgrading the activity and influence of the primary party organizations and to improving the forms and methods of their political and organizational work. Having defined the ways and means for further upgrading the level of the party's

leadership of society, the congress emphasized that this level directly depends on the militancy and initiative-minded work of the primary party organizations, which today must influence even more energetically the enhancement of production effectiveness and acceleration of scientific and technical progress, be always concerned with the development within each collective of an atmosphere of joint work and creative search, the education of the people, and the improvement of their working and living conditions. The congress's instructions on strengthening the party ranks, mastering the Leninist style, criticism and self-criticism, control of execution of past decisions, perfecting the choice and upbringing of cadres, and intensifying ideological work, enrich the content of the life and activities of the primary organizations and are their reliable and accurate guideline.

As all our party units, the primary party organizations are feeling the mobilizing influence of the CC CPSU plenums, which focus the attention on the specific directions followed in economic and cultural construction, the communist education of the working people, and foreign political activities.

In order to control the implementation of the decisions passed at party congresses and plenums, the CPSU Central Committee systematically hears reports submitted by primary party organizations operating in industry, agriculture, construction, administrative organs, scientific research institutions, and schools. In particular, in recent years reports were discussed on the work of the party organizations at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant, Minsk Tractors Plant, and Gor'kiy Automotive Vehicles Plant, Construction Trust No 36 in Leningrad, Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, Rostovskaya Oblast, the Ust'-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zinc, and the Balkhash Mining-Metallurgical Combines, Leningrad Polytechnical Institute, USSR Ministry of Communications, Turbomotornyy Zavod Production Association (Sverdlovsk), and many others. The decrees passed on the basis of such reports provide a comprehensive study of the work of the primary party organizations, sum up their acquired experience, and define their tasks. Naturally, reflecting the specific nature of one or another organization, such tasks may not be always the same. Nevertheless, they contain a great deal of partywide features.

The power of the influence of the party organization on the collective is directly related to the unity and solidarity within its own ranks, the activeness of the party members, the level of intraparty work, and the systematic observance of the Leninist norms of party life. The party organization can exert a continuing educational influence on non-party people, providing that it itself is a model of high-level organization and efficiency in the implementation of party and government decisions, and is intolerant of shortcomings, negligence, violations of discipline, and all kinds of abuses. In a word, the strength of the party organization is, above all, the strength of the authority it enjoys among the working people.

The personal example and vanguard role of the party members in production and social life are of permanent significance to the growth of the authority and influence of the party organization. Both in peace and in war the party members, as the most conscientious segment of the collective, have always led. Today as well they are in the most difficult sectors and the main directions of the struggle for the implementation of CPSU policy. The party organizations deem it their prime task to upgrade the responsibility of the party members for their assignments and for the situation of their fellow workers.

Experience proves that the leading role of the party members is the deeper and stronger the better their forces are distributed within the collective. It was precisely this that was emphasized by the CPSU Central Committee in its decree on the work of the party organization of the Turbomotorny Zavod Production Association. The document points out that the influence of the party organization which is rallying the people is secured here above all thanks to the proper deployment of the party members in production. The party committee and shop party organizations are adamantly seeing to it that every party member is highly active and is a model for emulation. The communists are in the vanguard of the competitors for ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the five-year plan. They are the initiators of and active participants in the movement of rationalizers and inventors, and in the competition for the right to deliver goods stamped with their personal quality seal. One-quarter of the party organization's membership works in the trade union organs and nearly one-third in the people's control groups and posts. In the past two years the party nucleus in the Komsomol has increased by one-half.

The CPSU ascribes great importance to improving the structure of the party organizations. It considers that the proper solution of structural problems has not only an organizational but a political meaning, since this largely determines the content and level of intraparty work and the extent of party influence in the masses. The current statutory stipulations on the structure of the primary party organizations enable them to deploy most rationally their forces and exert daily influence on the production and social life of the collectives.

Currently 39,000 primary party organizations have party committees. Party committees of 889 primary party organizations numbering over 1,000 party members have been granted the status of raykoms on matters of CPSU membership, registration, and consideration of individual cases of party members. Over 297,000 shop party organizations have been given the rights of a primary party organization. Party organizations numbering over 500 members number 1,301 party committees in big shops, while party organizations in production sectors have been granted the rights of primary party organizations.

Improvements in the structure and ways and means of work are a means for further upgrading the combat capability of the primary party organizations and increasing their influence among the working people. They are a

prerequisite for the successful implementation of plans for economic and cultural development. This also is the purpose of the accountability and election meetings currently taking place within the party organizations. Comprehensively discussing their work on the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, Central Committee plenums, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions, the party members objectively assess achievements and plan how to move ahead even more successfully.

Wherever the party organizations act as the leading force of the labor collectives and concretely deal with problems of improving production and the education of the people, and promote high-level organization and coordination in the work, stable labor successes may be seen. State assignments are fulfilled within the stipulated deadlines for all indicators.

Let us consider this by taking the collective of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine as an example. Despite the maximum load of production capacities, a certain disproportion in the development of metallurgical conversions and some shortcomings in material and technical procurements, Magnitka is steadily increasing its volume of output. Its work is stable. It is precisely fulfilling consumer orders. In the 9th and in the first 3 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the combine's overall volume of output rose by over 34%. The entire increase was achieved through higher labor productivity without the installation of new metallurgical machines. Outlays per ruble of marketable goods are here considerably lower than at other enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy. The main factors for success are the active efforts of the 8,000-strong party organization and high level of economic management.

The combine's party members are headed by a party committee consisting of 55 members, 32 of whom are workers. Furthermore, the seven party organizations of the production facilities have their own party committees. The combine numbers 138 shop organizations and 506 party groups. Such a broad network of party units, combined with the proper positioning of the party members, makes it possible to extend the party's influence to all production sectors. Naturally, however, this is not automatically guaranteed. The active position of the party members, their high responsibility for the common project, and their individual examples in labor and social life, are of decisive significance. The party organization is adamantly developing the necessary qualities in all its members. Between 1976 and 1978 reports and communications were submitted to meetings of the party bureau and the shop party organizations and party groups by over 2,200 party members, including 670 economic managers, reporting on the implementation of the CPSU bylaws and party instructions, and their individual contributions to the fulfillment of the five-year plan. Virtually all party members and the overwhelming majority of non-party people are upgrading the levels of their political, economic, general educational, and professional training.

The party organizations and the administration have been able to focus the attention of workers and specialists on the acceleration of scientific and

technical progress. In the past eight years, in accordance with the plan for economic and social development, eight metallurgical units were reconstructed; four Martin furnaces were redesigned as two-bath steel-smelting units, and 13,000 organizational and technical measures were implemented, based on the plan for scientific organization of labor. Every year the enterprise's rationalizers are submitting up to 12,000 suggestions with savings of 30 million rubles.

The party committee and the management are always keeping track of the solution of social problems. In the 9th and the first 3 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the labor conditions of 8,000 working people were improved and 4,000 people were relieved from heavy manual work. Every year about 80,000 square meters of housing is built. The number of preschool institutions is rising. A wide network of rest homes and bases has been developed, and auxiliary farms, which play a major role in improving the nutrition of metallurgical workers, are developing.

The purposeful and coordinated work of the party organization and the administration in mobilizing the collective to upgrade production effectiveness, concern for the people, and a proper organization of labor make it possible for the combine to firmly retain its positions as flag bearers of domestic metallurgy.

Organization and Solidarity of the Collective

The labor collective can fulfill its socially useful functions and production and socio-educational tasks the more successfully the greater its unity and organization. It is precisely such qualities that distinguish the collectives of Moscow's Krasnyy Proletariy Plant, the Leningrad Optical-Machine Association imeni V. I. Lenin, the Berezniki Titanium-Magnesium Combine, the AvtoVAZ Production Association, the Donetsk Mine imeni Ye. T. Abakumov, and other leading enterprises in the competition for ahead-of-schedule implementation of the five-year plan. Their activities show what a reliable foundation unity and strong discipline offer for model order in production and durable successes achieved by the collective.

Practical experience shows that a united collective does not develop spontaneously, by itself. In "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], Comrade L. I. Brezhnev cites the following fact: "There were many people at the site of Zaporozhstal'" (at the peak period of the construction project there were 47,000), "yet a collective had not been organized. There were about 40 construction administrations and subcontracting organizations affiliated with different main administrations of various ministries. We immediately encountered the lack of coordination among such offices and cases of endless arguments and reciprocal charges. Work would be started all over the place and nothing would be completed. Discipline was low and there was no interaction and cooperation. In other words, all that which turns a mass of people into a coordinated collective was lacking." The author further describes how, as a result of its purposeful organizational and educational work the party obkom succeeded in turning the people participating in the

contruction of the plant into a united and highly organized collective which was able to carry out this responsible assignment given by the homeland honorably and despite incredibly difficult conditions.

This recollection of past events does not pertain to the past alone. Today as well it is a most valuable manual for the development within the labor collectives of an atmosphere of general tightness, mobility, thrift, and self-discipline. Under the conditions of production concentration and specialization and the development of the scientific and technical revolution, such qualities are becoming ever more important and topical.

All collectives consist of people with different characters, habits, level of political maturity, level of skill, spiritual requirements, and other features. Nevertheless, the collective is a single entity. This unity is based on the public ownership of productive capital, common outlook, specific objectives of labor activities, and working conditions and obligations established by the law. At the same time, the unity of the collective depends, to a decisive extent, on the activities of the primary party organization, and on the militancy, activeness, and unity of the party members. As the cementing nucleus of the collective, the party organization is steadily exerting on it its guiding and mobilizing influence. This influence assumes the necessary effectiveness and scope when the party members rely on the trade union and Komsomol organizations, which rally virtually all the members of the collective. It is only under such circumstances that solid prerequisites are created for harmonious and purposeful work by all production units, and for exerting an educational influence on every working person.

In order for the collective to be united and act jointly, it is important for the collective opinion and the collective mind and experience to be taken into consideration and applied as fully as possible. For this reason the party organizations must pay constant attention to forms of expression and manifestation of collective thinking and collective will, such as workers meetings, decisions and views of public organizations of the working people and their leading organs, the permanent production conferences, and the various councils and bureaus involving the participation of the broad aktiv.

In this respect workers meetings are particularly important. Their systematic holding, effective discussion of most important problems of social life, production activities, and social development of the enterprise or establishment, and the attentive consideration of the views expressed at the meetings, enhance the role of the collective as a single entity. They develop the activity of the members and contribute to molding in them feelings of responsibility for the common project. Conversely, whenever meetings are held irregularly or formalistically, without a profound discussion of topical problems, when production indicators are enumerated in a neutral manner and planned assignments are mentioned, and when the same shortcomings are mentioned without indicating who is to be blamed for them, how to change the situation, and who should do what to improve his work, essentially the collective will is not expressed.

We know that the collective's true unity, organization, and discipline cannot be achieved by concealing shortcomings and promoting conciliation and general forgiveness. It requires a critical view of the state of affairs, and principled reciprocal exactingness and strictness. It is only on this basis that a healthy sociopolitical climate may be insured within the collective, which, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote in "Vozrozhdeniye" would create the desire to work more effectively, more productively, and better, and would create an atmosphere of intolerance toward absenteeists and parasites, and toward any case of negligence and carelessness, eye-washing, and figure padding.

One of the effective means for uniting the people is the development of the collective forms of labor organization which are most suited to the nature of the socialist system which rallies and unites the working people.

The most popular form of such an organization is the brigade. Developed at the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, the brigades have withstood the test of time and today--on a new basis this time--are becoming ever more widespread. This new base consists of the profound changes which, as a result of scientific and technical progress, are occurring in production conditions, the nature of labor, the level of the professional and general educational training of the working people, and the growth of their conscientiousness and production and social activeness. The creation of brigades assumed a particularly wide scope after the 25th CPSU Congress. In Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast they number over 800,000 workers. In Sverdlovskaya Oblast, in the first three years of the five-year plan the percentage of workers in industry, construction, and transportation working in brigades rose from 31 to 39%.

At the Production Association imeni S. P. Korolev (Kiev) 80% of the workers engaged in basic production work within 496 brigades. For this reason the center of educational work has been shifted to the brigades. Here no single violation or misdemeanor remains unnoticed. The party organization is always aware of the work of the leading cadres and primary production-unit organizers--brigade leaders, foremen, party-group organizers, trade union organizers, and Komsomol organizers. Their regular training, the moral and material incentives given the best workers, and exchange of experience contribute to the further enhancement of the role of this link in the development of production and the education of the people. The extensive application of the brigade form of labor organization with payments based on final results made it possible to improve production management within a short time, reduce cadre turnover to 6.2%, and lower the number of labor-discipline violations by one-half. For the past three years the association has retained the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee.

Along with the specialized brigades consisting of workers practicing the same skill, high results are achieved by complex brigades which include people practicing different skills engaged in a joint project. Of late related comprehensive brigades working on a single order have been

intensively developed. A necessary prerequisite for the viability of such brigades is to observe the principle of voluntary participation in their creation. The party organizations must comprehensively support the development of the brigade labor form, bearing in mind the fact that in the 11th Five-Year Plan it must become basic.

The collective is a living and developing organism in which there is a steady renovation of personnel, change of generations, and combination of the experience of mature and skilled workers with the energy of the young. It would be suitable to note that the establishment of a collective and of its political nucleus are interrelated. The party organization draws its recruits from the collective, selecting for its ranks the worthiest members. At the same time, it actively influences the processes occurring within it, seeing to it that the natural renovation and recruitment are not artificially accelerated, and that turnover does not erode the collective the way water erodes sand. One of the most important concerns of the party organization is to study the reasons for manpower turnover and take measures to retain the cadres.

It is important for the party organization and the administration to know not only the reason for which the people leave the collective, but who are the recruits. Occasionally, enterprise and construction project managers display insufficient interest in this second aspect of the matter. Yet, the channels for replenishing the collective and the quality structure of the new members are of major practical significance. It may happen that few of them are graduates of secondary schools or vocational-technical schools. This should serve as a signal to the party organization of the need to intensify its work in the vocational guidance of secondary-school students, and expand the training of young people in vocational-technical schools, i.e., energize such reserves. Also very important is the proper organization of the vocational training of the new recruits, which is possible only by taking their quality structure into consideration.

As confirmed by practical experience, a mandatory base for keeping cadres in the collective is a healthy moral-political climate, the satisfaction of the person in his work and with the rating of his work, and the creation of normal production and living conditions. Ignorance of any of these factors may increase cadre turnover and develop in the people the desire to leave the collective. The party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and the managers of enterprises and establishments must always keep track of these problems.

Let us cite the example of two plants in Voronezh: the Synthetic Rubber Plant imeni S. M. Kirov, and the Diesel Locomotives Repair Plant imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy. At the former, constant concern is shown for working and living conditions. Between 1976 and 1979 new consumer buildings were completed, workers' cafeterias, a hospital, a rest center, and residential buildings. Here turnover is low. At the plant imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy plans for the completion of housing remain unfulfilled. There is a shortage of places in childrens' institutions, reconstruction is not carried out, and in a number of sectors labor conditions remain difficult. As a result, many workers leave the enterprise.

The immediate "microclimate" surrounding a person is particularly important. If the worker feels that he is respected, if he is valued according to his merits, giving good work its proper due, while criticizing in a comradely way and taking to task for omissions and errors, and providing help to correct them, he will not leave the collective because of temporary difficulties which may arise in or out of work. Conversely, a nervous atmosphere, all kinds of quarrels, and subjectivity in assessing the work frequently lead the people to change jobs.

Ocasionally the complaints voiced by economic managers about the great substitution and shortage of people in their subordinate subunits are considered a problem independent of the economic managers, and a objective reasons for the non-fulfillment of plans. Yet, in the final account, the level of workers turnover is directly related to the quality of the management of the collective. The healthy and efficient atmosphere in collective creative work is established wherever the enterprise, or even the shops, sectors, and brigades are headed by prestigious, energetic, and knowledgeable organizers who know how to work with people. Therefore, the circumstances in the collective are to a large extent a reflection of their leadership.

"Assessing the work of leaders and economic cadres," stipulates the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," "we must take into consideration not only the indicators of the fulfillment of production plans, but the level of discipline, the moral and political climate in the collective, and working and living conditions." This instruction is basic. It emphasizes the unity between economic and educational activities, and is a valuable guide for the party organizations in their work with cadres in the enterprise's administration, the engineering and technical personnel, the chiefs of sectors and shifts, and foremen and brigade leaders.

Incidentally, it is entirely logical in assessing the work of managers to take into consideration workers' turnover in the collective. For example, practical experience has shown that including the level of cadre turnover among the main indicators of the socialist competition substantially affects the state of affairs. Specifically, this was the method followed at the Ufa Cables Plant. This made it possible to raise the responsibility of chiefs of shops and sectors, foremen, and brigade leaders for uniting the collectives and drastically reduced turnover.

Some times proper relations between managers and subordinates do not develop immediately or simply, even if an experienced and determined person assumes the leadership. The people within a collective vary. Along with good workers there are some who are hard to handle and insufficiently disciplined. The proper approach to every individual must be found. It may also happen that a healthy collective has developed but that a new manager, insufficiently thoughtful, may underestimate educational work and excessively rely on orders and instructions. A complex and, sometimes, conflicting situation may develop in the collective if the manager no

longer considers the views of his comrades, begins to classify workers into "liked" and "unliked," and is responsive to being praised. This is usually used by people inclined to toadying and servility. Becoming accustomed to one-sided positive assessments of his qualities, the manager loses his ability to properly assess circumstances. He tries to ascribe work successes to himself and blame others for shortcomings and faults.

In such cases a great deal depends on the party organization and its principle-mindedness and ability to promptly notice undesirable trends and interfere skillfully, before the collective has broken down. Along with educational work among the masses and support of the correct actions of the administrator, such interference also means that, if necessary, his attention must be drawn to his shortcomings and omissions, and he must be helped to correct them. Perhaps it may involve enhancing the prestige of the manager, strengthening the faith and respect toward him on the part of his subordinates, and promoting in the collective an atmosphere of unity and efficiency.

Upbringing and Development of Creative Activity

The development of the social and production activity of labor collectives and the enhancement of the conscientiousness of the members are considered by the party decisive factors for all our successes in the building of communism. "The primary party organizations and party groups," the CPSU Central Committee stipulates, "must be the centers of daily ideological-educational activity. They must unite the collective, skillfully engage in individual work with the people, stimulate their social and labor activity, enhance labor and living standards, and promote a feeling for the new."

What are the best means for developing in the members of the collective an active position in life and to involve them in active participation in common projects? As was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, this requires a comprehensive approach to the organization of the entire matter of education, i.e., insuring a close unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing, in accordance with the specific characteristics of the various groups of working people. Guided by such instructions, the party organizations are adamantly promoting the development in all working people of a Marxist-Leninist outlook, communist idea-mindedness, Soviet patriotism, socialist internationalism, a communist attitude toward labor and public property, feelings of collectivism and comradely mutual aid, and high responsibility for the implementation of economic and social development plans.

Our party has formulated an efficient system for political education and for the mass study of the foundations of economics. In the 1978/79 school year over 22 million party and non-party members were involved in the party training system. Komsomol political-education training was attended by eight million people and over 40 million working people were given economic training or participated in other mass-propaganda forms. The study of the

most important party documents and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev ideologically enriched political and economic training and contributed to strengthening its ties with practical assignments and to upgrading the effectiveness of educational work.

Socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor are powerful factors in the upbringing and the development of the creative activeness of the masses in the struggle for the implementation of the party's economic and social policy. Today, one way or another, virtually anyone employed in public production is involved in the competition for the successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Ear-marking and reaching levels exceeding the tasks set by the economic organs, the leading collectives are making better use of existing reserves, upgrading quality indicators, and insuring the production of additional goods by saving on working time, materials, and fuel and energy resources. The party organizations are constantly keeping in sight the course of the competition. They are concerned with its effectiveness and with supporting anything valuable which is born in the course of labor rivalry.

On the initiative of the working people of Leningrad enterprises the fruitful patriotic movement "From the High Quality of Individual Work to High Effectiveness of Collective Labor" has become widespread. A creative approach to the work and high responsibility for the implementation of the party's plans are the basis of an outstanding movement launched by the people of Rostov entitled "Working Without Laggards." The initiatives of the labor collectives of Moscow, Sverdlovsk, and Kiev marked the beginning of a powerful competition for upgrading labor productivity at each work place. As a result of the initiative of the leading workers and, above all, the party members of Chelyabinskaya and Kemerovskaya oblasts, extensive efforts are made to save on metal and fuel and energy resources.

The activeness of the collect is a result of the activeness of its members. Party organizations which reach every person, his mind and his heart, and are concerned with the proper assessment of the social and production activities of the working people, and provide extensive publicity of the results of the socialist competition, are successful. Public reviews, competitions, periodical certifications, individual creative plans, public defense of accepted pledges, and other measures which make it possible to energize the members of the collective are of great importance.

It is far from simple systematically to influence every person, particularly in big collectives. Nevertheless, many party organizations are adamantly resolving this problem, justifiably considering it a means for solid successes in the work. Let us discuss merely one aspect of the matter-- assessing the labor of the individual worker. The experience of the party organization and administration of the Perm' Telephone Equipment Plant is of interest. Here all production sectors are using a system for rating the labor of workers and engineering and technical personnel implemented by special commissions. The commissions are elected at general meetings and consist of the best workers whose production successes are combined with

active participation in social activities and impeccable moral behavior. The work is assessed on the basis of its monthly results. The assessment takes into consideration labor productivity and quality, discipline, participation in rationalization and invention, implementation of social assignments, behavior outside work, etc. Such data are published on a board of indicators and discussed by the collective. The possibility to link such a rating to material incentives is under study. The use of such a system made it possible to drastically lower the number of labor discipline violations, enhance the social activeness of workers and employees, and insure the stable implementation of state planned assignments and socialist obligations.

The ability of the party organization to adopt a specific approach to passive workers plays a major role. There are no ready-made prescriptions in this respect. As the saying goes, the special key to everyone must be found. One thing is unquestionable, though: the lagging, the passive worker must not become only the target of all possible studies and criticisms. Occasionally, an interesting assignment which will help the person feel that he is trusted and will enable him to reveal his possibilities and be imbued with collective concern, may be far more effective.

Experience confirms the great effectiveness of educating the members of the collective in the spirit of the best traditions and progressive practice. Worthy of all possible development and establishment are traditions such as concern for the honor of the plant's brand, the desire to produce excellent quality goods with minimum outlays, model order in work places, prompt fulfillment of orders, and so on. However, traditions may be not only positive but negative, which disorganize and break down the collective. They include, for example, the still frequently existing tolerance toward violators of labor discipline, the application of the rule of "not displaying the skeletons in one's closet," and celebrating payday with a drink. The party organizations must wage an uncompromising struggle against such harmful phenomena.

It is the cadre workers above all who accumulate good traditions and pass them on to the next generations. In his letter to the cadre workers and members of labor dynasties of the Perm' Machine-Building Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Cadre workers play an important role in increasing the ranks of leading production workers and turning high responsibility for assignments and concern for upgrading work effectiveness and quality into the vital norm of every working person."

The cadre workers have rich practical experience and possess valuable professional skills and habits. Their extensive study helps the young workers to upgrade their skills, improve labor results, and engage in creative work.

On this basis, in the course of their political and educational work the party organizations rely, above all, on the members of the labor guard, seeing to it that not only they themselves assume an active stance in life

and work well, but also develop such qualities in their young replacements and teach them. The participation of cadre workers in the upbringing and training of youth gives this work its specific and effective character and helps to conduct it in a lively and interesting manner. This is exemplified by the activities over two million tutors.

The question of adopting more effective criteria governing the structure of cadre workers arises. In some enterprises this category is usually awarded to those who have worked no less than five years; other enterprises require ten years. The impression develops that the first criterion is preferable. In fact, in order to master a skill and obtain a good grade, the young worker who today, as a rule, is with secondary education, usually requires no more than five to six years. The majority of people who have worked over five years in an enterprise settle there and rarely leave the collective. The very act of becoming a cadre worker is noteworthy. Many enterprises ascribe great importance to the procedure of the dedication of young workers and the celebration of veterans. This takes place under solemn circumstances. Unquestionably, this plays a definitely educational role. How is the transition to cadre accomplished? As a rule, unnoticeably. In the view of many production workers it would be worth having such a transition leave a deeper trace in the heart of the worker and contribute to upgrading his activeness and responsibility for collective affairs.

The party organizations improve traditional and seek new ways and means for the development of the creative activity of the masses. They take into consideration the specific circumstances in the collectives and the specific nature of the various categories of working people.

Let us consider the experience of the party organization of the Metallicheskiy Zavod, a stable and highly productive association in Leningrad, supplying one-of-a-kind power units to the biggest electric power plants in the country. The party organization pays great attention to the development in the collective of a creative atmosphere and the promotion of the initiative and interest of every worker in seeking and utilizing reserves. It promotes the extensive participation of the working people in the formulation and implementation of long-term comprehensive plans for economic and social development. This is helped by adamant work to upgrade the cultural and general educational standing of the members of the collective. Every year over 2,500 workers and 1,000 engineering and technical workers upgrade their production skills. The joint participation of specialists and workers in improving production equipment and technology has become widespread in the association. Since the beginning of the five-year plan the number of engineering and technical workers with individual creative plans has doubled. One-third of the party members actively participate in the movement of rationalizers and inventors.

The Kuban' Kolkhoz in Krasnodarskiy Kray is well known as a highly developed progressive farm. Even this year, with its adverse weather conditions, the farm showed good indicators and had an excellent harvest. To a decisive extent this was the result of the labor and social activeness of

the kolkhoz members and their vanguard--the party members. A total of 211 of 263 party members and candidate members are communist-labor shock workers and 48 are rationalizers and inventors. The communists have been the initiators of many great accomplishments. Thus, the brigade headed by CC CPSU member and Hero of Socialist Labor M. I. Klepikov resolved to work under the slogan of "If You Can Yourself, Teach Someone Else," and "Your Neighbor's Land Does Not Belong to a Stranger." Supporting this initiative, the party organization launched a competition among brigades, and organized regular reciprocal checks and reciprocal aid in their work. On the basis of M. I. Klepikov's brigade the kolkhoz has organized a leading-experience course. In the 10th Five-Year Plan disparities in brigade indicators in terms of grain crop and sugar-beet yields declined by a factor of 3-4.

Great attention is being paid to upgrading the skill of kolkhoz members and to involving them in production management, and the search for and utilization of reserves. The kolkhoz has set up 22 economics course, 9 course for communist labor, and a university for agricultural knowledge. One-thousand five-hundred kolkhoz members, or two-thirds of the total, are undergoing training. Such training makes extensive use of active methods: analysis of specific production situations, practical assignments, and creative discussions. The students are systematically informed on unresolved production problems and involved in their resolution.

The country is entering the most important, the concluding stage of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The communist party is adamantly improving production planning and management, and is comprehensively developing the creative activeness of the working people. In the final account, the fate of our plans is determined in the labor collectives. It is very important to have in each of them a good, efficient mood and a healthy dissatisfaction with achieved indicators, as well as the desire to do one's work as quickly and as best as possible. All this upgrades even further the responsibility of the primary party organizations--the acknowledged leaders of the masses.

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COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE TOILERS OF THE SEA

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[Article by N. Konovalov, first secretary of the Kaliningradskaya Oblast CPSU Committee]

[Text] One of the most important among the problems considered at the 25th party congress was that of the communist education of the Soviet people. The congress indicated the need for a comprehensive approach to the organization of all education and of insuring close unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing, in accordance with the characteristics of the various groups of working people.

A large number of workers, kolkhoz members, and specialists in our Kaliningradskaya Oblast are employed in the fishing industry. The sector includes a large and powerful fishing fleet, fish-processing and ship-repair enterprises, and fishing kolkhozes.

The specifics of the work of the fishing collectives is that industrial fishing is conducted over the huge area of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans under conditions governed by rigid restrictions--beyond the 200-mile economic zones introduced by nearly all maritime countries--as a result of which in recent years fishing waters may be 6,000 to 8,000 miles distant and reaching them now takes 30 to 40 days. The concepts of "seamen" and "fishermen" have become virtually identical. Furthermore, in these fishing areas the people frequently find themselves operating under extreme conditions which require courage, patience, and resourcefulness. Today a great deal of time and effort must be spent in seeking better catches, since the species of fishes and sea products and their taste and nutritive qualities in the open sea are worse than in coastal areas.

Taking all this into consideration, the oblast party organization pays particular attention to the solution of the vital problems of the development of the sector and the selection, placement, and training of the command and rank-and-file cadres of the fishing fleet. These problems are under the steady supervision of the party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms. Directing the activities of the primary party organizations, and summing up and disseminating progressive experience, the party committees call for the

clear and well-organized work of ships' crews and for every fisherman to actively participate in the struggle for better production indicators, protect and increase labor traditions, and worthily carry at home and abroad the high title of Soviet seaman and citizen of the USSR.

No vessel sails out to the high seas without established party and other public organizations aboard. Virtually all ship party organizations are headed by initiative-minded authoritative specialists, as a rule with higher education and great sailing experience; many of them are first mates in charge of political affairs. Most secretaries are thoroughly acquainted with the characteristics of the fishermen's type of work and life in the open sea, with educational work among people who spend long periods of time away from home and from the homeland. They take into consideration the social and age structure of the collective, its level of maturity, professionalism, labor unity, and the nature of the specific tasks facing the personnel. Every single time practical experience has confirmed that it is precisely the comprehensive consideration of the specific characteristics of the collectives and of the conditions governing their activities that is the basis for solid success in implementing the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the party documents aimed at upgrading the effectiveness of all ideological and political-educational work.

The party committees (bureaus) of the bases and administrations of the fleets and at the fishing kolkhozes develop the long-term and current plans for ideological work. The latter are linked with the plans for the socio-economic development of the labor collectives. This makes it possible to insure more completely the unity among technical-economic, organizational, ideological, and other factors. In the months which have passed since the adoption by the CC CPSU of the decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," a great deal has been done for its implementation and, naturally, the proper changes were made in the plans. The strength and vitality of the decree are manifested in the fact that it contains a specific program of action for the party organs and organizations, ideological institutions, and all party members. It is aimed at turning every party member within his collective into a propagandist, agitator, and educator, who helps to surmount shortcomings in the work with the masses through personal example and authority.

As throughout the country, we have a broad network of courses and seminars within the party and economic training system, and mass propaganda methods. Every toiler of the sea is attending one of the units within this system. Managing political and economic training, the party organizations are promoting its greater effectiveness. They try to develop in the people an active life-stance, a class and party approach to the study of social phenomena, and intolerance of anything which conflicts with the socialist way of life.

Problems of communist morality are an inseparable part of curriculums and programs. For example, they are included in the topics for political classes, such as "The Individual and Society," "The Spiritual World of the

Soviet Person," "Developed Socialism and Morality," "The Socialist Way of Life," "Two Worlds--Two Ways of Life," etc. Readers' conferences were held aboard the ships to discuss the memoirs of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], which show the tremendous importance of the moral duty of the Soviet seaman to the state and to society, and the obligation to protect and strengthen socialist property and display high political vigilance.

Aboard high-sea fishing vessels the propagandist does not always have the possibility to obtain methodological aid, and the ship's library may not contain the necessary references. For long periods of time the collectives receive no newspapers and journals, and the radio alone is a source of fresh information. That is why the party organs and organizations are particularly careful in their choice of propagandists. Currently aboard Kaliningrad ships over 90% of the propagandists are with higher education. Four out of five heads of political courses and seminars are ship captains, first mates, or senior specialists. Propagandists, such as oblast party-committee member V. Pavlov, captain of the "Yarkiy Luch" tuna-fishing base, Ye. Mukhin, captain of the "Finskiy Zaliv" refrigerator-transport ship, Ye. Lebedev, captain of a medium trawler, and L. Kovalev, senior mechanic aboard the "Promyslovik" refrigeration trawler, are known in the oblast not only as excellent seamen and production leaders, but as skillful educators as well. Their propaganda activities are specific, effective, and aggressive, distinguished by high principle-mindedness and lack of compromise. They have mastered the art of rallying their collectives and of engaging in individual work with the people. They are always ready to help a person at work and training, and provide a clear and substantive answer to questions, suggestions, or complaints, and to fulfill their promises.

One of the functions of the correspondence department of the Marxism-Leninism University is to train propagandists for ship party organizations. Three university faculties are attended by about 400 people who are members of the command sailing crew of the fishing fleet. Before a trip the party committees and the oblast party-committee political-education house organize consultations for the propagandists covering the most complex theoretical problems. Voluntary political-education offices have been set up at the main sailing bases. Their services are used by the propagandists aboard trollers fishing in the same area.

The groups of propagandists regularly sent by the party obkom to the fishing areas are of great importance in energizing ideological and political-educational work aboard the vessels. They consist of senior party workers from the obkom and gorkoms and raykoms, fleet party committees, scientists, fishing-industry specialists, and members of the creative organizations. On the ships they help the primary party organizations in their political work to insure the fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges. Addressing the crews they contribute to the development in the seamen of a communist attitude toward labor, intolerance of the violators of discipline, and ability to engage in an aggressive struggle against manifestations of ideology and morality alien to us.

In a number of courses and seminars the study of theoretical problems and basic concepts of party policy is still insufficiently linked with practice and with the specific work of the collective; in some ships political self-training is neglected as the basic method for mastering revolutionary theory. The oblast party committee has made it incumbent upon the gorkoms and raykoms to make a careful study of the situation within each party organization and provide comprehensive assistance to those in need of it.

The courses on communist labor and economic knowledge, scientific and technical progress universities, workers meetings, and permanent production conferences play an important role in the labor education of the seamen. Most ship party organizations have been able to develop combat-capable agitation collectives and groups of political informants. They structure their work in accordance with topical tasks, such as the struggle for maximum catches, increasing the production of high-quality fresh and canned fish, and lowering material and labor production outlays. Such activities are based on individual and collective talks with the people, personal example, and support of anything good and progressive developed through labor initiative.

Life steadily confirms the outstanding and effective educational training provided by the socialist competition, providing, naturally, that it is well organized. In such cases we have not only production successes, but a united collective and the mood of the people is excellent. The fact that over nine-tenths of sailing cadres have completed the program of the first cycle of economic training and over one-half have completed the second cycle enables them to substantiate more convincingly their socialist pledges and counterplans, and individual sailing accounts, struggle for economy and thrift, and successfully implement plans.

Socialist competition for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the fourth year plan and for the entire 10th Five-Year Plan has become widespread everywhere. The famous crew of the "Argun" fishing refrigerated trawler, commanded for many years by Hero of Socialist Labor G. A. Nosal', remains in the vanguard of the leading collectives. It completed the Ninth Five-Year Plan in three years and eight months. In his greetings, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev warmly congratulated the seamen for their high labor achievements and wished them success in the implementation of their new, higher socialist pledges. Currently tens of fishing trawlers, floating trawlers, floating bases, and transport ships have completed their five-year plans or else are already working for 1960.

What is the "secret" of the success of the leading workers? It becomes obvious by looking at the work of the collective of the big refrigeration fishing trawler "Grigoriy Poluyanov," famous in the fleet. Here every time before sailing to sea, the crew is staffed properly, and a party and public organization are set up. Communists are placed in the most important production sectors. The management and the ship's trade union committee stipulate the conditions for the socialist competition in terms of the specific fishing area and assignment. Collective and individual pledges

and individual creative plans are adopted. The crew enters into competition with similar ships. Here the entire production cycle, from looking for the fish, preparing catching tools, and releasing and pulling back the net, to the transfer of the finished goods to the transport-refrigerator ships operates under a variety of competition methods. Particularly popular is the movement for the best guard and production brigade, and competition by skill. Assigning seamen in brigades and guards, efforts are made to take into consideration the skills and experience of the people, their physical possibilities, psychological compatibility, and desire to work together within a single collective on the basis of reciprocal support and interchangeability. In the course of the trip work results are summed up daily. Brigades and individual seamen who have acquired the highest results are noted and encouraged. Here the competition has become a spiritual need for the members of the crew and a living and creative matter in which there is no place for routine, formalism, or conventionalism. As early as May the crew reported the fulfillment of its plan for the first four years of the five-year plan.

Work at sea, on the ocean, is for people who are morally mature, physically strong, and enduring. Here about 40% of the fishermen are under 30. Many of them had only heard of the fishermen's profession before they were hired. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" points out the need, along with other measures, to make fuller use of the influence of tutors on young people. The personal example and prestige of the tutors are particularly important in the fishing industry.

Nearly 2,000 experienced seamen are working with young navigators, mechanics, fishermen, fish processors, seamen, and machine engineers, helping the novices to successfully master their chosen skill, become involved with social life, and absorb the richness of the collective.

Trawler captains and heroes of socialist labor G. Nosal', A. Tsygankov, V. Sagayev, and G. Irkhin, fishing master Hero of Socialist Labor A. Presnyakov, B. Ratner and V. Korneyev, sailing base chief mechanic I. Galutskikh, and many others have proved to be precisely such tutors. In many years of work there has been no case for the collective headed by G. Irkhin to fail to cope with his production plan or trip assignment. As one of the initiators of the socialist competition for the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan in three-and-a-half years, the trawler's crew was the first to use the raft fishing method, fulfilling its five-year plan in 2.5 years. G. Irkhin's characteristic features as a tutor of young people are purposefulness in achieving the objective, aspiration to use all available reserves for upgrading production effectiveness, and readiness always to help young tutored captains. The crew he heads is always ready, if necessary, to help a lagging vessel paired with it for the competition.

"Nothing enhances the individual so much," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th party congress, "as an active life-stance, a conscientious attitude toward social duty, and the consideration of the unity between word and action as the daily norm of behavior. The elaboration of such a position is a task of moral upbringing."

The congress decisions emphasize that there could be no place for neutrality and compromise in the struggle between the two outlooks--Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois. This requires active and aggressive propaganda work and prompt resistance to hostile ideological diversions.

Our ideological enemies are intensifying their subversive activities. Bourgeois propaganda is becoming ever more refined in its ideological diversions in which the broadcasts of Western radio stations beamed at the population of the Soviet Union are not the least important. Through these and other means, occasionally not shying at anything for the sake of achieving their objectives, our enemies are trying to spread their ideology, advertise the standards of the bourgeois way of life and the cult of things, their models of existence, and their philosophy of individualism and money grubbing. Other open provocations are also used, including the organization of picketing of our ships by "demonstrators" carrying anti-Soviet slogans, and threats of physical violence, as was done by the Zionists with the crew of the "Akademik Kurchatov" scientific research ship at the port of Miami (United States).

The oblast party committee is always directing the party organizations in the fishing fleet to educate the people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. They are promoting in every seaman a feeling of class solidarity with the working people in foreign countries and the ability to properly understand events abroad and consciously oppose bourgeois propaganda. It is important for every seaman meeting the population of other countries to be able not only to describe our Soviet reality, domestic and foreign policy, and the socialist way of life knowledgeably, but to answer with conviction, with political knowledge, and properly any question even if it is openly provocative and anti-Soviet in nature, directed at defaming the dignity of the Soviet citizen or make him inclined to betray the homeland.

Understandably, it is important in this connection to counter manifestations, even though rare, among fishermen of views alien to us, political carelessness, and complacency. The people must be educated. We are fighting for everyone. However, an ignorant and politically immature person will not be asked to participate in an important trip. He will be offered work on shore and helped to become a worthy representative of the working class and a conscientious Soviet working person. The fruitfulness and results of this approach have been confirmed by the experience of the leading collectives and of their party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations.

The remarks entered in the visitors' books by foreign guests visiting our vessels always contain warm words on the high civic-mindedness, spiritual nobility, and moral purity of the Soviet seamen. The foreigners are tremendously impressed by their profound conviction of the justice and invincibility of the ideas and principles of socialism and communism, their faith in peace and in the bright future of mankind. The absolute majority of meetings abroad by Kaliningrad seamen take place in well-wishing

circumstances. The population of the ports where the ships dock have a respectful attitude toward our country. They are very interested in the successes of the Soviet people in the development of its economy and culture and rate highly the contribution made by the USSR to detente and the prevention of nuclear war.

However, the bourgeois propaganda liars are working hard in an effort to depict our country, party, and people in a false light and to promote all kinds of disinformation. While moored in Stralsund (GDR) a group of seamen from the Kaliningrad Mortransflot administration was invited to meet workers from the warf and workers who were visiting from the FRG. One of the FRG citizens did not fail to state that they are always being told that the Soviet Union uses slave labor, particularly in the Virgin Lands, that the population of the "national outlying areas" is mostly illiterate and that there the children of workers have no chance to learn. The Soviet seamen found this strange. This was not the fault but, rather, the misfortune of the worker who said all this. For years the huge ideological apparatus has been indoctrinating the working people in the capitalist countries with clear lies about the Soviet state and people. It is not astounding that some people accept everything, or a great deal of what they are being told, as the truth.

Our seamen took the floor, one after another. In front of you, they said, are they, the children of the workers and peasants and members of many nations and nationalities inhabiting our country. All of us acquired an education and, subsequently, a skill, according to our choice, and both for free. People have become navigators, mechanics, engineers, or specialists in fish catching or processing. Many of them, while employed, are pursuing their education in higher and secondary schools. They are given paid leave to take their examinations. Ask any of us, the seamen said, and everyone will describe a great deal of interesting things about his life, native place, and the cause we serve. Their frank talk created tremendous interest in ship builders from the GDR and the FRG and was rewarded with sincere and warm applause.

Last year alone over 90,000 seamen from the fishing-fleet industry in the oblast visited 87 foreign ports throughout the world. Abroad, they are frequently subjected to propaganda sallies on the part of all kinds of imperialist lackeys. Some bourgeois ideological diversionists do not shy at throwing pamphlets or leaflets containing anti-Soviet concoctions. Others have tried to hand to our seamen religious or pornographic literature. Specially trained people engage them in discussions on human rights and democracy in which everything is turned upside down and ask a number of questions of a strictly provocative nature. The seamen provide worthy rebuffs to all such intrigues. In the Port of New York a foreigner visiting the "Zapolyar'ye" sailing base remained behind and began strolling along the cabins and other premises. The "lost person" was politely stopped. It became clear that he was trying imperceptibly to disseminate anti-Soviet pamphlets. They were immediately thrown overboard and their distributor was taken off the ship. Here is another case. A Kaliningrad

vessel docked in the Port of Las Palmas (Canary Islands). A Russian-speaking person approached a group of seamen ashore and began to offer them publications "for the soul." The bright-colored dust jackets concealed "works" of anti-Soviet and religious content. He too was rebuffed.

In September of 1978 the "Kruzenstern" training sail ship was in a foreign port. Its crew included a large number of students from the Kaliningrad Higher Marine Engineering School. During open-door days, along with thousands of working people in the city who had come aboard ship and who behaved like real friends of our country, there was a pitiful handful of extremists who tried to cause trouble. The Soviet seamen did not yield to the provocation. With their restraint and high moral qualities they earned the deep sympathy of the local population.

The diversionist sallies of our enemies are nothing new and remind us, again and again, of the need to be highly vigilant. The seamen are well aware of this and, away from the homeland, they bear high the honor and dignity of the Soviet citizen, displaying calm, daring, and courage, even when the enemy not only threatens but resorts to physical violence.

The entire world is aware of the tragedy which has befallen the Chilean people. Violating international law and order, the fascist-leaning rascals engaged in excesses against Soviet citizens as well. In September 1973 Pinochet's soldiers seized the "Ekliptika" scientific research ship, hit the crew with rifle butts, pierced them with bayonets, insulted them, and threw them in a prison ship, where they were detained for several days. Freed at the request of the Soviet Embassy, they were taken to our ships moored in the port. Not one of the sailors lost his spirit and all behaved firmly and courageously.

Like all Soviet people, the toilers of the sea are very interested in domestic history and in the revolutionary, combat, and labor accomplishments of previous generations. Relying on the great traditions of the past and propaganda and mass agitation, we are trying to show the way such traditions are living and strengthening, and the way they are developing today. This is a mandatory prerequisite for success in the development of a communist morality in the working people. With the seamen this work is conducted both aboard ship and on shore. A cycle of lectures has been especially developed for the ships' crews, along with documentary and feature motion pictures; the oblast television and radio and the local press regularly broadcast or print materials in the sections "Through the Eyes of the Soviet Sailor," and "Kaliningrad People Abroad." Here seamen and tourists describe facts of capitalist reality, such as mass unemployment, growing criminality, steady rise in the prices of goods and services, and decline of morality.

Studying the heroic biography of the homeland, the seamen become more profoundly aware of their responsibility for its fate and blossoming. Along with all the people of Kaliningrad they sacredly remember the mass heroism of the Soviet troops displayed the Great Patriotic War. About 40 fishing

trawlers have been named after heroes of the Soviet Union who participated in the defeat of the East Prussian group of German-fascist forces. Their exploits are described in the collection "Zvezdy ne Merknut" [The Stars Will Not Pale], published by the oblast book-publishing house. This collection was prepared by a group of journalists from the weekly MAYAK, published by the oblast party committee for the fishing-industry enterprises.

Conditions for general educational training have been created aboard the ships. Currently over 2,000 young seamen are attending secondary school by correspondence. The teachers are constantly visiting the ships in the fishing areas, and give consultations and examinations. The cultural center of the navigation personnel of the oblast food-industry workers' trade union is playing a noticeable role in perfecting mass cultural work among the toilers of the sea. Its methodological workers regularly go on sailing trips, helping to organize amateur performances, concerts, and topic evenings aboard the ships. All this is carried out in close contact with the local writers, painters, actors, and musicians, and the Brigantina Student Agitation Collective. A special motion-picture office takes care of movie facilities on the ships. Each ship has its library, and sports and radio equipment.

The party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations have begun to pay greater attention to the demands and requirements of the working people not only at sea but on shore as well. When the ships return to their native port mass-political, cultural-educational, and sports measures are undertaken for the crews. The fishermen are offered the opportunity to travel around the country, visit sites of combat and labor glory of the Soviet people and, together with their families, visit resorts and prophylactic establishments, boarding houses and rest homes. Evenings in honor of leading crews and meetings with noted people have become a tradition of the cultural palaces and houses.

However, we should not ignore problems directly related to upgrading the effectiveness of educational work among the fishermen, and to improving production activities in this important national economic sector. Attention should be paid to problems of the renovation of the fishing fleet, the reconstruction of the maritime fishing port, and of the fish-processing, ship-repair, and other shore enterprises, problems of strengthening economic levers and incentives, etc. They must be resolved, above all, by the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry in accordance with the stipulations of the CC CPSU decree on improving further the economic mechanism and the tasks of party and state organs, and the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on improving planning and intensifying the influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. Currently the economic, party, and other organizations in the oblast are adamantly working on the implementation of these decrees. They were discussed by the party organizations and labor collectives and taken up by the agitators and propagandists within the political and economic training systems.

We must also increase the training of the rank-and-file sailing crews and workers practicing the mass professions. We must develop the existing and open new sailing schools and vocational-technical schools. We must increase the pace of construction of housing, children's institutions, a modern home for sailors between trips, tourists bases and recreation areas, health prevention and boarding institutions, and sports complexes. The oblast party committee and executive committee comprehensively support initiatives in this direction and use the special enterprise funds, and other resources and possibilities. Increased all-round concern for the peoples working, living, recreation, and training conditions, and comprehensive development is considered by us as their due for their labor valor, courage, and high civic-mindedness.

Having acquired in recent years definite experience in ideological-educational work, the Kaliningradskaya Oblast party organization is focusing its efforts on the implementation of measures for the further assertion of the comprehensive approach to the organization of the overall communist upbringing of the working people. The practical implementation of the specific measures earmarked by us, in the spirit of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee plenums and decrees, are already yielding tangible results, and enable us to achieve true unity in organizational, economic, and political activities, and new successes in the implementation of the five-year plan.

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STATE AND DIRECTIONS OF PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 66-79

[Text] The age in which we live is characterized by a particular depth and dynamism of occurring changes, the scale and complexity of problems facing scientific knowledge and social practice, the aggravation of the ideological struggle, and the broadening of its fronts in the world arena. Never before, in all history, have the basic problems of human life been raised so adamantly and emphatically, in their entire tangible nature, as in the 20th century. At the same time, however, never before, in all history, have they found such consistent theoretical and practical solutions as in the activities of our Leninist party, which has channeled the energy of millions of people into the revolutionary reorganization of the deepest foundations of social life.

The social transforming activities of the communist party have always been based on a profound knowledge of the laws of social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism and whose organic component is the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism. "Marxism-Leninism," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, addressing the 25th party congress, "is the only reliable base for the elaboration of a proper strategy and tactic. It gives us an understanding of historical prospects and enables us to determine the trend of socioeconomic and political developments for many years in advance, and to be accurately guided in international events. The strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its steady creative development. This is what Marx and Lenin taught us, and our party will always remain loyal to their legacy!"

At the present stage of development of our society, when problems related to the transition to communism are being resolved along with those of improving the socialist system, the need for further creative enrichment of revolutionary theory in general and of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in particular becomes even greater. The steady expansion and intensification of studies of the laws of nature and society, increased creative contribution by the scientists to the solution of topical problems of the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism, development of social relations, acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the growth of production effectiveness, increased prosperity and standards of

the people, and molding the communist outlook of the working people would be impossible without upgrading the quality and effectiveness of philosophical works.

V. I. Lenin's words to the effect that "now we need twice as much more general, broader, or farther-reaching views" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 41) sound particularly topical today.

The dialectical nature of scientific problems, high level of theoretical abstractions, scale of summations, trend toward generalization of specialized scientific methods and concepts, integration of scientific knowledge, interest in the moral-humanistic orientation of scientific activities, enhanced by the scientific and technical revolution and growing awareness of social responsibility are all factors which trigger the natural gravitation of the scientists toward a range of ideas of scientific philosophy and the need to interpret not only general but specific scientific problems within a broad conceptual, methodological, and sociophilosophical context. The knowledgeable and competent use of the laws and categories of dialectical and historical materialism is becoming an important indicator of the standard of a theoretical study and a feature of the contemporary style of scientific thinking.

Under present-day circumstances the philosophical analysis of social phenomena is becoming ever more organically included in the process of making large-scale practical decisions. More than ever before life demands of the specialists in the various public production sectors not to lock themselves within the frames of departmental interests, but to take in their activities the totality of factual relations between a given work sector and other areas of the building of communism and to proceed, above all, from the requirements of the overall development of society. The comprehensive nature of today's national economic and social problems makes the narrowly pragmatic, narrow-minded, parochial approach to the solution of basic production, economic, and social problems facing society particularly intolerable. The scientific management of social processes under socialism presumes the training of managers with broad political outlook, lively interest in general problems, ability to effectively correlate problems of development of his professional area with the development of the overall social organism, and take into consideration the social and educational consequences of his decisions. In particular, this call for the further upgrading of the conceptual and methodological standards of specialists in all economic sectors and of the level of their training in philosophy and scientific communism.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" notes that "the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR, the tremendous growth of the material and spiritual potential of the country, and the successes of the struggle waged by the CPSU and the Soviet state for peace and international cooperation, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, have created extensive opportunities for the implementation of the programmatic objectives of our party in shaping

the communist awareness of the people." Marxist-Leninist philosophy is an organic component of the spiritual culture of developed socialism and the educational and upbringing systems, and a factor for the enhancement of requirements and molding the socialist way of life and behavior of the individual.

In our days the cultural and educational role of philosophy and the importance of the propaganda of philosophical knowledge in molding the spiritual aspect of the Soviet person and the system of his social and moral values rise immeasurably. The mastering of philosophical knowledge and the growth of conceptual maturity are mandatory prerequisites for the raising of a comprehensively developed individual and molding an active stance in life in the fighter for communism and a feeling of high civic duty in every builder of the communist society. The task of shaping the dialectical-materialistic outlook of the growing generation assumes particular importance. The ever more extensive involvement of the toiling masses in conscious historical creativity inevitably creates in a person deep interest in problems of the nature of history and meaning of life, the scientific-philosophical and theoretical substantiation of moral principles and behavioral rules. This is one of the outstanding features of today's spiritual life of our society. Insuring the high scientific standard of propaganda and agitation and a profound philosophical analysis of spiritual phenomena are adamant requirements of the time.

The development of a scientific outlook in every member of our society, converting it into a system of convictions, into the real stimulus which directly determines the behavior of a person, cannot be accomplished without adamant ideological struggle. One of the most important tasks and party functions in Marxist-Leninist philosophy is actively to influence the course of the struggle of ideas in the contemporary world.

As an instrument of class and socialist self-awareness of the toiling masses, scientifically expressing the lofty humanistic ideals and historical advantages of the socialist social system, dialectical-materialistic philosophy must insure our ideological offensive along the entire front of the struggle against imperialism and make effective use of the conceptual, methodological, and moral superiority of proletarian ideology.

All this, put together, proves the increased importance of Marxist-Leninist philosophical science in contemporary social development, the expansion and enrichment of its social role, and the increased level of responsibility of philosophy cadres to the party, the people, and history.

In recent years major successes have been achieved by Soviet philosophical science. They were the result of the creative work of our philosophy cadres, carried out under the daily and purposeful guidance of the party's Central Committee.

The CC CPSU decree "On Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and for Upgrading Their role in the Building of Communism" (1967),

the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the USSR Constitution, party documents of the past few years, and the speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, formulate the basic directions in the development of the social sciences and develop new theoretical concepts stimulating the development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. They have earmarked the ways and means insuring progress in philosophical research and in upgrading the effectiveness of philosophy in the struggle for the triumph of communist ideas.

Paying constant attention to the development of science, the CPSU has always supported the innovative Leninist approach to the study of complex social phenomena and the efforts of scientists aimed at the creative study of reality.

A certain amount of work has been done to continue to bring up to date the problems treated in philosophy research and to upgrade their quality level, improve the teaching and dissemination of philosophical knowledge, and insuring the existence of a creative atmosphere in the science of philosophy.

The efforts of philosophical scientific institutions, collectives of scientists, and all Soviet philosophers were aimed at writing summing-up works on topical problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and upgrading the quality and effectiveness of scientific publications and recommendations. As a whole, their topics have become more varied and specific. Specialization has been increased and new trends, some of them applied, have developed, and ties with practical work have strengthened.

In the field of dialectical materialism considerable scientific results have been achieved in implementing the program for philosophical research as found in Lenin's works.

The deeper study of individual laws and categories, such as quality, quantity, measure, causality, interaction, contradiction, self-movement, integrity, and others, was substantially expanded and enriched dialectics as the fullest and most comprehensive theory of development, and as the logic and theory of knowledge, along with its conceptual apparatus. It was established that some such categories could be considered "growth points" of philosophical knowledge. Thus, the elaboration of the categories of quality, integrity, and system contributed to the development of a cycle of research on the problems of systems approach, which are of great theoretical value and practical application in other fields of knowledge and in the theory and practice of social management. Certain progress has been made in the development of a number of other problems of the theory of dialectics as well.

Following Lenin's direct instructions, the Soviet philosophers have done extensive work to study the theoretical-cognitive, logical, and methodological ideas contained in Marx' "Das Kapital." This enabled them to develop a major scientific amount of knowledge in a most important field of

philosophical research such as dialectical logic. A variety of approaches and alternates were developed in structuring this discipline. They could become the starting point for the solution of the problem as a whole.

In a number of basic works on the theory of reflection, summations were obtained of great importance not only to the theory of knowledge, but to the conceptual and methodological interpretation of contemporary data in physiology, biology, psychology, cybernetics, and the theory of information and in understanding the possibilities for the development of separate disciplines. New, important theoretical and experimental results were obtained in psychology and pedagogy on the basis of the further elaboration of problems of the theory of knowledge, activities, and communication, and the application of the conclusions based on such studies.

Studies in the field of scientific methodology and logic shed light on a number of complex problems of the development of contemporary scientific knowledge--origin and evolution of concepts in the natural sciences, correlation between the theoretical and empirical levels and between observation and experimentation, structure of scientific theories, conditions, limits, and prospects for the mathematization of scientific knowledge, correlation between specific and general scientific methods, etc.

A very effective study was made of the topical problems of the contemporary natural sciences, organically linked with the history of the natural sciences and of technology. A dialectical-materialistic interpretation was given to the latest scientific discoveries in physics, cosmology, biology, cybernetics, and other fields of knowledge. Creative work was done on the laws governing the development of nature, determinism, structure of matter, space-time interconnection, modern atomism, interaction between natural and social processes, etc. Problems of scientific classification were re-interpreted.

The alliance between philosophers and natural scientists has been strengthened and developed further. Definitive works of great importance to philosophy and the natural sciences were written on the basis of their creative cooperation. The participation of philosophers in the elaboration of comprehensive problems has become more active and initiative-minded. Problems arising at the "junction of scientific disciplines" have begun to be discussed more daringly.

As a whole, the development in recent years of research in the field of dialectical materialism and the creative discussions between philosophers and natural scientists clearly indicate that dialectical materialism indeed is a "live and comprehensive . . . knowledge with endless shades" (Lenin).

The studies in the field of historical materialism were characterized by the increased attention to the ripe problems of the building of communism, philosophical summations of a number of essential aspects of life in the developed socialist society, and the problems of the global revolutionary process, the scientific and technical revolution, and contemporaneity.

A number of definitive works were published on problems of the dialectics of social development, studying the nature of the most important socio-political processes of our time. Effective studies were made of the laws governing the socialist revolution, the dialectics of the general and the specific in the building of socialism and communism, the unity and variety within the world revolutionary process, and the role of the working class in the socialist and contemporary bourgeois societies. The understanding was established that historical materialism is a science of the general laws governing the development of society, a general sociological theory of Marxism, and a methodology for the study of social phenomena and of the revolutionary reorganization of the world. The necessary specifications were substantiated in the understanding of the subject of historical materialism and its correlation with Marxist-Leninist sociology. The concept of the various levels of sociological knowledge, put in scientific circulation, had a positive influence on the development of specific sociological studies.

The arsenal of categories and concepts of historical materialism as a science was increased considerably. Ways are being discussed for the development of a system of its categories. The concept of the mechanism of action and utilization of the laws governing the functioning and development of society expanded the set of problems related to such laws. The study of the subjective factor of social progress was advanced greatly. Considerable attention was paid to the study of the category of requirements, interests, motives, objectives, social tasks, and values. Socio-philosophical studies in the field of the theory of labor activity, socialist labor in particular, and its content, nature, and role in molding the socialist personality, are of major theoretical and practical significance. Noticeable progress has been achieved in the study of the problems of man, classification of the individual, and the theory of culture.

Soviet philosophers play an active role in the development of the theoretical and methodological problems of developed socialism, conducted in cooperation with representatives of other social sciences. Creative discussions were held on such problems and collective and individual monographs were published, depicting the basic features, laws, and criteria of mature socialism and its historical place in the establishment of the communist socioeconomic system. The concepts of the Soviet people as a new historical community and the state of the whole people were developed creatively. Problems of the development of socialist democracy and the political system, the social structure of Soviet society, the socialist way of life and culture, the correlation between the national and the international in social development, and communist education, are being actively studied.

Studies of the essence, laws, prerequisites, and social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, and of its influence on the development of social relations, culture, and the individual, in which philosophers directly and actively participated, made it possible to make substantial progress in new and important scientific directions, such as sociology of science, science of sciences, and engineering psychology, in resolving

environmental problems, the development of methodological problems of production and management automation, etc. The range of studies of the scientific management of society and the methodology for planning social development was broadened. The study of problems of ethics, moral relations in the development of socialist society, the socio-humanistic orientations of science, and the moral responsibility of scientists was energized. As a whole, the philosophical studies contributed to the strengthening and intensification of the creative cooperation among social, natural, and technical sciences.

The elaboration of the problem of the history of philosophy began to be linked more organically with the solution of topical problems. The creation of summing-up works on the history of dialectics in general, and the history of Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism in particular, was an important result of studies of global and domestic history of philosophy. Studies of the Leninist stage of development of our philosophy were conducted very effectively. The problem of the writing of major works on the history of Marxist-Leninist philosophy as a whole is being resolved. The study of the laws of the historical-philosophical process makes it possible to interpret topical problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, its subject, structure, system, and functions, far more accurately and profoundly.

Criticism of philosophical concepts hostile to Marxism-Leninism has become more competent, substantive, and effective. The study of the individual directions and schools of contemporary bourgeois philosophy has been expanded by studies of some general trends related to the crisis of bourgeois culture as a whole.

New textbooks were written on Marxist-Leninist philosophy for VUZ's. A multiple-volume Marxist philosophical encyclopedia was published and a new encyclopedic philosophical dictionary is being prepared for publication. The international prestige of Soviet philosophy has risen. Cooperation among philosophers in the socialist countries has developed extensively and is strengthening steadily.

Today the science of philosophy has a widespread network of scientific institutions, faculties, and chairs in schools. It has a powerful publishing base and a large number of skilled cadres who have consolidated their views on the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet philosophers--the combat detachment of the workers on the ideological front--are making a substantial contribution to the communist education of the Soviet people and the building of communism. At the same time, it is particularly important for the Marxist philosophers today to become imbued with the profound meaning of Lenin's words: "Greater attention is expected of the party member to the tasks of tomorrow rather than yesterday . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 36, p 313).

The development of philosophy is still behind the increased requirements of social practice and scientific know'edge. ". . . The study of

shortcomings," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, "has always been our starting point for improving the work."

Having achieved certain successes along certain important directions, and having substantially broadened the range of research problems and of scientific interest, and having displayed a number of valuable initiatives in the discussion of long-term problems at "crossing points" of scientific knowledge, the Soviet philosophers, nevertheless, still owe something to the party, society, and philosophy itself.

The slow solution of the problem left by Lenin of developing the theory of dialectics as an integral system of knowledge remains the main shortcoming in philosophical research. True, after the 25th CPSU Congress, groups of authors were set up by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, and Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and the Law, and at the philosophy faculties of Moscow, Leningrad, and Rostov universities, for the sake of writing definitive works on the theory of dialectical materialism. However, their activity in this direction must be energized.

We must emphasize that in the field of the theory of dialectics considerable analytical data have been accumulated in recent years, enabling us to consider the synthesis of philosophical knowledge on the level of today's requirements as an immediate practical problem. Apparently, it is less the shortage of data required for putting into motion and organizing logical connections, than the poor development of the general concept of the contemporary functions of philosophical knowledge and the methodology used in the elaboration of philosophical concepts and the structuring of their system, that are obstacles to its solution.

In this connection important problems such as the specific nature of philosophical summations, the method for the elaboration of a system of philosophical categories, and developing the unity of philosophical knowledge deserve particular attention and creative discussion. Making the structure of philosophical science consistent with its contemporary functions could substantially assist in resolving such problems.

The superficial, formal interpretation of philosophical summations as summaries of most general information drawn out of various fields of knowledge hinders the true dialectical synthesis of dialectical laws and categories. Such an interpretation conflicts with the new trends of scientific development which are manifested, in particular, in the ever more extensive use of special scientific concepts and methods, and their increasing summation. Philosophical summations must detect not only what is general and identical, coinciding with the laws governing the development of nature, society, and thinking, and what is specific and characteristic, but the essential differences, contradictions, and specific ties within the heterogeneous yet general trend of development from the lower to the higher and from the simple to the complex.

This means that problems of higher development levels, such as, for example, social development, must be taken into consideration in the development of the initial categories of materialism. It is precisely this level of maturity that must be used in the philosophical approach to the variety of phenomena in its specific field of research.

We must fully realize that philosophical materialism inevitably changes its form with each age-making discovery, not only in the natural scientific, but in the social area. The study of the topical problems of contemporary social development, such as, for example, the development of philosophical-methodological foundations of the concepts of developed socialism, could substantially enrich the general theory of development as well. A contemporary theory of development cannot be full and comprehensive without a profound study of problems related to the developed condition of the object and of the criteria of its maturity.

A formal understanding of the nature of philosophical summations inevitably leads to the fact that each separate realm of activities becomes a field of merely application rather than development of fundamental philosophical concepts, or a source of illustrations and "examples."

Further, a philosophical synthesis of the various development phenomena and the study of their specific unity presumes the systematic application in the theory of development of a variety of research methods and approaches applied in their work by the Marxist-Leninist classics. The classical works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin are our basic capital and success in the development of the theory of dialectics depends, above all, on the extent to which we preserve it carefully and energetically use and increase it. These works are an unsurpassable model of how to develop science firmly linked with its internal logic, the logic of social and scientific progress, and the interpretation of new phenomena, trends, facts, and data. They are a model of such a synthesis in which the wealth of philosophical ideas grows precisely to the extent to which grows the richness of specialized--natural scientific and social--knowledge.

One of the shortcomings of the present state of philosophical research is a certain lack of coordination of the work in the field of dialectical and historical materialism, methodology and logic of modern science, philosophical problems of the natural sciences, history of philosophy, ethics, aesthetics, and scientific atheism. The specialization of philosophical cadres is not always accompanied by a simultaneous enhancement of their general philosophical culture and erudition. This cannot fail to affect the development of the science of philosophy as a whole. Marxist-Leninist philosophy is a single conceptual organism, an integral system of views. No single discipline within this system could develop independently.

In the case of dialectical and historical materialism this means that socio-philosophical knowledge should be considered as a realm not only of the application of the laws and categories of dialectical materialism, but their development as well. Such a formulation of the problem presumes a

more profound understanding of relations between the general and the specific. The characteristic of the laws governing the development of society and thinking should not be considered merely as a specific case of general laws, as their specific manifestation. Similar to the way superior forms of social development are the key to the understanding of lower forms, knowledge of the general laws of the social sphere as a whole could and should be the key to a deeper and comprehensive understanding of general-development laws and to the development of problems of methodology and logic of scientific knowledge.

Thus, for example, errors typical of positivism, consisting of the exaggeration of formal methods of knowledge and of turning into fetish the linguistic form of thought expression, are related to the existing division of labor, including scientific labor, pitting mental against physical labor and theory against practice. They are related to the various forms of social fetishism under capitalist conditions. Long before the appearance of logical positivism, Marx and Engels wrote that, "In the same way that philosophers singled out thinking as a separate force, they had to single out the language as a kind of autonomous, separate kingdom" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 448). On the other hand, the process of mastering the knowledge of dialectical thinking itself cannot be understood without taking into consideration the contemporary social processes of socialism--a rapprochement between mental and physical labor, the conversion of science into a direct productive force, its embodiment in personalities, and the all-round development of the individual.

All this, put together, indicates the adamant need for a fuller consideration in philosophical studies of the communist development prospects and the intensification of the interrelationship between philosophy and the theory of scientific communism.

Strengthening the unity between philosophical knowledge and its connection with the system of Marxist-Leninist ideas as a whole, and with the natural and social sciences, also presumes the need to surmount the quite widespread yet totally groundless view that specialization of researchers and teachers in the area of dialectical materialism presumes an orientation primarily toward the natural sciences and, in the field of historical materialism, the social sciences. This rapprochement between dialectical materialism and "nature philosophy" and of historical materialism with "philosophy of history," hinted at in some works, leads to the fact that studies of the methodology and logic of contemporary science are based, essentially, on natural scientific data. In this case the elaboration of methodological and logical problems of social knowledge clearly falls behind. This is a major shortcoming adversely affecting the development of dialectical and historical materialism and the social sciences as a whole.

The task of developing an entire sector of study of the methodology of social knowledge remains topical. The solution of this problem requires the joint efforts of all social sciences, and the active participation of the natural scientists. This would make it possible to synthesize more

energetically and purposefully the latest data in the social sciences. It would have a positive influence on the development of the individual social sciences, the socialist political economy in particular, which is experiencing a vital need for methodological work.

A lagging is also noted in the study of other basic problems of Marxist socio-philosophical theory: the theory of the sociohistorical process and of socioeconomic systems, including, above all, the communist. Insufficient studies are being conducted on the dialectics of contemporary social processes and the dialectics of development of the individual areas of social life and their interaction.

There is a shortage of big, broad conceptual works on the problems of philosophy as a science, based on an organic link with life, practical work, party policy, and consideration of latest data. Applied research must be developed more energetically, particularly in the field of historical materialism, scientific communism, sociology, social psychology, and the study of science.

Under contemporary conditions the importance of the conceptual function of philosophy increases. Yet, the level of development of conceptual problems by philosophers leaves something better to be desired.

An insufficiency of strictly philosophical, conceptual, and methodological works on the conceptual level is clearly felt in the country. Currently a number of symptoms have appeared showing that an adolescent fear of "general areas," or "repetition," forces some researchers to avoid the study of age-old philosophical problems and basic problems of our outlook and methodology, and seek the "new" away from the main line of development of philosophy, and present the study of specific or regional-scientific concepts and summations as a "modern" solution of philosophical problems.

In some works outlook is treated abstractly, as a neutral, an abstract information on reality, as a cold summation of scientific data and a summed up natural scientific "picture of the world," including within it separate elements of philosophical knowledge. Yet, our outlook is, above all, a communist outlook, i.e., an overall system of scientific views, necessarily presuming a consideration of the objective interests of the working people, a system which also determines the nature of the initial postulates. Philosophers must display initiative in involving social and natural scientists in a comprehensive scientific substantiation of the communist ideal and the systematic presentation of the entire system of ideas included within and substantiating this ideal. Development of the theory of scientific humanism is a major task in philosophical research. Unquestionably, the role of natural scientific problems in the elaboration of conceptual problems is exceptionally great and without this an outlook can simply not be scientific. However, developing such problems, we must never forget the people, their needs, expectations, objectives, values, and ideals, and the ties between the world of nature and the world of man. The intensification of links between the science of nature and the science of society is a problem of major sociopolitical significance.

The further creative development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy as a nucleus for a clear and integral outlook, corresponding to scientific truth and the high humanistic ideals of social progress, is the most important task of philosophy cadres. Dialectical-materialistic philosophy must capture the minds and hearts of millions of people. It must provide answers to conceptual problems which excite them, dealing with the meaning of life and purpose of man and his place and role in the social and natural universe, and his responsibilities to other people, society, and his own future and the future of all mankind. Nor could the natural sciences remain indifferent to such problems. Today the significance of such problems has increased a hundredfold.

The sharp increase of the need for a conceptual orientation and a scientific answer to basic problems of social development and scientific knowledge is confirmed, in particular, by the fact the main topic at the latest 16th world philosophy congress was "Philosophy and the Conceptual Problems of the Modern Sciences." The basic problems of social progress were in the center of the ideological struggle at the Ninth World Sociological Congress as well. The basic foundations of Marxist-Leninist philosophy on an active and revolutionary-practical attitude toward the world contain everything necessary and adequate for the solution of such problems on a contemporary level, in accordance with cultural-moral requirements of the Soviet person and the requirements of scientific and technical and social progress.

The characteristics of contemporary social development determine the growing role of philosophy in the comprehensive solution of the problems of communist education. It must help to mold not only the outlook but the moral qualities of man and to promote a communist attitude toward labor and public property, feeling of responsibility, self-discipline, political activeness of the working people, and ideological conviction of the ripeness of the communist doctrine.

Ideological work is the most important structural component of communist education. Its realm is not only the application but the creative development of the fundamental ideas of our philosophy. The level of summation of practical work in philosophy and contributions made to it are still substantially behind the requirements of reality. The molding of the outlook of the individual is a complex process. Under our circumstances it means the structuring of his spiritual world, which includes laying its foundations in childhood and building it up subsequently. The practical value of the specific scientific study of the laws governing the way the individual masters sociohistorical experience and the processes of his moral and political and, in general, social outlook is obvious, and so is the link between conceptual and methodological problems.

It is far from indifferent in terms of the end result of education precisely what categories and concepts exist, and what is the order in which they are laid in the foundations, and how to build on them. What is the extent of such foundations and what specific knowledge could play this role

at the age of 10, 15, or 18? At what stage do such "bricks" of knowledge become "bound" with the "cement" of practical experience? All these problems are important not only to psychology and pedagogy, but to philosophy as well--to outlook, theory of dialectics, historical materialism, and the history of philosophy. It was precisely this that Lenin had in mind writing about the "dialectical processing of the history of human thought," and the history of knowledge in general and of the mental development of the child.

One and the same truth would sound different when voiced by an adolescent and by a person made wise by experience. Is it possible to develop a system of philosophical categories without taking into consideration the dialectical logic of the formation and development of concepts and ideas in factual, practical activities? Philosophical truth is not a copper coin to be put in the pocket of the mind. Such a truth is the "result, sum total, and conclusion of the history of the knowledge of the world" (Lenin). Anyone who enters life draws conclusions and summaries on the basis of his own practice and personal experience. The knowledge of which the outlook consists becomes an organic element of the spiritual world of the individual only if it is actively demanded by the sum total of human practical experience and the person's labor and social activity. It is only in connection with practice that philosophical knowledge is an effective factor in molding an active life-stance oriented toward communism.

The form and, specifically, the language of philosophical publications and addresses is quite important in upgrading the significance of philosophy in ideological-educational work. Language is the immediate reality of the thought. A boring and complex style is counterindicated in philosophical literature aimed at the mass readership. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's statement at the 18th Komsomol Congress is entirely valid in this respect: "The time has come to set the rule of talking to the people in a simple and understandable style, and to invest each sentence with a live thought and feeling. This too is a problem of quality and effectiveness in a major sector in the building of communism such as the education of the new man."

Marxist-Leninist philosophy is a reliable methodological foundation for scientific knowledge and social practice. It holds a dialectical-materialistic approach to the solution of topical problems. Its methodological significance and functions are growing, based on the characteristics of contemporary social life, the development of science, and the development of the scientific and technical revolution. Dialectical-materialistic methodology is used to sum up the achievements of the individual sciences and to improve the means for scientific research and the ever more effective utilization of scientific discoveries.

We must surmount the trend encountered occasionally in scientific works of separating and even pitting the conceptual against the methodological functions of philosophy, attempts to replace dialectical-materialistic methodology with methods borrowed from the various sciences, to pit "philosophical methodology" against "scientific methodology," something which has made

its way not only into scientific publications but into textbooks, or reducing scientific methodology and logic to a sum total of subjective methods for the "gnosiological processing" of the research subject in a spirit of positivistic tradition. Dialectical materialism as a science of the general laws governing the development of nature, society, and thinking is, precisely, a methodology of contemporary science and practice, and a consistent scientific manifestation of the materialistic monism of the Marxist-Leninist outlook. It is incompatible with any type of methodological relativism and pluralism.

Yet, philosophy cannot remain apart from the summation of the new methodological material developed by the individual sciences. It must not remain closed within the circle of traditional philosophical problems. The inner specialization of scientific knowledge has led each science to develop its own theoretical-methodological departments. Tremendous empirical data have been acquired in this area. The scientists are encountering major theoretical difficulties in the development of a sectorial methodology. The duty of the philosophers is to interpret such new data within the context of the general principles of Marxist-Leninist methodology, and to help the specialists in specific areas of knowledge to surmount such difficulties.

The new phenomena in social life and scientific achievements make it incumbent to formulate and resolve the basic problems of philosophy on a new and higher level.

Some works of philosophy still contain a thoughtless repetition of long-familiar concepts without their creative development, unrelated to the specific experience of history, science, and life, a fear of boldly formulating new problems, forced out "innovations" within the range of an elementary set of concepts, play of definitions, and replacement of the scientific analysis of problems and theoretical arguments with quotation mongering and illustrations. All this represents manifestations of the type of scholastic theorizing which was sharply condemned at the 25th CPSU Congress. The share of theoretically and methodologically weak works, and of descriptive and compiled publications is still considerable in philosophical writings.

The fault of scholastic theorizing has another, less obvious, yet no less negative side in terms of significance and consequences. Pseudo innovation, expressed in neglect for basic and elementary philosophical truths, a conscious or subconscious pitting of such truths against new scientific data, drawing of immature and hasty conclusions on their basis, claiming to be of universal importance, and the uncritical and automatic borrowing of some specialized scientific concepts, without explaining their organic ties with the entire structure of principles and ideas of dialectical and historical materialism, and juggling with fashionable terminology, are shortcomings, unfortunately still extant, representing not merely a symptom of poor professionalism or low philosophical culture. They indicate the inability to develop basic concepts of Marxist-Leninist theory and raise them to the contemporary level of concreteness, to the level at which they

become an effective means for reaching the "specific logic of the specific object" (Marx). This too is dogmatism, only turned upside down. Like the "traditional" dogmatism this "neo-dogmatism" also deadens the living soul of Marxist-Leninist ideas and eliminates the creative energy they contain. Senseless "translations" of dialectical-materialistic concepts into a logical-mathematical or cybernetic language, allegedly clearer to the natural scientists, occasionally advertised as "improving the effectiveness" of dialectical materialism, discredit philosophy and disorient the natural sciences. They lock the scientists within artificial systems of symbols and prevent him from reaching the live, the factual material of reality.

All this calls for the needs to upgrade the level of criticism and self-criticism in scientific work in philosophy. Party principle-mindedness and communist zeal, combined with objective and conscientious criticism, is the most important prerequisite for scientific creativity. The classical works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin offer high-level models of such criticism. Following them is the party, scientific, and moral duty of philosophical cadres.

Contemporary social progress gives priority to essentially complex problems requiring the joint efforts of representatives of the various social, natural, and technical sciences. This intensifies the synthesizing, the integrative role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Naturally, this does not mean that it lays a claim to being some kind of "super science," a contemporary analog of "science of sciences." The purpose of philosophy is to develop a methodology for the interaction among sciences and to find and dialectically study, together with the other sciences, the nature of the "junctions," and "transitions," among the various fields of knowledge, the dialectical "conversions of opposites," and the mechanism of the division of the single and the methodology of the study of its conflicting aspects, bearing in mind that no abstract, "universal," systems and models, indifferent to the specific nature of the specific fields of knowledge, could take the place of the specific analysis of a specific situation within each science, as well as the study of the specific nature of their common relations. Nor could such methods compete with dialectical materialism or, even less so, replace it. The effective development and application of the apparatus of the logic and methodology of comprehensive research are possible only on the basis of dialectical materialism, whose most important principle is the concreteness of truth. It is only on this basis that, in the course of cooperation among specialists in various sciences, it is possible to create not a sum total, but an integral synthesized picture of a studied phenomenon and the formulation of specific scientific recommendations.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy performs an important role in the study of the problems of contemporary global development, of the developed socialist society and its gradual transformation into a communist society, the scientific and technical revolution, ecology, demography, and human problems. Acting through its combined conceptual and methodological functions, its

purpose is to assume the initiative in drawing the attention of scientists to new, complex problems and actively to participate in their factual development. This task should be considered, among others, also from the viewpoint of the Leninist idea of expanding and strengthening the alliance between philosophers and the representatives of natural and technical sciences, and with the special branches of the social sciences. Today this alliance is developing, ever more frequently, as direct, practical, and creative contacts, and joint studies of important national economic, political, and cultural problems. The alliance between the philosophers and the representatives of other sciences should contribute to the profound mastery by every scientist of the methodology used by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and its creative application in specific areas of knowledge. Directing the Soviet philosophy public toward active creative participation in the development of complex problems, the party considers this an important means for the further strengthening of the prestige of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and for intensifying its influence on the entire process of development of science and social practice.

Comprehensiveness is not only an organizational but a major methodological problem. The reciprocal enrichment of the sciences with ideas, methods, concepts, and terminology is both a prerequisite for and a consequence of the creative interaction among sciences. Philosophy cannot remain on the margin of this important positive process. However, this process does not depreciate the specific nature of the approach of the individual science to the common problems and the characteristics of its creative assignment and expected contribution. Comprehensiveness does not mean the simple totaling of results achieved by each science. However, nor does it mean the elimination of differences between them, or the loss by a given science of its own aspect. An eclectic combination of ideas and methods is as inadmissible as the reduction of the differences between them to any given thing, such as reducing the social problems to the biological, the biological to the physical-chemical, the psychological to the physiological, and so on. This is particularly important in the case of philosophy, for it is not simply one science among others. Its task consists of making a simultaneous theoretical and methodological contribution to the solution of complex problems. It is clear, for example, that in the problem of man and his all-round development philosophy faces quite clearly demarcated tasks, different from those of biology, physiology, psychology, demography, and so on. At the same time, however, it also plays a leading role in resolving the problem of the subordination of social and biological knowledge, for example. The problem of the interrelationship between philosophy and other scientific knowledge becomes particularly topical therefore. The Soviet philosophers must tirelessly work on the solution of this problem. Here again we must take into consideration that the boundary separating conceptual and philosophical-methodological knowledge from any other special knowledge is today more flexible and relative than ever before. Nevertheless, such a boundary exists. It is objective and cannot be ignored in scientific research. An understanding of this fact makes the thorough, weighed, and substantiated choice of the scientific data which could enrich the tools of philosophy particularly necessary.

In the realm of philosophical support of the party's ideological work, there is still a shortage of major basic works. Descriptiveness and a superficial depiction of the real situation are still encountered in works of philosophy criticizing bourgeois and revisionist concepts. Here a competent and operative analysis of a specific ideological situation and substantiated conclusions and summations are frequently replaced by general statements. The waging of an active and aggressive struggle against philosophical ideas and trends alien to us means to help our party in its ideological work and to contribute to the triumph of the ideas of communism. Today the intensification and improvement of the critical analysis of "modernized" anti-communist, anti-Soviet above all, concepts, and of bourgeois-liberal, bourgeois-nationalistic, sectarian-dogmatic, and revisionist "interpretations" of Marxism, philosophical and ideological-political pluralism and neo-conservatism, theoretical-cognitive relativism and agnosticism, historical pessimism and pragmatism, the socio-philosophical foundations of Maoist theory and practice, and the contemporary practice in bourgeois spiritual culture is particularly topical. The creative and productive development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is impossible without an all-round competent and principled criticism of contemporary anti-Marxist and non-Marxist philosophical doctrines, including neo-positivism, existentialism, neo-Thomism, philosophical-sociological concepts of reformism, and right-wing and "left-wing" revisionism. In turn, the effectiveness of this criticism is directly dependent on the positive development of philosophical problems on whose complexity contemporary idealism and metaphysics, and various petty eclectic schools rely.

The organic combination of scientificity with party-mindedness is the main prerequisite for upgrading the quality and effectiveness of philosophical research. The principle of party mindedness demands of the Marxist philosophers the adoption of a clear class position and the systematic defense and creative development of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It demands an aggressive struggle against hostile views and active participation in the implementation of CPSU domestic and foreign policy.

Science goes forth, using the already acquired "thinking material" (Engels), thoroughly studying its possibilities, and thoughtfully assessing the need for its restructuring in the light of new facts. Such restructuring is inevitable. It is vitally necessary. In all cases, however, science develops using such material not as a sum total of inanimate systems but precisely as thinking material - as a manual for action. Any slackness, vagueness, and evasiveness in matters of principle of our outlook and methodology and weakness of positions are manifestations not only of the violation of the principle of party mindedness in philosophy but of creative helplessness. These are not two different problems but one and the same problem.

The solution of major problems facing the science of philosophy calls for improving the organization of the work, and efficient interaction in studies conducted by academic institutions and VUZ's, and the quality training of cadres.

The party faces the science of philosophy with the task of reaching new levels of development. All the necessary conditions exist in our country for the solution of this problem. All that is needed is their skillful use, comprehensively encouraging the initiative-minded and creative approach to the development of new problems of the philosophical knowledge of the world, more daringly involving in this capable young people. We must increase the exactingness toward philosophical cadres and promote greater unity and activeness in this difficult yet noble work for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

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ROBOTS ASSIST HUMANS

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[Article by Ye. Popov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] To production workers concerned with the plans for the production of goods any technological experiment involves a certain risk. Therefore, the "conservatism" of many plant managers regarding new or insufficiently tested equipment, even though far from always substantiated, is understandable.

Frankly speaking, such was the case for a while with the installation of industrial robots.

Now, however, we could say that "the ice has been broken."

Here is a characteristic example. Currently, 60 industrial robots are at work at the Kovrov Machine Plant which produces excellent sports motor cycles and mopeds. The plant's chief engineer (today director) Vladimir Grigor'yevich Fedorov was not afraid to take the risk and, like a true innovator, undertook with great enthusiasm to apply these new technical domestically produced facilities in the technological processes of the stamping, forging, and machine shops. Naturally, the cautious reaction of chiefs of shops, foremen, and workers who had never seen anything like it in the past, had to be surmounted. A thoughtful and creative solution of problems, and a search for the most expedient technical means for the utilization of the robots aimed at achieving the desired results were necessary. Finally, the psychological barrier had to be surmounted. In the final account, the common awareness of the expediency of an action is the decisive factor for success in a collective project. The party organization deserves great credit for the success of this progressive initiative.

What was the result? Labor productivity and production quality rose substantially. The production shift indicator rose. Through practical experience the workers themselves realized that it is considerably easier and more interesting to service the cybernetic assistants rather than to perform themselves monotonous manual operations. The new tireless "workers" made it possible to considerably upgrade production standards as a whole.

Typically, when V. Fedorov suggested to one of the foremen (who had previously particularly objected to the robots) to transfer some of these machines to another sector, the answer was an opposition of a different kind--the adamant request not to remove them but, on the contrary, to add more to them.

Thus, a clear change occurred in the attitude toward robot equipment. From something strange and, it must have seemed, imposed from the outside, it became a realized need. Today the great national economic results--economic, technical, and social--such equipment provides, properly utilized, is obvious.

This is consistent with the course of the 25th party congress toward technology which would drastically reduce manual work and insure in all sectors a decisive growth of labor productivity. "The production of automated equipment with small-sized electronic systems for digital programming and control must be developed at an accelerated pace," stipulate the "Basic Directions for the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980." To this effect it was resolved, in particular, to organize the series production of programmed automated manipulators which would make it possible to mechanize and automate heavy physical and monotonous operations.

The following is a clear indicator of the current attitude prevailing in the country toward robot equipment: The state plan for robot production in the country, drafted by instruction of the party congress, has been considerably overfulfilled. In recent years requests for such robots have piled up exceeding the overall number of robots used today by industry.

They have entered life literally under our own eyes. More than anywhere else they focus the embodiment of the scientific and technical revolution.

They mark a qualitatively new stage in the development of industrial production technology and the position of man within the labor system.

How are they different from traditional automatic machines and systems? In the fact that they are essentially new multipurpose technical systems capable of performing instead of man general manual operations in their entire variety, while at the same time resolving complex logical problems which, until recently, were the monopoly of the human mind. Looking at the operation of the human hands, much would seem quite simple. However, the mechanization of such work is complex and virtually impossible through traditional automation facilities. It is only with the introduction of robots in the technological process that tiring and, frequently, dangerous manual labor can be properly eliminated. Universality in the performance of manual operations by robots is achieved with the help of a multi-step controlled manipulation system (mechanical hands with controlled drives at each joint) and an easily programmed control system involving the simplest elements of an "artificial mind." The entire organization of the technological process radically changes with the introduction of robots.

It was precisely thanks to the appearance of a new base of elements of automation and computer technology, high-quality small-dimension drives, highly sensitive miniature measurement equipment, and the latest achievements of technical cybernetics and the theory of control and information that the creation of industrial robot systems became possible. On the basis of the successes achieved in all these directions and their utilization within a single complex set, robot equipment itself faced knowledge and practice with new problems requiring specific solutions which sometimes have no analogs in known practical experience.

The birth of industrial robots naturally coincided with the ripening of urgent production requirements for them. Today they are no longer objects of literary imagination or inventors' oddities, but an object of specific, purposeful designing, series manufacturing, and extensive use in shops.

True, we are still dealing essentially with first-generation robots--automatic manipulators with fixed programmed control. However, even they are already quite universal and serve a number of purposes, for their program and mechanical systems can be relatively easily restructured for the various cycles of handling operations within a rather broad range of possibilities. This is their essential difference, novelty, and advantage compared with traditional means for comprehensive mechanization and automation.

Yet, the question of manipulation robots of subsequent generations arises as well.

The second generation is that of the so-called adaptive robots with a specialized "sensitizing" system and data processing and control with the utilization of digital computers. In accordance with their programming they are able by themselves to adapt to changing circumstances in the development of the technological process, while maintaining an optimum work system. Most of them are still at the stage of laboratory experimentation or long-term research. However, the simplest among these models are already being subjected to experimental use.

The third generation is that of robots containing systems of so-called "artificial mind." This means a technical system which could recognize an unknown or changing circumstance, automatically make decisions concerning further actions in connection with the assigned technological task, "plan" operations, and develop control signals for the implementation of the plan. This could also include the "self-teaching" of the robot and the acquisition of its own "experience" which could subsequently be used in similar situations in performing other operations.

Such technical systems are necessary wherever there is no strictly ordered system, where a choice of specific parts must be made from the available number, and, occasionally, where the work target must be found or its nature clarified depending on its condition, or else by-pass unforeseen obstacles and carry out, not repetitive, but different and quite dissimilar

operations. In this case the robot must "determine" by itself what precise operations must be performed at a given moment in an identified situation.

The word "generation" is used in a specific sense. The point is that subsequent generations (adaptive and "intelligent" robots) do not eliminate previous ones. Thus, the field of activities of programmed robots will be retained and expanded wherever simple and inexpensive machines are adequate and suitable. In the future, all three generations will perfect and replace their elements.

This should shed some light on the variety and complexity of scientific and technical problems facing scientists and engineers of different skills.

Specifically, what are the results of the use of industrial robots?

It is no secret that, so far, in all industrial sectors, a considerable percentage of workers are engaged in monotonous repetitive manual operations (along the conveyor belt, with machine tools and dies, furnaces, mills, semi-finished items, warehousing operations, and so on), which are sometimes difficult and harmful to the health, or even life-threatening. Many such operations cannot be mechanized and automated through traditional means. However, even were this to be possible, it may happen that the creation of a specialized complex automatic machine to perform a specific operation would be economically unprofitable. Such operations include, in particular, those in which the cycles of manipulative operations change from time to time (such as, for example, when dealing with a large variety of items or in connection with the replacement or modernization of produced items). In such cases conventional automation would be quite expensive.

In such cases a multipurpose manipulation robot would be incomparably more economical, for it can be easily retuned to perform a variety of cycles of manual operations. It could perform not only such already described auxiliary manual operations, but many basic technological tasks so far handled by human hands (assembling, welding, dyeing, etc), as well as whenever a conventional specialized automatic machine would be either impossible to construct or uneconomical.

A robot is not an end within itself. In most cases it is not even important by itself but as part of a system--a set of robots acting together with other production mechanization and automation facilities. Such would be, for example, a robot conveyor line, sector, or shop. In this case the technological organization of the production unit is substantially modernized. This eliminates manual operations, drastically increases labor productivity and production quality, and facilitates conditions for effective two- and three-shift work. A number of negative factors caused by excessive human fatigue, dulled attention, and disturbed coordination of actions, are eliminated. Technological reliability increases.

From their very first use in plants industrial robots indeed proved their high technical and economic qualities. The growth of production

indicators, with a simultaneous reduction in the number of workers, rose not in terms of percentage points, but by a number of factors! In a number of cases the considerably increased shift coefficient in the utilization of shop equipment proved to be particularly important.

However, it would be a case of gross oversimplification to present matters as though results can be achieved through the simple substitution of new for existing technical systems. There have been cases of unsuccessful and economically or technically unjustified uses of robots in production and cases of imperfect technology in production organization as a result of which the factual possibilities of the new equipment remained underutilized.

It is exceptionally important, therefore, not only to be able to create or acquire industrial robots, but to accomplish a major creative development of most expedient systems of technological operations at the production sector, correlating all possible robot operations with related technical facilities. Such is the second and no less important aspect of the problem of robot use in production, considering that the creation of the robots themselves is the first. The two aspects are indivisible from each other. It is precisely a consideration of both of them that makes it possible for the machine-building enterprises applying robots in their shops to obtain comprehensive results. At that same Kovrov Machine Plant, in 1978, labor productivity rose in the robot-equipped sectors by an average of a factor of three (five to six in some sectors). About 100 workers were released and annual savings exceeding 300,000 rubles. According to the plan, in the immediate future these indicators will be increased at a faster pace in the plant.

Opening essentially new possibilities for the completion of comprehensive production automation and mechanization, robot technology also creates new technical-organizational problems. It stimulates the development of progressive ideas and new views. It encourages the reformulation of problems in the development of automated systems for the control of technological processes, raising them to a qualitatively new level with immeasurably greater possibilities for increasing the level of automation of control processes with the help of digital computers and reaching a substantially higher labor productivity and continuity in the production process.

Discussing all of this, in addition to a variety of economic and technical considerations, we must also bear in mind a direct social purpose. Freeing man from routine and physically hard work, insuring reliable equipment safety, and enhancing overall production standards, mean, as is sometimes said, humanizing the production process. This is consistent with the very nature of mature socialism in which concern for man and for the creation of favorable conditions for his all-round development has been raised to the level of state policy and codified in the country's constitution. From this viewpoint, the expediency of robot technology may not be assessed merely on the basis of economic criteria. In this case we must consider also the social effectiveness for which corresponding evaluation measures must be established as well.

Another no less important social aspect of robotics is related to the problem of the increased need for manpower in the light of demographic short-range forecasts. Saving on the number of production workers, robotics is a factor of great social significance.

Finally, the appearance of robots in industrial shops faces the workers themselves with essentially new requirements. They must attain higher skills and have, correspondingly, a higher educational level and, something particularly important, possess higher personality qualities (creative capabilities, initiative, daring in the making of complex decisions, innovational activeness, etc). The new technical facilities decisively contribute to the elimination of distinctions between mental and physical labor toward which society is legitimately aspiring in the course of its historical development.

Therefore, the need for substantially accelerating the further development of industrial robotics becomes ever more obvious. This is no simple task.

It includes, to begin with, the development of applied scientific-technical research and the development of more advanced systems, both in terms of the principles of their design and manipulation abilities, and greater effectiveness from the technological and economic viewpoints. Great attention must be paid to comprehensive studies involving the use of large-scale analog-digital complexes modeling the behavior of real objects. Digital computers become included both in the robot control system (the micro-processor system in particular) as well as in the means for the systems design of robots (universal and controlling).

Secondly, intensive design efforts are required for the development of such systems so that manipulation robots used in a variety of industrial purposes--simple and complex, or less and more universal--could be combined out of a specific selection of modules (mechanical, drive, electronic, computer, measurement, etc). The progressive development of such modules would bring about, in the future, their utilization in the elements of the so-called "artificial mind."

Thirdly, the development of a base of robotic elements is a very important problem. Within such a system small assemblies would require maximum miniaturization, and optimum precision and dynamic and power characteristics, as well as a substantial enhancement of the technological level. So far, in this respect, the known robot systems are insufficiently advanced. This applies, above all, to the drive mechanisms (electric and hydraulic), and the motors themselves as well as their mechanical and electric means which are installed within the robot's "hands." Some one-of-a-kind models have been rated highly. However, their production in large series is required.

The same (perhaps even to a greater extent) applies to the various "sensitizing" gages, large numbers of which are mounted in the robot's "wrists." This calls for ever greater research on physiological and bionic

principles of action aimed at upgrading sensitivity, accuracy, and capacity of operational units with miniaturized elements. Code sensors and sensors operating on the basis of digital principles become particularly important.

From the viewpoint of the interests of robotics it is important to note that the electronic element base has been characterized by great successes achieved in miniaturization and integration of boosting, logic, and computing functions. Systems for data processing, planning, operations programming, and forming control signals, built within the robots, represent the greatest technological accomplishments. The perfecting of second (adaptive) and third (with "artificial brain" elements) generations greatly depends on them.

Fourthly, comprehensive development of industrial robots together with other shop equipment is required, as well as a major review of the principles governing the organization of the technological process within each specific production area. Without this the necessary results cannot be obtained.

Finally, the problem of the automated control of industrial robot sets must be resolved. We must also develop methods for the study of the economic and social effectiveness of robot-using systems.

A number of collectives in our country are dealing with all these problems. Unfortunately, in the majority of cases they still consist of small, uncoordinated groups. The few big institutes and design bureaus working in this direction are unable to encompass the entire huge range of problems related to the future development of robotics. Also insignificant are the facilities for the production of robot elements and assemblies. A comprehensive interdepartmental system is needed for the development and production of industrial robot systems, with the specialization of individual departments in the production of robot assemblies and subsystems, consistent with their area of specialization.

The growing national economic importance of robotics requires ever greater attention, particularly on the level of considerably improving its current organizational and material support.

Usually, discussing industrial robots, examples are cited in the field of machine building. However, industrial robot systems have also appeared for handling a number of manual operations in construction and installation work, agriculture, ore mining, petroleum and gas extraction, and so on.

The development of the continental shelf area of oceans and seas washing our borders is a topical task. Substantial sea and ocean depths must be studied and developed as well. All this would be inconceivable without underwater robots--small cybernetic systems with manipulators and measuring-information equipment, sufficiently universal to carry out a great variety of underwater technical operations and to study the properties of the bottom, the water, and underwater sites. In this case we

must resolve not only the problems already mentioned, but a number of other, strictly specific ones. The undefined nature of conditions under the sea level and the current imperfection of the adaptive properties of the robot require the participation of man in correcting the robot's actions. This applies to a telemetric system for observing and controlling underwater robots. A human operator on a surface vessel would use a television screen and other means for controlling the work circumstances and behavior of his automatic assistant and systems for controlling his manipulators, should the robot turn out to be unable to carry out its assignment.

However advanced a robot may be, and however wide the range of the "logical" functions it performs, a technically developed means remains (and will remain) merely a tool of the human brain, a supplement to its capabilities to resolve ever more complex problems.

The 25th CPSU Congress indicated the need to intensify in the 10th Five-Year Plan scientific research, design, and experimental work for the development of means for totally automating coal mining. Remote control will find ever greater use in the mining industry, both in the extraction of minerals and in the performance of a number of technical operations. Such robots are necessary also in the implementation of rather complex technological processes which cannot be automated through conventional means, and for production and research activities in a great variety of extreme circumstances in which man cannot survive (such as, for example, at extremely low or high temperatures, tremendous pressure or high vacuum, harmful emanations, presence of gas, danger of explosion, harmful chemicals, etc). This type of technical system includes space robots which will carry out handling operations in open interplanetary space controlled by a cosmonaut in a space ship or on the ground.

All such cases require interacting systems, i.e., systems for the interaction between the human operator and the complex machine containing a digital computer. This raises the question of the "contact" between man and robot within a single process of joint activity in which, naturally, the thinking being plays a leading, command role. The more advanced the robots become, the more complex will be the method through which the human operator will be able to give it assignments (in a so-called supervisory or dialog system).

The increased effectiveness of the joint activities of man and robot, with telemetric control, includes a number of aspects. Above all, it is an ergonomic problem which consists of optimizing human activities in accordance with physiological and mental characteristics. Here the most important aspect is the development of the best possible methods for providing man information for purposes of telemetric observation of a situation in the work area and the condition and motions of the robot itself. The problem arises of insuring the greatest possible clarity with which the operator perceives the observed process and to facilitate his decision making, with possible "prompting" on the part of the robot, provided by the

digital computer on the basis of sensory data ("sensory organs") in the manipulators and "receptor" instruments assessing the circumstances and characteristics of the environment.

In such a "dialog," a robot which may be quite active is merely a "consultant." The final decision is made by man. It is only in relatively simple cases, under standard conditions, that the robot is granted autonomy. Man observes his automated actions and interferes and makes corrections only should this become necessary in the course of the work process.

Another aspect of the same problem is the creation of systems for transmitting to the robot control and target indicating signals, in a most convenient way for man, in accordance with decisions made. Such means may include levers, a "light pen," printed matter, voice sounds, etc. Also possible here is the complex execution of orders by the robot, first of all with the best decoding of the order by sequential action elements and, secondly, with corrections made by the robot on the basis of information obtained through its sensory units, should the control signals issued by man be not entirely correct, have been given incautiously, thus harming the manipulators and the target, etc.

Essentially, this implies the execution of manipulation (manual) operations, even though merely mentioned in passing, and information assignments. Special information robots are designed for the automatic reporting of mass measurements gathered with the help of various sensors under conditions inaccessible to man, comprehensive basic processing of data and submission (continuingly or on demand) of summed-up data (or its gradual accumulation).

Some robots automatically perform a variety of actions which, until recently, were the exclusive monopoly of the human intellect (such as playing chess, orchestration of musical compositions, creating certain compositions, etc). This could include the automated translator, automated bibliographer, automated design systems, and automated systems for assessing the effectiveness of complex undertakings.

Speaking of the new technical means which make basic changes in the approach to the solution of problems of comprehensive automation of many types of human work, we must mention the problem of training corresponding engineering-technical and scientific cadres. This is as important as the technical problem of robotics itself, for without properly trained specialists neither development in this field nor the effective utilization of its achievements in the national economy are possible.

The training of such cadres has been undertaken in a number of VUZ's throughout the country. For example, the Moscow Higher Technical School imeni N. E. Bauman is training engineers for industrial robot systems. Furthermore, experience has been gained here in retraining for robot work graduate specialists with three years of practical experience. Similar training is offered at the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute imeni

M. I. Kalinin. The seriousness and importance of cadre training and re-training in this specialized area are increasing. We must bear in mind that highly skilled specialists are not produced immediately but over a number of years, and that this process must be planned in advance.

It would be pertinent to note that the creation of a new training skill is a rather complex matter. Robot technology is based on the latest accomplishments of the scientific and technical revolution and embodies a large number of various interacting means. This requires a new system of engineering thinking.

The training of cadres in robot technology requires the steady saturation of training disciplines with fresh knowledge. Consequently, curricula and programs must be "open" to systematic renovation, making their further advancement possible as methodological, practical, and theoretical experience is acquired. Unlike other fields of training, the dynamics of change in this subject is such that new material must be added as the training process itself advances.

Furthermore, no single skill needs such a close link between the training process and scientific research work by the teachers as this one. Without such a connection it would be simply impossible here to develop and present lectures and engage in other types of training on the required scientific-technical and methodological level.

At the present time the higher school has its target programs for research and experimental design based on the comprehensive problem of "Robots and Robot Technology Systems." Tens of VUZ's throughout the country are participating in its implementation, in coordination with academic institutes and industrial organizations. Such activities are coordinated by the leading VUZ's: the Moscow Higher Technical School, for the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute, for the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, and the Kiev Polytechnical Institute for the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

Unquestionably, in time robotics will spread to most aspects of contemporary physical and mental activities.

What will robots contribute to man in the foreseeable future?

A number of fictional and semi-philosophical works have been published on this subject, depicting fantastic images and expressing various fears. All this unwittingly reminds us of the old fears of idle minds when railroads appeared: It was claimed that high-speed motion would harm the human body. Today some foreign authors see in this technical innovation a threat to civilization itself.

Actually, a real danger does exist in the case of a social system based on the private ownership of productive capital, for a new technological base

is being laid under the material production process. Naturally, this requires a renovation of production relations. As to the communist socio-economic system, comprehensive automation, including robotics, is a form of organization of production fully consistent with the requirements of liberated labor. Here it would be entirely impossible and unnatural for robots to become even a most minute means of exploitation and oppression. In themselves, as objects created by man, they cannot play a separate social rôle, however advanced they may become.

Naturally, as in anything else, a defective robot is fraught with undesirable consequences. In such cases a robot could truly cause trouble. However, this equally applies to other familiar machines and mechanisms. Even though the nature of the harm may be different (due to the different nature of the operation of the system), this is a general problem of safety technology and technological reliability.

K. Marx' words are fully applicable to robots: ". . . A machine possessing, instead of the worker, skill and power is, itself, a virtuoso with its own soul expressed by the mechanical laws operating within the machine . . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, pt II, p 204). The characteristic of the production process, developing into an automated process, "is the subordination of the forces of nature to the social mind" (ibid, p 218). Such production "is the application (of knowledge) by experimental science of a materially creatively and tangibly expressed science" (ibid, p 221).

A number of new theoretical, practical, and methodological problems arise in connection the further development of robotics. They should be considered, analyzed, and discussed in detail by the representatives of the natural, technical, and social sciences.

It is sometimes asked: "Could a robot be more capable than man?"

In my view, this question is groundless. Had a robot not been "more capable" than its creator in some area, there would be no point in creating it. The same could be said of any technical means, starting with a simple lever mechanism. This is all in addition to human capabilities. However perfected a robot may be, it will remain a tool for certain types of work. Its advantage over other technical means lies merely in the novelty of its functional actions. It would be stupid to consider it as separated from man and even more so to oppose it to man. In a variety of applications the "abilities" of the robot are higher than those of man. In some cases it can perform the same monotonous operation "tirelessly." In other cases it could handle incandescent objects "coolly" and "confidently." In other cases its productivity is important. Fourthly, using its digital computer, it becomes "quicker" than man in taking into consideration the possible consequences of one or another action. Fifthly, it could "see" in the dark and react to ultrasound . . . and many others. That is what makes the robot a valuable aid in human undertakings.

Unwittingly, the following question arises: Could it happen that, suddenly, a robot may display other features than those assumed by its maker and enslave him? The first part is entirely realistic, while the second would be entirely illegitimate. In fact, it is entirely possible that any technical system created by man for specific purposes may turn out to be richer in terms of possibilities (the opposite is equally possible) than planned. This becomes clear in the course of laboratory and field studies and tests. In such cases man has the right to use deliberately this system to resolve a broader range of problems.

The same situation prevails in the case of robots.

It may be said that man will soon become the slave of his creation, should it turn out to be more capable than expected. In such cases the creation would simply entail additional trouble. Conversely, the more "capable" and "intelligent" a robot is, the more it facilitates human activities.

Theoretically, no restrictions or limits should be placed to perfecting the robots and creating elements of an "artificial mind." The successes of the scientific and technical revolution led to the appearance of a number of innovations (such as, for example, electronic microcircuits) which could hardly have been expected 20 years ago. That which seemed practically impossible in the realm of automating complex mental operations is being successfully implemented today.

The following questions may also be heard: "Could a machine think?" or "Does it have creative capabilities?" This clearly reveals ignorance of the social nature of thinking and human capabilities. Robots imitate the external manifestations of mental operations and when we speak of a functional simile of the activities of an "artificial mind" and human brain, we mean the result of such activities, the objective, i.e., the external function of a complex system, without analyzing the nature of the support of the function itself. The expression "mind" in this case is merely a metaphor.

The nature of thinking and the work of the human brain are still largely unknown. An "artificial mind" does not in the least have to duplicate with its equipment such work. Here, as in many other systems, the problem can be resolved more easily on the basis of technical principles different from natural ones. Naturally, this does not diminish the great importance of bionics, which is trying to put to practical use the studied principles governing the actions of organs of living beings. This method as well could and does yield positive results. As to robots and "artificial minds," involving the extensive use of latest computer technology, with most advanced receptors-sensors, and a complex mechanism of manipulation with a high-quality drive system, insuring purposeful spatial motion, all this very remotely resembles natural principles. As a rule, only an external functional similarity of activities of animate organisms and man may be achieved, rather than a reproduction of the essential principles governing the operation of their organs.

That is why we should not become confused by the conventional terms transferred from animate to robotic systems and elements of the "artificial brain." Matters have historically developed in such a way that, pursuing targets through the creation of new technical systems, the authors have ascribed them expressions which should be considered metaphorically rather than literally. Subsequently, the custom of using such expressions developed and attention was no longer paid to the fact that similar acts and results do not mean identical physical natures leading to the action itself. The term "mind" (with the description "artificial") in technology has a different meaning from the one applicable to man and the animals. The same applies to other expressions, such as the robot's "behavior," his "senses" (achieved through sensors), "creative capabilities," "purposeful" actions, "teaching," "self-teaching," "memory" (i.e., data accumulation), with subsequent utilization of "experience" in practical work, "formulation" and "adoption" of "decisions," "identification" of circumstances, and even the simplest kinds of "thinking," by scanning a variety of possibilities and "finding" the best among them, and so on, and so forth. Abandoning the use of quotation marks, we unwittingly ascribe to all such expressions a value unrelated to the factual one and a different base.

Identical terms must be interpreted differently, not simply on the basis of knowledgeability but, above all, with the proper philosophical knowledge, in terms of technical systems and animate beings and, particularly, man. Identical sounding expressions with different meanings cannot be identified, and the elimination of quality boundaries is inadmissible.

For example, we consider unfair the following statement: "The dogma that target setting, as a prerogative of the exclusively conscious activities of man, is totally unsubstantiated, theoretically and practically, and is, essentially, the result of a convention" ("Kibernetika i Sovremennoye Nauchnoye Poznaniye" [Cybernetics and Modern Scientific Knowledge], Nauka, Moscow, 1976, p 19). In the journal FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI the same author writes that "the determining objective characteristics of any control process, regardless of the level of organization of its material substratum, are its purpose and systematic nature, and its direction exclusively in the sense that it is always directed toward reaching a predefined result, as a rule needed by the control system for the sake of preserving its integrity and further functioning. Control without target assigning and implementation and, conversely, target assigning and implementation outside of a control process may not exist. This is a cybernetic axiom" (FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, No 6, 1978, pp 25-26).

We consider excessively daring such a broad summation ("regardless of the level of organization . . ."). For example, could we speak of "premeditation" and "target setting" in such a bio-cybernetic system as an amoeba? We doubt it. The biosphere, whose natural dynamic balanced condition could also be described in cybernetic terms, is not characterized either by "system," "purpose," or "target implementation." Its future quality, determined by earth and space factors, is not in itself the "reaching a predefined result" (unless such a result has not been predetermined through

man's conscious efforts). It would be pertinent to emphasize that the mandatory existence of a target in any control process is related precisely to human target setting. Man sets the target, and it is precisely this that determines the purposeful actions of any control system, including an automated one. The same takes place in robotic systems.

We should also be cautioned against a senseless transfer of terms applicable to animal and human characteristics to technical systems where no functional similarity exists. Yet, such tendencies go so far that the ability of an "equifinal choice" is beginning to be ascribed to electric household appliances. In other words, this means target setting and action motivation. The usefulness of such vulgarized pseudoscience is rather doubtful. Above all, the accomplishments of cybernetics offer no grounds for this.

A loose handling of terminology results in great confusion in judgments and meanings, and sterile considerations. It is regrettable when occasionally this occurs in publications aiming to present new theoretical developments. Here it would be suitable to recall L. I. Brezhnev's words: "Scholastic theorizing could only hinder our progress. The effectiveness of science can be enhanced only by linking it with practice. This is one of the main problems today."

Thus, robots are entering life, raising questions not only for specialists in most public production sectors, but for sociologists and philosophers. In addition to substantial economic results, this new type of technical system will considerably enhance the standard of production labor and enable us to resolve the problem of manpower shortages and turnover in the most difficult area--manual, harmful, and dangerous labor unsuitable for automation through traditional means.

The characters of recent works of fiction are becoming the technical means for the solution of major national economic and social problems.

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ON THE SUBJECT OF USSR ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY AND ITS PRESENT-DAY TASKS

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[Article by Professor A. Lavrishchev, doctor of geographic sciences]

[Text] Improving the territorial organization of the national economy is an important scientific and practical problem in the development of the socialist economy. "Our country," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, "was the first to take the path of planned economic management. Tens of other countries have learned and are learning from us this complex skill. However, today we as well face the task of raising the level of planning and making it consistent with the new scales and aspect of our economy and the new requirements of the times."

On the basis of the congress' resolutions, subsequent CC CPSU plenums, and the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, the Central Committee passed the decree "On Improving Further the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of the Party and State Organs." The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers published the decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality." In these documents tremendous attention is paid to perfecting the planned management of the Soviet economy: rational combination of sectorial with territorial development, long-term and current plans, improved intersectorial and intrasectorial ratios, and insuring the balanced growth of the economy.

What role does economic geography play in this matter?

The purpose of that science is to study the location of production facilities, the territorial division of social labor, intra-rayon combinations of economic sectors, and intra-rayon and inter-rayon economic relations. The natural-geographic environment (natural conditions and resources), the cultural resources of the past, and the historically developed production habits of the population are an objective prerequisite for the solution of practical problems. Here the purpose of social production is a factor of prime importance. In turn, it is determined by the dominating socioeconomic system and the laws of the specific socioeconomic formation.

Under socialist conditions, along with the other social sciences--political economy above all--economic geography is a methodological base for national economic planning. It insures the scientific substantiation of politics in the field of the location of production forces, and the regional (territorial) organization of public production.

Soviet economic-geographic science develops in accordance with the tasks set to it at each historical stage of the life of a society purposefully building communism. It resolves theoretical problems in connection with problems of the elaboration of long-term plans for the development of the national economy and economic zoning, on the basis of the economic laws of socialism. These laws are manifested in the objective trends of the territorial location of socialist production facilities. It is only their profound study that enables us to formulate properly for a specific time in history one or another economic task or principle.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the importance of economic geography. As early as 1921, in his "Supplements to the Draft Sovnarkom Decree on a Mandatory Scientific Minimum in VUZ's," he recommended that this minimum include a plan for electrification, its economic foundations, the economic geography of Russia, and the significance of, and conditions for the implementation of the plan (see "Poln. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 427). This was accomplished.

Lenin's basic ideas on efficient socialist production played a tremendous role in the development of Soviet economic geography. In his "Outline of a Plan for Scientific and Technical Work" Lenin indicated the ways to a new geographic location of the economy in our country. He considered bringing production facilities closer to raw-material sources one of the main prerequisites. In his view, this would have insured maximum economy of social labor, steady growth of labor productivity, and comprehensive and rational utilization of natural resources. The leader's indication of the expediency of locating production facilities in raw-material areas was aimed, on the one hand, at substantiating means for considerable savings (lowest possible losses) of public labor, funds, and time in the course of the public reproduction process, and, on the other, to emphasize the adamant need for the extensive development of the tremendous natural resources of our homeland.

We find in Lenin's works valuable statements on problems of scientific substantiation of economic zoning and organization, on this basis, of a rational territorial division of labor in the country, and equalization of levels of economic growth through the accelerated economic upsurge of backward national and outlying areas.

The communist party has always paid tireless attention to economic geography. In 1932 this problem was considered by the Presidium of the Communist Academy. It was acknowledged that this was a science studying the location of production facilities. The presidium's decree noted the exceptionally great importance of USSR economic geography in connection

with the practical requirements of the building of socialism (see "Voprosy Ekonomicheskoy Geografii" [Problems of Economic Geography], Moscow, 1934, pp 239-241). "The specific features of economic geography and location of production forces and economic zoning," stipulated the decree of the Presidium of the Committee for Higher Technical Education of the USSR Central Executive Committee, dated 14 July 1934, "must be in the center of attention of the professorial-teaching personnel."

The content of this science was refined at the 1955 Second Congress of the USSR Geographic Society: "The congress deems the following to be the basic tasks of economic-geographic research: study of the laws of geographic location of production facilities, territorial (geographic) division of labor, and shaping of economic rayons; economic assessment of natural conditions and resources; combining the study of the geographic location of sectors--industry, agriculture, and transportation--and rayons, based on the comprehensive study of both; study of population geography" (IZVESTIYA VSESOYUZNOGO GEOGRAFICHESKOGO OBSHCHESTVA, vol 87, No 2, 1955, p 99).

Today, as a result of the building of developed socialism, our country's economy has become a single national economic complex. Economic rayons and union republics are territorial units organically interlinked. An economic entity has developed as the base of the new historical community, the Soviet people. Under these circumstances the importance of economic geography in the study of the national economy as a whole and the location of all its sectors and development of all areas becomes even greater.

The process of differentiation of sciences and development of new scientific directions (frequently at the convergence of areas of knowledge) affected economic geography as well. Within it a number of relatively independent divisions were developed (population geography, industrial geography, etc), which are developing in a state of close interaction. As scientific specialization increases an integration of sciences occurs in the course of which the importance of comprehensive studies rises.

The problems of the location and territorial development of production forces are partially studied (within the range of their subject) by industrial economics, agricultural economics, transportation economics, national economic planning, and other sciences. However, as experience indicates, in any comprehensive field of knowledge, a specific science becomes, in a certain sense, leading, acting in the quality of a summing-up, synthesizing science. In this case this applies to economic geography. It is precisely economic geography that laid the foundations for the study of the territorial organization of the national economy under socialism, the laws, principles, and factors governing the distribution of production forces and the formation of territorial-production complexes, and the specialization and integral development of economic rayons. All this became the base of activities of corresponding scientific and design institutes.

As any other scientific sector, economic geography does not stand still. A great deal of what it did not study yesterday is being studied today. New methods are being added to its arsenal.

In the Soviet Union the location of production forces is subordinated to the tasks of strengthening the socialist system and building a communist society, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the increase of public wealth, the steady upsurge of the material and cultural standards of the working people, and the strengthening of the country's economic power and defense capability. State planning covers today all economic sectors. This calls for the establishment of accurate ratios among and within them, and the rational territorial location of production facilities throughout the USSR and in union republics and economic rayons. What tasks face economic geography under mature socialist conditions?

Studying and substantiating the planned development of socialist production in the country, it must contribute to the most effective development of the national economy, the improvement of its territorial proportions in accordance with natural, economic, historical, and other characteristics of areas and rayons, and the need to combine joint interests (national economic construction as a whole) with specific interests (i.e., those of one or another area). Modern economic geography also studies problems of the location of cities and settlements, taking into consideration population migration trends, employment, age and sex structure, and other demographic factors.

The formulation of national economic plans and of comprehensive territorial programs and general plans for the location of production forces would be impossible without the data provided by this science. Its study of problems of the territorial division of social labor in the country and among and within republics and major economic rayons, is related to the need for insuring expedient national economic production specialization and cooperation.

The national economic specialization of economic rayons means the concentration of efforts on the mass production of goods for which favorable economic and natural conditions and resources exist in specific areas. Thus, the skilled-labor-intensive sectors of machine building and chemical and light industries are concentrated in the central areas. The power and coal industries and the energy-intensive sectors of non-ferrous metallurgy, chemistry, and timber and timber-processing industries are concentrated in areas of Eastern Siberia.

The decisions of the 25th party congress and CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees call for insuring the fullest possible combination of sectorial with territorial planning principles, dynamism, and balanced development of the country's economy as a whole and in its separate parts. This calls for the further intensification of the theory of location of socialist production facilities, the study and theoretical summation of the practice of the building of communism, the elaboration of problems of territorial-production, industrial, and agro-industrial complexes, the rational territorial division of social labor, proper correlation in the development of the various sectors, based on optimum production cooperation within the rayon, the need to eliminate long-distance hauling and cross runs, and excluding disproportions in the country's national economy.

The comprehensive development of the economies of the individual republics and economic rayons is a major line of research. The solution of such problems presumes the interconnection between the different national economic sectors and the sectors complementing the territorial complex, including services, in accordance with their natural and economic conditions. Proper ratios must be established between the production of capital and consumer goods, between industry and agriculture, between production and all types of haulage, among national economic sectors, and between raw-material and manpower resources. All this must help to upgrade public production effectiveness, the protection and reproduction of natural conditions and resources, and the implementation of the important social tasks, both in the country at large as well as by economic rayon.

The drafting of territorial balances of manpower, fuel, electric energy, mineral raw materials, production and consumption of various commodities, computations of intersectorial balances, and determination, on the basis of a comparative economic assessment, of the optimal structure of a rayon complex and its general effectiveness, are substantiations for the determination of regional comprehensiveness.

As we know, progressive forms of economic organizations, such as territorial-production, industrial, and agro-industrial enterprises and associations, created on the basis of countrywide requirements and local factors, have been extensively developed in our economy. Such complexes yield great national economic results and substantially influence the rational location of production forces. In recent years special target programs have begun to be formulated for the shaping and development of territorial complexes (Western Siberia, Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, the Zone of the Bykal-Amur Main Line, etc).

Together with the other economic sciences, economic geography studies the processes of equalization of levels of economic and social development of the country's republics and areas. The systematic implementation of the Leninist national policy resulted in the elimination of the social and cultural inequality among nations. On this basis the possibility was created for a broader orientation essentially based on the economic expediency of the location of one or another production sector. The Territorial aspect of the plan became a structural component of the national economic plan, enabling us to optimize the ratios of the further development of union republics and all parts of the country, and to take more fully into consideration other features in the balances of local resources.

Still topical are problems of economic geography such as taking production facilities closer to sources of raw materials, fuel, and consumers of finished goods. The establishment of an efficient territorial organization of the national economy in the country would be impossible without an economically expedient solution of such problems. The economic geographers must pay greater attention to problems of the most rational utilization of land and water resources and environmental protection.

Such studies also include work on the location of production facilities based on the division of social labor within the world socialist economic system. The Soviet Union maintains a variety of relations with many foreign countries based on the international division of social labor and principles of peaceful coexistence. The close cooperation among socialist countries contributes to the implementation of the objective trend of socialist integration. In this connection the specialists-geographers must have a good knowledge of global resources and of natural processes occurring in the global economy. They must provide recommendations on improving the international division of labor and economic relations.

One of the most important tasks facing economists and economic geographers is upgrading the scientific level of substantiation in the choice of an area or place for the building of an enterprise or a territorial-production or industrial complex.

In socialist planning the location of industrial enterprises in economic rayons is based on estimates of the long-term growth of output and consumption, scientific and technical forecast data, determination of ratios between the extracting and processing industries, the ratio between agriculture and industry in the individual areas, and so on.

In selecting a site for the location of one or another plant or group of enterprises we take into consideration the existence in the area of operating enterprises within the given sector, the specialization of the economic rayon, possibilities for production cooperation, manpower availability, possible centers for the consumption of the finished products to be manufactured by the enterprise under construction, and possibilities for the combination of production facilities.

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the intensification of public production, characteristic of developed socialism, estimates of the economic effectiveness of precisely the comprehensive location of production forces assume most important significance. Thus, resolving problems of the location of new metallurgical enterprises, we must not limit ourselves merely to narrow, sectorial considerations. A big metallurgical plant is of great rayon-forming importance. Usually it becomes the center of an entire production complex (chemical, machine-building, cement, and other sectors). For this reason, we must take into consideration outlays not only for the basic but for related production facilities as well.

Finally, the purpose of economic geography is to elaborate problems of interaction between industry and the environment. The contemporary level of scientific and technical progress which enables us to develop at a fast pace material production with a view to improving the prosperity of the people, also creates the ever more active interference of man with the environment. Under the conditions of the socialist economic system, environmental protection has become an important state task, a structural component of the country's economic and cultural life, and a nationwide project. Economic geographers bear a great responsibility for its solution.

Unlike physical geography, economic geography is a social science based on the familiar laws of the socioeconomic system. The latter are implemented through the conscious activity of the people under specific historical circumstances. It is a truly party science whose only methodological base is Marxist-Leninist theory.

Unlike it, bourgeois economic geography is based on idealistic concepts, distorting objective reality, and serving the interests of the ruling class. In recent years, the concept of "regional planning" has become widespread in the West. It is based on the study of economically programmed "space," regardless of administrative-territorial or national divisions, i.e., on the basis not of the interests of the populations of such areas, but of monopoly capital. Based exclusively on economic-mathematical models, and considering them, rather than social requirements, as the starting point, its supporters--the Americans V. Leontiev and W. Izard, have given their recommendations on the rationalization of the location of capitalist production enterprises. Naturally, here they proceed from the task of insuring the monopolies maximum profits rather than material and spiritual benefits to the majority of the population. The supporters of one of the reactionary trends in bourgeois science--geographic determinism--explained the basic characteristics of the international division of labor exclusively in terms of environmental differences, justifying the distorted division of labor created by capitalism on the basis of age-old exploitation and oppression of colonial and dependent countries. Ascribing a decisive role to technical progress in the development and location of production forces, the supporters of the "convergence" theory ignore the determining importance of the production method and, consequently, provide false initial premises for economic-geographic studies. They preach a rapprochement between different socioeconomic systems in the hope of weakening the positions of socialism and its degeneration into capitalism. One of the most important tasks of Soviet economic geographers is to expose such reactionary concepts.

Unfortunately, occasionally our publications uncritically borrow ideas and terms from theories alien to us, automatically applying them in an economic-geographic context. Occasionally, this conceals claims to a certain "originality" achieved through an artificially developed terminology, and "innovativeness" with the absence of a truly creative approach on proper scientific and ethical grounds. Occasionally this leads to discussions whose unnecessary nature would become apparent as a result of an attentive consideration, and the efforts of the scientists are distracted from the main problems whose solutions are awaited by practical workers.

Dialectical materialism and historical materialism alone can provide a proper approach to the studied phenomena. Marxist methodology is the base of all specific scientific methods used by economic geography in its specific studies and in resolving problems of the rational location of socialist production facilities and the organization of the territorial division of social labor in the country.

The balance method is the most important economic-geographic tool extensively used by Soviet scientists. The formulation of rayon balances makes it possible to choose a proper correlation among the specialized national economic sectors, sectors which complement the territorial complex (meeting both the requirements of enterprises of union significance as well as population needs) and the service sectors. Balances are necessary also in the development of efficient inter-rayon relations. Economic substantiations for the location of production facilities (choice of an area for building an enterprise, establishing the construction site, determining the availability of raw-material, fuel, energy, water, and other resources) are backed by computations on the distribution of the output among union republics and economic rayons on the basis of all-union and regional production and consumption balances for basic commodities.

The use of this method is of tremendous importance in the creation of a rational socialist production geography. The proper formulation of regional national economic balance requires extensive planning and research. The Soviet economic geographers are participating in such work along with representatives of other fields of knowledge.

The effectiveness with which enterprises are located and regional complexes developed is determined with the help of a variety of technical-economic computations. The comparison between the gross or net output and capital or current outlays by sector and rayon has become widespread. Also used are comparative indicators of labor productivity, capital returns, material returns, and so on. Economic assessments are being formulated and adopted for regional fuel, water, manpower, and other resources. In order to establish and substantiate regional specialization, computations of territorial indicators, regional-sectorial series, and optimization models are used.

In recent years the use of computers has become ever more important in economic-geographic studies of the location of production forces. With minimal labor and time outlays they make it possible to process a huge amount of raw data and choose the economically most effective optimum plan. Since an economic-geographic formulation of a problem may have various targets (such as, for example, reducing to a minimum production and transport outlays, most economical use of scarce resources, and so on), the use of computers makes it possible to provide multi-variant computations whose results contribute to the clarification of the role of one or another factor in the study process.

The drafting and utilization of maps, diagrams, charts, and graphs play a particular role in economic geography, since a territorial phenomenon could be reflected most clearly precisely in its graphic aspect, which enables us visually to see the characteristics of development and location of various economic sectors.

Economic geographers use other methods as well in their studies: statistical, comparative, etc. All of them are closely interrelated and mutually complementing.

In the course of the building of socialism the science of economic geography grew and strengthened and developed its scientific collective. Its specialists are actively participating in the solution of national economic problems. Greeting the Sixth Congress of the USSR Geographic Society, Comrade A. N. Kosygin noted the great contribution of Soviet geographers to the efficient utilization of the country's natural resources, development and territorial location of production forces, dissemination of geographic knowledge, and upgrading the quality with which geography is taught in higher and secondary schools.

The great national--theoretical and practical--significance of economic geography is unquestionable. Its successes are helping the building of communism.

However, it would be erroneous to assume that everything is ideal in this scientific area, and that there are no unfinished projects and imperfections, or else its representatives have exhausted all possible reserves for upgrading the effectiveness of their activities and for increasing their contribution to the comprehensive development of our country, which is building communism. On the other hand, we believe that the practical organs, the USSR Gosplan in particular, make insufficient use of the potential of economic geographers, failing to involve them in scientific work on the creation of territorial-production complexes and in planning the location of industrial sites.

Since economic rayons and union republics are territorial parts of the single national economic complex of the country, systematically inter-linked, the scientific solution of the problems of any area would be impossible without a knowledge of the laws governing the entire Soviet economic system. That is why, in my view, the economic geographers must intensify their studies of the laws governing the development of the integrated national economic complex of the USSR and, particularly, its sectorial, functional, and territorial aspects and structures, and the formulation of means for upgrading the economic effectiveness and the utilization of the reserves of its structural subdivisions.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum that for a long time we have been unable to eliminate the bottlenecks which hinder our even faster and more dynamic progress. Such bottlenecks include disproportionations in the development of economic rayons and territorial-production complexes, and the slow improvement of territorial planning.

The country's national economy is experiencing particularly major difficulties in the availability of transportation. This prevents us from making full use of the variety of ties linking production and consumption, industry with agriculture, and the extracting and processing industries. Only good planning and the organization of transport relations would make it possible to link the growth of output with that of consumption and properly to place enterprises on the basis of the need to eliminate long and cross haulages, and bring enterprises closer to sources of raw materials and consumption areas.

Major disproportions are noted in the development of some economic rayons, particularly the Zapadno-Sibirskiy, and between the sectors of national economic specialization and those which complement the territorial complex. For example, in such cases the petroleum-refining and machine-building industries are insufficiently developed. The ratios among industrial, housing, and cultural-consumer construction are violated; the proper ratios in the utilization of male and female labor are not maintained.

Similar shortcomings are inherent in other economic rayons. They are explained by the poor scientific elaboration of the foundations of economic planning on the regional level, particularly in terms of the scientific substantiation of ratios (correlations) in the development of the various sectors in the area and the adoption of measures to prevent territorial disproportions in the national economy. Still typical of preplanning studies for the location of production forces are poor connections between science and practical work, insufficient coordination of the work of co-performers, and absence of control over the implementation of general plans (such as, for example, for the development of new territorial-production complexes). Systematic disproportions and imperfections may be noted in such plans.

We must also pay attention to the fact that national economic plans are approved only for the Far Eastern and East Siberian economic rayons. No such plans are formulated for other big economic rayons, which have largely become targets of purely cognitive activities of specialists. Obviously, this situation can no longer be tolerated. The USSR Gosplan and the gosplans of union republics should provide scientific planning on the regional level, insuring the proper ratios in the development of all sectors, linking the growth of production with that of consumption, and organizing, on a scientific basis, the proper regional location of enterprises, based on the need to eliminate distant and crosswise haulage. To accomplish this they need the active assistance of scientific organizations and, above all, of the Council for the Study of Production Forces of the USSR Gosplan.

Obviously, it would be expedient to reduce the number of big economic rayons from 18 to 10 or 12 by consolidating them even further and to formulate national economic plans for each one of them, while at the same time insuring within the rayons the development of all production relations on the basis of cooperation among industrial enterprises (otherwise no transport facility could ever be able to cope with the tremendous and ever-rising flows of haulage, regardless of how brilliant its technical condition might be).

In the light of the increased complexity of the tasks facing economic geography, its teaching in VUZ's, economic VUZ's in particular, must be improved. The 1977 all-union conference of heads of chairs of economic geography of economic institutes and economic faculties of universities earmarked important measures in this direction.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Development of the Higher School and on Upgrading the Quality of Specialists Training" mentions the ever-rising influence of the educational system on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and, in this connection, the need to improve VUZ activities. The decree emphasizes specifically the role of the chairs as the "main link in the higher educational institution which determines the content and unity of the training, scientific, and educational process." In this connection we should draw the attention to the fact that in order to upgrade the role of economic geography as a school subject and train cadres of skilled economists, it would be expedient to reopen the chairs of economic geography in all economics institutes and faculties in the country and teach it on the basis of uniform programs approved by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education. On the basis of the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress, which called for a more skillful combination of the sectorial and territorial approaches to the development of production forces, the time has come to introduce in the leading economic VUZ's the subject of regional (territorial) national economic planning.

The chairs of economic geography face the task of more intensively developing scientific research on the location of production forces, economic zoning, and territorial division of social labor throughout the country, as well as by economic rayon, and further rationalization of the sectorial and territorial structures of the economies of union republics and economic rayons. In this case particular attention should be paid to the comprehensive development of the economies of rayons and union republics, national economic specialization, and proportions in the development of their economies, sectors of union significance, sectors supplementing the territorial complex, and service sectors. Economic geography must work on the assessment of natural conditions and resources, environmental protection, population problems, labor reserves, etc. Special courses must be organized and new methods must be applied in teaching. Practical relations with planning organs and with scientific and design institutes must be broadened. The VUZ's need consistent textbooks and increased production of training aids in economic geography.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Management Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" earmarks measures for the efficient combination of territorial with sectorial planning. It defines the obligations of union ministries and departments in the elaboration of draft plans on the territorial level and their joint consideration with the councils of ministers of union republics. The councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies have been assigned the duty to formulate and approve consolidated five-year and annual plans for the production of local construction materials and consumer goods, and plans for housing-communal and cultural construction, and control over their implementation. Great attention is paid to the development of areas in Siberia and the Far East within the country's economy, and the formation in such areas of major

territorial-production complexes. The USSR Gosplan has been asked to consider, together with the RSFSR Council of Ministers and interested USSR ministries and departments, plans for the development and location of production forces in such areas and the territorial-production complexes they include, and the basic indicators for the economic and social development of each complex, regardless of departmental affiliation, as well as to ratify such indicators and supervise their implementation.

All sectors of the economic sciences, including economic geography, play an essential role in the solution of such problems.

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CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE OF A SOCIETY WITHOUT A FUTURE

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[Article by A. Mileykovskiy, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] In our time the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development has become extremely widespread, above all because it is confirmed by the very course of the historical process. Based on convincing examples of the strengthening and broadening of the world socialist system, the breakdown of colonial empires, continued revolutionary change in the lives of tens of young countries, and intensification of the crisis of state-monopoly economic control in the bastions of capitalism, the international public has been given the full possibility to realize that Marxism-Leninism alone can provide an accurate and scientific criterion for the study of long-term trends of development and change of socioeconomic systems. It proves the historical doom of systems based on class antagonism and the inevitability of the entry of mankind into the age of boundless progress as a result of the creation of a classless communist society.

Marxism-Leninism offers an integral concept, consistent with the realities of life, both on the position of capitalism in the contemporary world and the changes occurring in its economics, politics, and strategy. As to the ruling circles of the capitalist countries, despite their entire unwillingness to acknowledge this, today they are forced to take into consideration changes in the social aspect of the planet, the rise of socialism as a decisive force of historical development, and the reality of the possibility for the prevention of new world wars. Their more sober-thinking representatives are forced to acknowledge the need for peaceful coexistence and, consequently, for economic cooperation in one or another way between countries with different social systems. In this connection the task of theoretically substantiating a long-term program for the international division of labor among capitalist countries, and the class need to prove the possibility for the stabilization of capitalism and its ability to counter the pressure of revolutionary forces, assumes a practical value. In an effort to develop their own concept of economic development, the bourgeois politicians and their "brain trusts" are concerned not with the problems of the ideological struggle alone. They are trying to apply this concept to the development of a mechanism for state-monopoly control of the economy on the scale of the entire global capitalist economy.

The trend toward the application of global forms of such control is becoming an imperialist strategy in the struggle between the two systems and a desire to make maximum use, in monopoly interests, of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The national mechanisms of state-monopoly capitalism can no longer insure any type of effective economic programming without taking into consideration the growing influence of the environment. Under the conditions of a steadily progressing global division of labor, the most important component of government activities in all developed capitalist countries, therefore, becomes the realm of intergovernmental relations. Even more significant is the fact that contemporary capitalism cannot ignore the fast growth of the world socialist system and the successes of all anti-imperialist forces-- processes which steadily erode the positions of the capitalist system and which contribute to the gradual intensification of its general crisis.

Marxist-Leninist theory considers all economic and sociopolitical events in the world within the context of the natural-historical process of social development. Mankind as a whole, and its ascension as a result of changes in socioeconomic systems from lower to higher forms of development of social organization, may be considered the object of its studies. Our age is characterized by the transition from capitalism to socialism and the establishment of a communist system.

The seventh decade of the Great October Socialist Revolution, now beginning, has been marked by outstanding successes in the aggressive movement of the peoples toward a comprehensively developed democracy and true self-management, reflected in the new USSR Constitution. In his article "A Historical Landmark on the Way to Communism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote: "In the slightly over 40 years since the enactment of the previous Soviet constitution the main thing which life gave our people was the building of a developed socialist society and the creation of the first state of the whole people in the world."

The experience of the 20th century, whose main event was the October Revolution, scientifically summed up by Marxist-Leninist philosophy, is the most important source for the development of the theory of scientific socialism aimed at illuminating the path of practical revolutionary activities which stimulate the social progress of all mankind. This experience is of most immediate practical value to the capitalist part of the world as well. The industrial capitalist countries are developing at a faster pace along the way of the state-monopoly reorganization of the economy which, the will and wish of the ruling class notwithstanding, prepares the necessary material and social prerequisites for a subsequent socialist production socialization. The aggravation of class contradictions in such countries, which were manifested particularly strongly under the influence of the 1974-1975 economic crisis, leads to the expansion and consolidation within them of the anti-monopoly unification of left-wing forces which are formulating programs for profound democratic changes opening the way to socialism. At the same time, prerequisites are ripening in the world capitalist economy for a radical restructuring of the system of

international economic relations. Here, under the influence of insurmountable antagonistic contradictions, centrifugal forces are increasing, and the number of countries taking a non-capitalist, a socialist way of development, is rising.

Unlike previous socialist theories, the simplified idealistic-utopian understanding of the universal-historical transition to a new social system is alien to Marxism. Marxism proceeds from the fact that the full victory of socialism calls for the creation of a suitable material-technical base. In turn, this base must be the starting point for the creation of the material and social prerequisites of the communist society in which, as K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out, and as codified in the new USSR Constitution, the free development of each is the free development of all, and labor for the good of society becomes the most important vital need of all its members.

Considering politics as the concentrated expression of economics, Marxism-Leninism does not belittle its independent role and the tremendous impact of the superstructure on the development of the base. Also alien to it is the dogmatic concept that the assumption of power by the working class and the elimination of the bourgeois states mean the automatic destruction of the entire ideological superstructure inherent in that country, a superstructure whose content is determined by long-term political, juridical, philosophical, religious, and other concepts shaping the spiritual life of society. The task of the communist parties is to free the mind of the working people from mythical and illusory views insinuated on them by the exploiting classes and expose the entire nation to a truly scientific understanding of the laws and trends of social development. Marx considered science, above all, as the most powerful lever of history, as a revolutionary force in the loftiest meaning of the term.

Marxism-Leninism does not have to amend or revise the basic principles of its theory of social development. It has the quality of a truly scientific theory having, to use the words of A. Einstein, the creator of the theory of relativity, "inner perfection" and "external justification." The former consists of the fact that Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the natural, the objectively substantiated logical link between most-general principles. The latter is its empirical confirmation, continually obtained through practical experience. Such a general confirmation, unquestionably, was the conversion of socialism into the decisive force of world development, radically changing the entire direction of social life on earth. It is precisely the common principles of Marxist-Leninist theory that are the binding base for a variety of specific-historical forms characterizing the contemporary world revolutionary process and the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

The invincible logic of Marxist theory is convincingly confirmed in the powerful influence of the example which the Great October Socialist Revolution of universal-historical significance is exerting on contemporary social progress. As we know, in the study of the laws of historical

development the force of the example is similar to the importance of an experiment in the shaping of new theoretical concepts in the natural sciences. In particular, allowing for the theoretical possibility of a peaceful development of the socialist revolution in a country such as England, Marx and Engels considered that such an example would inspire all other countries which had reached the same level of socioeconomic development to follow this way. They judged of the importance of the force of the example in the victory of the new social system on the basis of their study of the bourgeois revolutions which, to a certain extent, developed like a chain reaction.

Following the execution of the king in 1649 and the proclamation of a republic in the form of Cromwell's dictatorship, in England, the subsequent course of events brought about the restoration of the monarchy through the so-called "Great Revolution" made by King William of Orange, based on the drastic curtailing of his power by Parliament. The English bourgeoisie compromised with the nobility after assuming the real power in the state and a dominating position in the economy. The practical value of the example of the English third estate to feudal Europe led not only to the increased power of the bourgeois Parliament but the striking successes of the English Industrial Revolution and the high level of development of science and culture in that country.

The War of Independence waged by the American colonies in 1775-1783, directed against the aspirations of the English Crown to a monopoly of the "free" land overseas and to enrich itself through the taxation of the English immigrants led, for the first time in the world, to the creation of a bourgeois society free from the vestiges of feudalism. As Marx pointed out, that war was the tocsin of the European bourgeoisie and the prologue for the French Revolution.

Unlike the English bourgeoisie, in the years preceding its revolution, the French bourgeoisie did not hold such strong positions in the country's economy. Here the creation of new state institutions giving it political power became, to a great extent, the starting point for revolutionary changes. The republican institutions, created as a result of the revolution and in the course of the class struggle, were able to resist repeated attempts to restore the monarchy and to maintain a lengthy authoritarian regime. The French Revolution decisively influenced all 19th century liberation movements while capitalism remained a progressive social system.

For the first time in the history of the struggle waged by the working people against exploitation and social and national oppression, the October Revolution ended in their complete victory, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, theoretically substantiated by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Having radically changed the destinies of our country, it inaugurated a new age in universal history--the age of the destruction of capitalism and of the revolutionary transition to socialism and communism. "No single event in world history," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in his report "The Great October and the Progress of Mankind," "has had such profound long-range

consequences for mankind as the Great October Socialist Revolution. The lightning of the October storm lit the path to the future for the peoples of many countries. History truly advanced in seven-league strides."

The practical activities of the Soviet system were an experiment of universal-historical significance, based on the indestructible foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory. It contributed to the further development of the theory, and the theory of the socialist revolution. The developed socialist society--the highest achievement of social progress, established in the USSR and under construction in a number of other countries--was the main result of the Great October Revolution in the entire worldwide revolutionary process.

Going beyond the historical-social framework which created it, today the October Revolution belongs to all mankind. It is influencing all aspects of contemporary social life and creating profound changes in the course of global events. Historical experience has already irrefutably proved the universal significance of the basic laws of the socialist revolution and the building of the new society discovered by the science of Marxism-Leninism and embodied, for the first time, in the practice of the October Revolution.

After World War II, as a result of the defeat of fascism and Japanese militarism, and the victories of the people's democratic and socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries, the revolutionary process initiated by the October Revolution attained a qualitatively new level. The world socialist system was established. A radical change occurred in the ratio of forces in the international arena. The power and example of global socialism multiplied the revolutionary possibilities of the international working class and the progress of the entire liberation movement. Revolutionary forces are acting in countries which have reached different levels of development of production forces and socioeconomic maturity, which have different political structures, and different historical traditions. The wealth of national and cultural-historical characteristics demands of them the specific application and development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and a specific analysis and consideration of all specific features of the circumstances. It is at the origin of the differences in the methods of struggle and the specific program for social change. At the same time, this variety raises ever more adamantly the question of the general laws governing socialist revolutions and the building of socialism.

The successes of the socialist countries and the world's revolutionary process convincingly prove that the future belongs to socialism. However, as was re-emphasized by Comrade I. I. Brezhnev in the CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress, even though it is doomed, capitalism retains substantial reserves. It is trying to make use of its possibilities to develop in depth--on the basis of state-monopoly concentration and centralization of production in the citadels of imperialism--as well as in width, by consolidating and broadening its spheres of influence in the developing countries.

Unlike the Marxist-Leninist theory of universal-historical development, based on the strictly scientific and, consequently, realistic foundations, bourgeois theory is constantly encountering the need to revise and renovate its eclectic concepts of socioeconomic development which conflict with the course of historical events. This characteristic is clearly manifested under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism.

From its very birth the bourgeois concept of economic development has been characterized by its metaphysical and anti-historical approach, even though it appeared at a time when capitalism was still a progressive social system. Classical bourgeois political economy, which considered capitalism the eternal and most efficient production method, based on the action of "natural" laws, made a basic contribution to its development. Starting with the 1830's, however, following the emergence of the working class in the historical arena, the bourgeois economists have devoted tremendous yet, in the final account, fruitless efforts to substantiate the "perpetuity," and inviolability of capitalism, despite the transformation of the laws governing its development from historically progressive to reactionary, regressive. To a certain extent they were able to accomplish this until the fact that socialism was becoming the decisive force of the world's historical process became obvious.

As early as 1943, when the possibilities of the victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany became clearly delineated and, in this connection, so did the inevitable weakening of capitalist positions, the main concern of the most farsighted bourgeois ideologues became the problem of justifying the existence of the exploiting system under the conditions of the inevitable strengthening of the international influence of socialism. J. Keynes the British economist and political leader, and one of the founders of the bourgeois theory of state-monopoly capitalism, made a decisive contribution to the formulation of the concept aimed at helping to strengthen the general positions of the capitalist system. Immediately after the end of the war he called for the taking of exceptional economic measures against the appearance of mass unemployment, which could bring about sociopolitical crises and revolutionary upheavals. In the majority of the developed capitalist countries his suggestions were implemented as laws of so-called "full employment." Subsequently, along with Keynes' recommendations, the anti-crisis policy of stimulating the economy through deficit budget financing began to be implemented in these countries through medium- and long-term programs for the structural state-monopoly reorganization of society on the basis of a "policy of growth." Combined with a number of objective factors, such new methods for state control brought about certain results. From the beginning of the 1950's to the 1970's the developed capitalist countries avoided a single truly profound global cyclical crisis.

Together with his recommendation for the stabilization of capitalism in the main capitalist industrial countries, Keynes developed a program for state-monopoly control of international economic relations aimed at hindering the revolutionary process in the capitalist world at large. He suggested the

formulation of urgent measures to prevent hunger and eliminate dislocation in the Western European countries which had suffered the most from the war. The treaty by virtue of which the United States granted Britain a loan to rebuild its economy and stabilize within it the positions of capitalism, concluded in 1946 with Keynes' participation, was the prototype of the "Marshall Plan." Under the cover of this plan, whose essence was to subsidize and grant loans for the restoration and reconstruction of the Western European economy through new state-monopoly forms of capital exports, the United States was able to intervene economically in the "beneficiary" countries with a view to weakening and suppressing within them the democratic and leftist forces. In the 1950's, through the "Marshall Plan," on the basis of NATO, virtually of all Western Europe became part of a military-political bloc, headed by U.S. imperialism.

While the war was still going on, Keynes had reached the conclusion that the Soviet Union, which had played a decisive role in the defeat of the fascist powers, could not be ignored in the creation of a new system of international economic relations aimed at stabilizing capitalism. Under such circumstances, it would have been expedient to hide U.S. hegemony behind the flag of the United Nations. On the basis of the plan formulated by Keynes and his American supporters, a number of specialized United Nations agencies were created aimed at retaining colonial and semicolonial countries within the sphere of capitalist domination. Most important among them became the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in which the United States assumed command positions. To this day they are used as supranational organs for state-monopoly control of capital exports and the allocation of loans and subsidies making it possible to control the economies and policies of the majority of developing countries.

This imperialist strategy, based on the latest methods for state-monopoly control of the world's capitalist economy, created for a while the appearance of stability of the economic foundations of capitalism regardless of the beginning of the breakdown of colonial empires. The greatest beneficiary of all this was the United States, which acquired an "open door" to the former colonies and spheres of influence of its imperialist rivals and partners. The United States used this opportunity to create a widespread system of military bases and regional military-political blocs. In addition to purely economic methods, inherent in the newborn neocolonialism, the old colonial methods were not ignored.

Along with the supranational means for state-monopoly control of the world's economy, the international military-industrial complex was a powerful booster and economic bulwark of the imperialist cold-war strategy. This was a typical creation of the latest state-monopoly capitalism, embodying the most distorted features of the capitalist production socialization method. As a result of the nuclear arms race and the technical perfecting of conventional weapons, by the end of the 1960's an unparalleled military potential had been developed. The military-industrial complex which, essentially, assumed supranational power within NATO, which

protected its interests, created through its uncontrollable arms race not only a real threat to the future of all mankind, but an ever growing hindrance to the expanded reproduction of public capital. It is not only removing a considerable share of the resources needed for the civilian production sectors, leading to the narrowing of their markets and to the reduction of consumer demand, but is also the main source of an unparalleled inflationary process which threatens the entire state control mechanism.

The groundlessness of a strategy based on the latest state-monopoly methods for the stabilization of capitalism is becoming ever more obvious to the bourgeois ideologues themselves. This is occurring under the influence of the crisis upheavals of the 1970's, which manifested themselves as a cumulative process affecting all realms of life of the capitalist society. The crisis processes were manifested most strongly in the United States--the basic imperialist country, which had advertised the "American way of life" as the most convincing antithesis to scientific socialism. The defeat of the American interventionists in Vietnam in the first half of the 1970's, the deepest cyclical economic crisis after the 1930's, the monetary crisis related to the elimination of the gold standard of the dollar, the crisis of the big cities, the ecology and energy crises, persistent unemployment and chronic inflation, the unparalleled growth of the crime rate, and the spiritual crisis which spread over substantial social strata, were the stern exposures of this "way of life" glorified as a standard for emulation.

The appearance of new trends in the development strategy formulated by imperialism is related, above all, to attempts to insure the most effective coordination of the policies of the main capitalist countries, aimed at the surmounting within the entire capitalist system of the profound contradictions revealed by the cyclical 1974-1975 crisis, and the developed long-term structural crises (energy, financial, chronic inflation, and persistent unemployment), which were not directly related to the cyclical laws of capitalist reproduction.

The establishment of a supranational institution for state-monopoly control of the capitalist economy, consisting of conferences by the heads of the seven main capitalist countries (United States, FRG, Japan, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Canada) was a noteworthy landmark in the implementation of this new strategy. Such conferences were held in Rambouillet (France) in November 1975 (without Canada), in Puerto Rico (U.S. possession) in June 1976, in London, in May 1977, in Bonn, in July 1978, and in Tokyo, in June 1979. The London conference was of particular importance in the development of the general outlines of a coordinated strategy. It was described in the Western press as an attempt to formulate a type of new "Marshall Plan" and establish a new system of economic and political relations between industrialized capitalist and developing countries.

At the London conference the role of "locomotive engines" capable of pulling the world capitalist economy out of the mire of crises, was

assigned to the United States, FRG, and Japan. Britain, France, and Italy were acknowledge as the prime targets of such aid. It was considered that the strengthening of such weak links in the seven main capitalist countries could be accomplished through collective efforts aimed at reducing their growing balance of payments deficit and stopping the growth of leftist forces creating "political instability." As in the past, the United States is the main guarantor preserving the foundations of capitalism in modern Western Europe. Under the new circumstances in the world, however, the American ruling circles, while proclaiming their readiness to protect Europe from the "threat of communism," demand of their NATO partners that they increase their contribution to the arms race. In the Far East the Pentagon is seeing to it that Japan becomes more active in strengthening the armed forces.

The Bonn conference summed up the implementation of this strategy and, in an atmosphere of artificially promoted campaign of an imaginary "Soviet military threat" to the West, emphasized even further the plans for strengthening the military potential of "the seven" and increase the effectiveness of armament production on the basis of standardizing the manufacturing of the most important assemblies and parts of the death weapons and the perfecting of their production integration and specialization processes. Under the banner of strengthening solidarity in the struggle against communism, new efforts were made to smooth over, through compromises, the increasing contradictions in the struggle for markets and areas of application of capital among the three basic imperialist centers: the United States, Western Europe, and Japan.

The Bonn meeting of "the seven" was followed by the Tokyo meeting in the summer of 1979. It was no accident that the capital of Japan was chosen as the site of the next conference. Against the background of crisis processes in the world's capitalist economy, Japan's superiority in its competition against the two other imperialist centers was becoming ever more obvious. Both the United States and Western Europe were forced to erect visible and invisible barriers against the dumping methods used by Japanese goods to gain their market places. They were also interested in reaching an agreement with the Japanese transnational corporations on a coordinated capital exports strategy. It was also necessary to take into consideration Japan's growing importance in imperialist military-political strategy. The development of the world's revolutionary process is leading to the weakening of the positions of American imperialism on the Western NATO flank, particularly in the area secured by CENTO, in which the shah's regime in Iran was the Pentagon's main support.

A meeting attended by U.S. President J. Carter, FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt, French President V. Giscard d'Estaing, and J. Callaghan, British prime minister, was held on the island of Guadeloupe in the Caribbean, in utmost secrecy. The purpose of the conference, as revealed by the press, and the subsequent course of events, was to unite the NATO countries, on the eve of the Tokyo meeting, in the struggle against the revolutionary forces in the Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East, and the African continent. At the

same time, it was a question of making Japan a more active participant in global imperialist policy through the creation of a Washington-Tokyo-Beijing strategic triangle.

On the eve of the Tokyo meeting the FRG and French ruling circles had already provided the United States with convincing proof that they were ready to help in the implementation of the general imperialist strategy only if the special interests of Bonn and Paris were taken into consideration on a global scale along with their specific tasks in Western Europe. On 13 March 1979, as a result of the persistent efforts of the FRG and France, the European Monetary System (EMS) was enacted. The appearance of the EMS was based on the crisis of the dollar and the strengthened positions of the European currencies. Its establishment marks a major structural change in the international capitalist monetary system, as well as a further aggravation of contradictions among the three power centers within the capitalist world. Influenced by the crisis in the capitalist financial system and the effect of the objective laws of economic internationalization, reflected in imperialist integration, the Western European monopolies were able to consolidate their forces in the struggle for markets and spheres of influence, waged against the United States. The ratio of forces between imperialism and the developing countries, which has changed in recent years, is having a substantial influence on the political and economic aspects of the strategy of "the seven." In connection with the "north-south dialog," this strategy is based on achieving a kind of partnership with the ruling elites of the developing countries oriented toward cooperation with imperialism in the struggle against the progressive forces within the national-liberation movement. Imperialism is trying to ignore the United Nations organization whenever it hinders the implementation of its global strategy. Through private diplomatic means it is trying to divide the anti-imperialist front of the developing countries, based on their aspiration to secure their sovereign rights over their natural resources.

A characteristic feature of the international policy of state-monopoly capitalism is also the fact that, in recent years, ever greater importance has been ascribed to the secret meetings among representatives of monopoly elites and their experts. It is noteworthy that nearly all conferences of heads of governments of "the seven" have been preceded by secret meetings of members of the monopoly elites, who, like the true owners of "big money," resolved the practical problems related to its use for the implementation of their recommended strategy. The synchronized nature of such formal and informal conferences clearly illustrates the fact that the political decisions on problems of cardinal importance to the capitalist world are made not by parliaments but as a result of the "quiet" diplomacy of the capitalist bosses.

In 1973, on the initiative and support of David Rockefeller, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank, a "trilateral committee" of "private individuals" was created for the development of a new concept for a general imperialist strategy. It included business magnates and political leaders

of the United States, Western Europe, and Japan, with their scientific experts. The committee initiated a series of conferences and symposiums which resulted in reports and recommendations on the most important strategic problems of the economic, political, and military activities of monopolies and imperialist countries.

The so-called "Bilderberg club," which holds annual, strictly secret conferences on the most important economic, political, and military problems related to NATO activities, established in 1952, serves similar functions in the elaboration of imperialist strategy. Actually, this is a gathering of representatives of the "invincible power" of international interlocked capital to resolve international problems for which they have not been entrusted officially by any government. The activities of the "Bilderberg club," as well as the organization of the "trilateral committee," properly illustrate Marx' idea that "while showing so few fraternal feelings in mutual rivalry, at the same time the capitalists develop a true Masonic brotherhood in their struggle against the working class at large" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, pt I, p 217).

It is noteworthy that agreements reached as a result of such preliminary conferences were yet once again officially ratified in the course of the Tokyo meeting of "the seven" in June 1979. The meeting was dominated by a spirit of compromise, the need for which, for the sake of achieving a unified imperialist strategy, intensified the sharp aggravation of the energy crisis related to the regular price increase of the oil by OPEC members on the eve of the Tokyo conference. The decision of the OPEC countries was the answer to the inflationary increase in the prices of machines and equipment exported to these countries by the industrial capitalist states.

It is no accident that in recent years the conservative wing of the bourgeois economists has adamantly called upon the monopolies to provide a solution to sociopolitical problems for the sake of lowering the interference of the state wherever this could bring about a development of the class struggle on a national scale. However, the implementation of sociopolitical functions in the national interest conflicts with the very nature of big business. Mocking the vain hopes of theoreticians relying on the "responsibility" of big business to society, the American economist Seligman wrote: ". . . Business cannot exist without profit. Whenever 'responsibility' clashes with profit it is invariably profit that assumes the upper hand."

The ideologues of the conservative wing of the monopoly bourgeoisie are recommending to their governments to stimulate the activity of the private sector in the implementation of intracompany social measures, thus enabling the state to curtail social programs passed under the pressure of the workers movement, which is becoming ever more powerful. The American economist M. Friedman, who acknowledges monetary policy, i.e., the influence of the state on monetary circulation, as the only method for effective state-monopoly control of the economy, has become the most

outstanding theoretician of this political-economic strategy. In his view, unemployment and the comprehensive encouragement of market-place competition is the best counteraction to inflation. Therefore, it is a question of the intention to abolish reforms which are the result of the gains made by the working class after long years of stubborn class battles.

However, the realistically thinking bourgeois circles nurture no illusions concerning the hope of a return to the times of "free enterprise," when one could be openly guided by the predatory laws of big business, and to the coexistence of wealth and poverty, allegedly established by Providence itself.

The liberal wing of the bourgeois ideologues realizes the inevitability of the increased role of the state in the economy and the implementation of reforms related to a more flexible utilization of the mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism for purposes of social maneuvering aimed at the survival of the capitalist system. The loss of illusions concerning the "society of abundance," which ruled in the 1960's, forces them today to be cautious in predicting the immediate future. They are forced to acknowledge the aggravation of capitalist contradictions and call for their elimination by abating the class struggle and the consolidation of "all nations" and "the entire West" for the prevention of "social catastrophes" which would be inevitable unless an alternative has been found to the communist strategy aimed at the creation of a classless society through the revolutionary elimination of the rule of the monopolies and the establishment of the power of the working people.

Indicative in this respect are the statements of one of the most popular Western economists J. Galbraith. The French journal EXPANTION published in its section entitled "The Future 1977-1987 Decade" an article by Galbraith entitled "Inevitable Guidance." Its essence is that today nothing in the capitalist economy could be predicted with adequate accuracy, for a small number of national and transnational corporations in the industrialized Western countries, accounting for at least one-half of the entire production of goods and services, has great power on the marketplace and in government organs, and controls through organized conspiracy. According to Galbraith, they defend their power by turning to the concepts of a traditional market economy. Even though many, not to say the majority, of theoretical economists in the United States have abandoned this concept, it is supported by the business managers. According to Galbraith, capitalism could surmount the present aggravation of crisis processes through "planning," i.e., state programming of the economy, which under U.S. conditions should cover a reduction of the arms race, nationalization of the war-industry concerns, improving the public-education and health systems, and so on. Therefore, it is a question of reforms from above, which, as experience has shown, those in power are unwilling to implement.

In that same section EXPANTION carried the article by the well-known American economist C. Arrow, who writes that, "It is striking that the great achievements of the economic system over the past 20 years have been

unable to reduce the feeling of alienation of the majority of the European working class. The strength of the French and Italian communist parties . . . reflects the profound mistrust in the capitalist system in these countries."

Therefore, a type of ideological vacuum has developed in predicting any kind of optimistic future for capitalism. The crisis of faith in the methods of state-monopoly control is forcing the bourgeois theoreticians to seek some kind of surrogate for the objective laws of social development which could be presented as alternatives to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the historical process. Since the forecasts for the forthcoming decade promise capitalism nothing but slowed down rates of economic growth, unemployment, and continuing inflation, these theoreticians are relying on a more distant future, pinning their hopes on a factor such as the scientific and technical revolution, which allegedly would automatically lead humanity to the era of universal prosperity.

A characteristic manifestation of this trend is the forecast formulated by the Hudson Institute on the occasion of the U.S. Bicentennial. The book "The Next 200 Years," written by H. Kahn, the institute's director, and coauthored by physicist W. Brown and political expert L. Martel, claims that by the end of the 21st century the entire population on our planet will not only have reached the present living standard of the United States but surpass it. The secret for the reaching of such a "golden century," according to these authors, lies in the utilization of the possibilities offered by technology and the "spirit of enterprise." Only the history of the United States for the past 200 years is given as proof of such possibilities, a history which, as we know, has its unique specific features. The purpose is to ascribe to the United States the role of "locomotive of history" for the next two centuries. Such a point of reference and set of coordinates are more suitable for a scenario based on a predetermined topic. They neither have nor could have anything in common with a truly scientific prediction concerning the universal-historical process. The authors try to prove that mankind would undergo some kind of "industrial" and "post-industrial" ages, as a result of which, in their view, the social conflicts will be surmounted and the development of the world will be completed in its essential lines. They claim that the population will become stable, economic growth rates will slow down, and, in the final account, a number of economic systems will achieve a state of equilibrium under the influence of the balance between supply and demand, since, allegedly, in the "super-industrial" age wealth will no longer play the important role it has today.

One can easily see that the authors of this forecast are shifting, essentially, to the distant future the renovated edition of the "consumer society," which was unable to withstand the trials based on the general crisis of capitalism and the cyclical development of capitalist reproduction today. Nor do they answer the question of how to turn into reality the old postulate of vulgar bourgeois political economy on balancing demand with supply in a society developing on the basis of a "spirit of

enterprise." The forecast offers virtually no study of economic laws which determine human relations in the production process. All changes in the economic structure are reduced to problems of management and the laws of cybernetics.

Predicting the future without looking at the past is a characteristic manifestation of the metaphysical approach common among bourgeois theoreticians. This is no accident. The supporters of capitalism are avoiding a truly scientific historical analysis which links within a single logical step the past, the present, and the future. They would like to replace the laws of history which have already condemned capitalism as a society without a future, with the laws of technical progress. However, history cannot be tricked. As a result of the inevitable aggravation of the contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism, the objective economic laws operating at its highly developed stage inexorably lead society to the need for a revolutionary transition to socialist development. The radical revolutionary changes in bourgeois society could be accomplished--depending on specific-historical conditions--peacefully or violently. However, they are mandatory and inevitable. Even the most developed state-monopoly capitalism with its distorted production and consumption structure does not create a material and technical base adequate to socialism. Furthermore, it is only in the course of the socialist revolution that the nefarious spiritual heritage of capitalism--egotism, individualism, private ownership swinishness and hatred of mankind--can be eliminated. Socialism alone, with its principles of collectivism, equality, and fraternity, can lead to the achievement of the communist ideal.

The world imperialist strategy, even within its bourgeois-reformist and technocratic framework, the objective laws of social development, reflects the vain hopes of perpetuating capitalism with its pursuit of profit, and justifies any crime against mankind. It is deprived of lofty moral objectives and is incapable of opposing the scientifically substantiated and practically tried Marxist-Leninist theory of world development.

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SOURCE OF INCREASED DANGER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 112-124

[Article by G. Tsagolov]

[Text] "If you wish peace, prepare for war." This slogan, put into circulation by Vegetius, ancient Roman military historian and writer, was essentially aggressive even in the distant past. Today it has assumed a particularly sinister meaning and is quite popular with the militarists. Actually, such formulas are used by the enemies of detente and disarmament who have selected today as their main target the SALT II treaty signed in Vienna, in June 1979.

Recently a Washington publishing house published the book "Grand Strategy for the 1980's" (American Enterprise Institute, Washington, 1978). Its authors are Gen Maxwell Taylor and Adm Elmo Zumwalt. Taylor is the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, while Zumwalt was Naval Chief of Operations. Both fought in Vietnam. The former commanded operations on land and the latter on sea. Today, both of them retired, they are jointly fighting those who oppose the arms race. From beginning to end their opus is aimed against any agreement which could contribute to a reduction of armaments. "The national policy of the United States is poorly armed as it were," they write without batting an eyelash, resorting to fabrications about the notorious "Soviet military threat." In order to "prevent the Soviet Union from reaching world domination," they are recommending a drastic increase in military expenditures. The epigraph of the book states that "diplomacy without arms is an orchestra without instruments," a statement attributed to Frederick II, a medieval Danish king.

Actually, justifying preparations for war as in the past has become difficult. Modern war is suicidal and the arms race may trigger a fatal explosion. Harnessing the forces of war has become the most vital problem on earth. That is why the enemies of peace are forced to give evasive answers.

Characteristic in this respect are the attacks mounted against the SALT II treaty. It is being fired at from all positions! Some state that, allegedly, the treaty provides a one-sided advantage to the USSR and

"undermine the security of the American nation." Others try to discredit the treaty with the statement that, allegedly, its implementation "cannot be controlled." Others again claim that "in principle they are not against" it, but suggest obviously unacceptable amendments.

Naturally, the majority of the opponents of SALT refrain from openly preaching the religion of militarism. The fact that such an obvious demagogic masquerade cannot conceal the adoration of the same idol is a different matter.

Forces in the United States and other imperialist countries habitually described as the military-industrial complex play a central role in the chorus of the enemies of detente. Earning billions from military orders, the arms manufacturers, allied with the military in the state apparatus, are doing everything possible to prevent the recovery of the international climate and disarmament. They have achieved certain results, for whereas disarmament is the imperative of our time, the arms race remains its reality. "Mankind," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "is tired of living on mountains of weapons. Yet, urged on by the aggressive imperialist circles, the arms race is growing."

The particularly topical question of the military-industrial complex (MIC) has complicated the international circumstances in the past two-three years. It is, above all, the result of the energizing of extreme reactionary and militaristic forces in the imperialist countries. The fierce battle waged currently in the American Congress on the topic of SALT II is yet another demonstration of the power of this source of increased danger in the contemporary world.

I

As early as 1913, in his articles "Who Benefits?" "Arming and Capitalism," and "Capitalists and Arming," published in PRAVDA, V. I. Lenin emphasized the particular role which the "military symbioses"--alliances between armament trusts with highly placed military and political personalities--played in the brewing imperialist war (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, pp 61-62, 175-176, and 253-254). "A gold ring is pouring directly into the pockets of the bourgeois politicians, who are a close-knit international gang which urges on the peoples to compete in rearming. . . . What a clever capitalist machinery! Civilization, order, culture, peace--and the plunder of hundreds of millions of rubles by ship building, dynamite, and other capitalist smart operators and speculators!" he wrote (ibid, pp 175-176).

A great deal has changed in the world since then, and so has the MIC. Its center shifted from Europe to America. Today its wedge is aimed at the Soviet Union. It has considerably matured. However, the Leninist assessment of "military symbioses," and their inciting role in the arms race remain topical. The United States, the leader of the imperialist gang, assumed the role of "savior of the free world." The military sector in the

U.S. economy is expanding faster than the civilian and military departments are assuming ever greater importance within the governmental system.

Even though tens of thousands of companies are involved in the military business, the lion's share is in the hands of a small group of companies. Over the past five years more than one-third of all orders for weapons and military materiel have been placed with 10 companies only: McDonnell-Douglas, Lockheed, United Technologies, Northrup, Hughes Aircraft, Boeing, General Dynamics, Gruman, Rockwell International, and General Electric. About one-half of the contracts went to corporations engaged exclusively or primarily in the production of war goods. The falange of military-industrial concerns has become a rapidly expanding link of monopoly capital.

Let us take as an example the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, founded only 40 years ago, in 1939, in St Louis, by aerospace designer-businessman James McDonnell. At that time who was familiar with Mr McDonnell and his small provincial airplane manufacturing workshop? Today this is one of the biggest military concerns in the United States. The civilian output of the company has been pushed into the background. Stealing billions of dollars --its own, borrowed, or from state funds--the company is producing a variety of contemporary war equipment ranging from the Tomahawk winged missiles to the F-15 fighter bombers. Together with other U.S. monopolies and NATO countries, McDonnell-Douglas is developing outer-space and other most modern types of mass-destruction weapons. It is supplying armaments to Israel, Chile, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Republic, worth billions of dollars. James McDonnell, whose personal fortune has exceeded \$200 million, is one of the 60 richest people in the United States.

On the other hand, the share of the state budget's military expenditures has increased severalfold. Whereas from 1789 to 1917, the U.S. budgets put together totaled less than \$30 billion, after World War II alone and for military purposes alone, the United States has spent about 2 trillion (!) dollars. The Pentagon has property worth \$230 billion, an amount far exceeding the other governmental and state institutions in the United States. The value of the federally owned land, for example, is assessed at one-tenth that amount. Yet, it comes immediately after the Pentagon as owner of state property, owning one-third of the entire land in the United States.

Not only common interests but the very nature of the war business, entirely oriented toward state markets, joins the military concerns with the Pentagon, which purchases the war output, places orders for new types of weapons, and sets prices. The Pentagon and the monopolies use for their selfish interests the scientific and technical revolution as well, which developed in the United States, incidentally, above all in the armaments business. The point is that the production of contemporary weapons exceeds the possibilities of individual monopolies and even of monopoly groups. Ever more frequently the state participates in the development and manufacturing of the most complex types of armaments with its own funds. To an

ever greater extent state capital combines with the capital of the military concerns. The militaristic state-monopoly alliance is crowned by the alliance between the leaders of the armaments business and the heads of military departments. "It is said in business circles: Find yourself a general," wrote the American weekly BUSINESS WEEK, at the beginning of the 1950's. "What government department spends more funds than anyone else? The military. Who is most capable of seeing deals through the bureaucratic jungle? A general or an admiral. So, make him chairman of the board" (BUSINESS WEEK, 9 August 1952). Not only an increased number of generals and colonels are becoming consultants and directors of military-industrial monopolies, but the number of managers in the armaments business who leave their offices and assume top positions in the hierarchies of the military departments is growing as well.

The solid bilateral relations and rotation of the same individuals alternating between government institutions and corporations, together with other ties linking military with business circles, create a particularly favorable climate for profits. This is also assisted by the atmosphere of secrecy which prevails here, and the practice of placing orders and making purchases not on a competitive basis, but through "direct negotiations." Here bribery and corruption beat all records. Profiting from all kinds of governmental benefits, the military concerns artificially raise production costs and prices, thus raising the amounts and norms of open and, particularly, hidden profits. According to a consultant of the Boeing Company the profit norm of the military departments of aerospace companies have profit norms 50% higher than the civilian departments of the same companies (see M. L. Weidenbaum, "The Economics of Peacetime Defense," New York, 1974, p 69). A Senate committee in the American Congress determined that 49 corporations which manufactured weapons and military equipment in the 1970's showed profits in excess of 100%; 22 companies had 200% profits, and 3 companies exceed 500%.

A new military-state-monopoly group is developing within capitalism, combining the forces of the biggest government department--the military--and the very concentrated and monopolized segment of the biggest and most profitable war businesses. The MIC encompasses both producers and consumers of military goods. An entire layer of state-monopoly relations existing on the military marketplace is its inseparable component. This is the richest and most stable market under imperialism. "When capitalists work for defense, i.e., for the treasury," Lenin wrote, "clearly this is no longer 'pure' capitalism but a special kind of national economy. Pure capitalism is commodity production. . . . Yet, the capitalist 'working' for defense does not 'work' in the least for the market but on the order of the treasury and, frequently, even with money he has borrowed from the treasury" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 32, pp 318-319). It is precisely within the framework of the MIC that today the process of undermining traditional marketplace relations has gone particularly far. It is precisely here that we note the greatest growth of elements of state-monopoly planning. As the product of the merger of monopoly capital with the military machine of the imperialist state, the MIC is at the very center of

the state-monopoly system. It encourages its further development and intensifies its contradictions. Extremely interested in urging on militarism and the arms race, politically and economically the MIC is the most reactionary and parasitical form of state-monopoly capitalism.

Strengthening its positions, like any other monopoly group, the MIC develops and finds numerous allies. The most important among them are highly placed political and state personalities. Another valuable ally of the MIC is that part of Congress it has corrupted, particularly members of committees in both houses dealing with the armed forces, and helping to implement the programs it wants. Close to it are also "civilian" departments, such as the Department of Energy, producing neutron weapons, or NASA, which is doing considerable military work. Particularly close to the MIC are some subdivisions of the Department of State and the CIA. The trade-union bosses of the military sectors in industry, and the extreme right political organizations are within its sphere of attraction. "The functioning of the MIC," emphasizes the program of the U.S. Communist Party, "is related to the existence of a network of secret conspiratorial state organizations under its direct control. A fatal combination has developed and is existing between the CIA and the FBI, which, from time to time, undertakes risky adventures both in our own country and abroad. . . . Let us add to this the numerous operations of the Pentagon and the Department of State, and the innumerable quantity of various White House committees. Ever more frequently matters of life and death are resolved by this 'invisible government' within which the Wall Street-Pentagon axis operates" ("New Program of the Communist Party of the USA," May 1970, p 12).

Actually, the MIC is something more than a simple means for the implementation of imperialist plans and objectives. Using its widespread business and personal relations in the business world and the state apparatus, acquiring allies and fellow travelers, the MIC is becoming an ever more self-contained power within the capitalist socioeconomic and political system, giving additional impetus to militarism and the nuclear missile arms race. True, this is done under the screen of talks on the need to "defend the supreme interests of the nation," and foreign "threat," for which the necessary "information" is fabricated, using the curtain of military secrecy to exclude the possibility for any public or legislative interference in decision making.

The tentacles of the MIC may be seen everywhere. It controls the economic life of many states, cities, and parts of the country. Entire segments of key industrial sectors largely depend on military purchase orders. The MIC directly influences intellectual and scientific areas, granting, on a selective basis, subsidies for research work by universities and setting up its own "think tanks," such as the Rand Corporation or the Hudson Institute. It employs a number of cultural institutions and mass-information media. In a word, it is truly part of the flesh and blood of the Western "way of life."

II

The influence of the MIC on all aspects of U.S. life is so tangible that warnings have begun to be heard among the ruling class itself. As early as 1961 Dwight Eisenhower voiced on television the now well-familiar warning: "In the government we must be watchful not to allow the military-industrial complex extensive influence. . . . The possibility for the fatal growth of such a power exists and will exist." Blocking the attack launched by the MIC on SALT II, shortly prior to the Vienna meeting President J. Carter stated that rejection of the treaty would make the United States appear in the eyes of world public opinion as a "warmonger."

A flood of data on the MIC has been published. "Pentagon Capitalism," "Civilization of Armaments," "Profiting from the War," "How to Control the Military?" "The Economics of Death," "The Roots of War," "New American Militarism," and "The Military Establishment," is a far from complete list of noteworthy books by American authors, who include well-known sociologists, economists, political experts, and government personalities. It is noteworthy that most such works were published between the end of the 60's and beginning of the 70's. Subsequently, the fashion of exposing the "death manufacturers" yielded an entirely respectable depiction of the "military establishment."

What was the reason? The answer should be sought in the characteristics of the circumstances within which the MIC developed.

Until World War II the role of the military in the United States was rather minor. Naturally, the American imperialists made extensive use of the military to promote their class interests. However, the role they assigned it in politics was limited and strictly specialized. Briefly stated, the military was under civilian political control.

The situation changed after the war. The military strengthened in the higher circles of American society. Its alliance with the arms manufacturers strengthened. The influence of this alliance on all realms of life in the country and on the policy of the state rose further and further. This began to be openly discussed at the beginning and, particularly, at the middle and end of the 1960's, under President L. Johnson, and under the influence of a broad wave of anti-militaristic feelings in the American people, when the anti-war movement acquired a scope and depth unparalleled in the United States.

It was not only crowds of demonstrators in front of the White House that called for an end to the rule of the militarists in the country. The problems of the Pentagon and the military concerns began to clash with a widespread opposition in Congress. The central press organs published anti-militaristic documents.

Did this mean that, finally, the ruling circles in the United States had realized the entire senselessness of the arms race or the unquestionable

fact that an inflated military budget considerably aggravates socioeconomic problems within America itself? Could it be that the bourgeoisie not involved in the military business became fed up with paying taxes to satisfy the endless appetites of the MIC? Obviously, all this played a role. The main fact, however, was different.

The changed ratio of political forces in the world, the aggravation of internal contradictions within the capitalist camp, and the defeat in Vietnam were the reasons for the crisis of American imperialist foreign policy and of the American cold-war strategy. Differences and rivalries among the various monopoly groups and among their political representatives intensified. This explains the fact that the "peace party" within the American bourgeoisie gained the upper hand in the competitive struggle with the "war party."

It became clear to realistically thinking leading American political personalities that it was becoming ever more difficult to gain political capital from military adventures. Obviously, it was no accident that R. Nixon, taken to the political arena by Lockheed Aircraft and the Bank of America, and who in the 1940's had made a career in the American Congress based on a fierce anti-communist "witch hunt," and subsequently as vice president, had toiled a great deal to raise the tension in American-Soviet relations, becoming the owner of the White House at the end of the 1960's, proclaimed a transition from the "era of confrontation to the the era of discussions."

At the beginning of the 1970's, following the conclusion of the familiar treaties and agreements between the United States and the USSR and the turn to detente, the headlong growth of military expenditures of the United States--one of the most important indicators of MIC influence--slowed down somewhat. Gradually, the MIC topic itself was dropped by the leading bourgeois press organs and, with them, from the foreground in the political life of the country. Why discuss it when other voices were giving the tone in Washington?

Actually, subsequently as well, the press published critical materials on the MIC. Lockheed's brokerage deal lit like a flash of lightning the scale of activities of the MIC not only in its own country, the United States, but in the world arena. The investigations revealed that political figures, such as Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka, Prince Bernhardt of the Netherlands, and F. J. Straus, leader of the West German Christian Socialist Union and former defense minister, had accepted bribes from the California monopoly. The Lockheed scandal had barely run its course when a legal investigation of the machinations of another Pentagon favorite--the Northrop concern--was initiated. However, the bourgeois propaganda organs tried to depict all this an annoying yet insignificant anachronism.

Yet, during Gerald Ford's presidency and, to a certain extent, in the final period of R. Nixon's administration, the curve of military expenditures was racing upwards. In the past two to three years it has risen even more

steeply. However, militarism, which is gathering strength in America, is no longer criticized. Once again the military-industrial complex is enjoying the open support of the state.

Whereas until very recently all mortal sins were being ascribed to the "militarists who had gone too far," now galloping inflation, the crisis of the dollar, and the energy and even the economic crisis are being blamed entirely on the working people with their "immoderate demands" for higher wages, and the OPEC countries who are trying to set equitable petroleum prices. Blame anyone you wish but not the MIC. Furthermore, the objective process of the further worsening of the world positions held by American imperialism is interpreted by many noted leaders and bourgeois propaganda organs as the "result of weakness" and "excessive concessions to the Russians." Appeals for a firmer political course have begun to sound ever more loudly. Naturally, such appeals are heard, above all, within the ranks of the MIC itself and the political circles close to it. As a whole, however, the leaders of the MIC are operating today somewhat more cautiously, apparently unwilling to fall into another "critical phase."

Bourgeois publications as a whole offer rich factual data on MIC activities and a number of books colorfully depict the progressive process of militarization in the United States and the trend toward turning it into some kind of hybrid of a "military-civilian society" (see, for example, Adam Yarmolinsky, "The Military Establishment," New York, 1971, p 84, etc). Less valuable are the characterizations contained in such works of the reasons which have triggered the appearance and development of the MIC. The recommendations of the bourgeois ideologues on how to "once again squeeze the genie of the military-industrial complex back into the bottle" are particularly poor. As a rule, they amount to advice to upgrade the role of Congress and of the scientific public in resolving problems of military policy.

The bourgeois criticism of the MIC reflects, on the one hand, the concern of the realistically thinking segment of U.S. ruling circles who fear that the MIC could lead the country into the precipice of a nuclear catastrophe. On the other hand, occasionally this criticism reveals the positions and views of the groups of the bourgeoisie who not only have no direct economic benefits from militarism, but who subsidize the MIC with some of their profits paid as taxes, the main burden of which, true, has always been borne by the working people. In all cases, however, class limitations hinder the members of the bourgeoisie from understanding the real nature of these phenomena.

The book entitled "War, Business, and American Society. Historical Perspectives on the Military-Industrial Complex," published in the United States in 1977, offers a certain idea of the bourgeois interpretation of the MIC.

Following are several excerpts from the collective monograph by American scientists. It states: "In the broad meaning of the term, the military-

industrial complex has existed ever since people specializing in the production of armaments and people specializing in the use of weapons in combat have existed." Or else: The MIC means "congressmen, union leaders, heads of corporations, representatives of the church, university professors, and professional military, along with a tremendous number of their followers and members of the families they support." The following definition may be found as well: The MIC is the "sum total of national resources--governmental and private, military and civilian, and political and scientific, aimed at securing a common defense in the interest of the national strategy of containment by maintaining readiness" ("War, Business, and American Society. Historical Perspectives on the Military-Industrial Complex," New York, 1977, pp 4, 43).

These statements prove that the authors are trying to shift responsibility for MIC activities to just about all social strata within American society. They are also trying to present it as an organic component of any type of society, whatever its historical age. (For example, the first chapter of the monograph is entitled "Western European Military-Industrial Complexes of the 19th Century.")

With such an interpretation the MIC problem loses, so to speak, its "individuality." The difference between forces which are part of it as basic components or as instruments which it uses to implement its rule, is eliminated. For example, the American soldiers who were killed without honor in Vietnam and the still healthy generals who formulated endless alternative "scenarios" for final victory over the "Viet Cong" are considered one and the same.

III

The logic of MIC development leads to the fact that its aspirations clash with the interests of some circles within that same imperialist bourgeoisie.

The point is that the MIC does not cover the entire monopoly bourgeoisie even though the majority of the principal financial-industrial groups participate in the military business. For example, the Rockefellers own big blocks of shares in McDonnell-Douglas and the Morgans in General Electric. Corporations within the California and Texas groups--relatively new coalitions of American financial oligarchy--account for a particularly large share of the military business. They have frequently proved to be the most reactionary wing of American plutocracy. A large number of them are an important component of the MIC. Yet, in no single leading financial group does the military business account for one-half of controlled capital. From the purely economic viewpoint hundreds of thousands of companies, including a considerable group of monopolies, are losing as a result of the unrestrained arms race. True, the 50 biggest industrial corporations in the United States include 13 of the 25 main Pentagon suppliers. As we can see, the percentage is substantial yet not predominant. In other words, monopoly capital has a number of links weakly related or totally unrelated to the MIC, for which reason they occasionally oppose "excessive militarism."

On the other hand, the fact that the military concerns are owned by different coalitions of the financial oligarchy weakens the internal unity within the MIC. Certain friction may be detected also within the state sector of the MIC, the Pentagon in particular. Each military department tries to edge out the others in dividing the pie of military contracts. Alan Wolf, scientific associate at the Institute for the Study of Social Change at the University of California at Berkeley, notes that "under Nixon and Ford the navy and air force benefited at the expense of the army. Even though it is considered that the armed forces are non-political, each branch of the armed forces has its political constituency. For quite some time the navy has been the favorite offspring of the elites of the eastern states. The air force is the child of the newer areas of the west and southwest . . ." (NATION, February 18, 1978).

Naturally, a simple answer does not satisfy the question of the position of the MIC within the social system of imperialist countries, and the extent and limits of its influence within them. It may seem, initially, that in determining the power of the MIC we should turn to an indicator such as the share of military expenditures in the gross national product. In the United States, in the postwar period it has ranged from 5 to 12%. Approximately one-half of the military expenditures have been not for orders placed with industrial companies, but for the maintenance of the military personnel. This might lead to the conclusion that the role of the MIC is relatively modest and its influence insignificant. Yet, this is not the case. Here we must take into consideration the particular political and militaristic functions of the MIC. This greatly enhances its significance and influence on the affairs of the country. A single drop of water may overflow the cup. Metaphorically speaking, is the MIC not such a drop which could overflow the cup of tension in the contemporary world?

Yet, the MIC is far from being a drop. Along with an indicator such as the share of military business in the gross national product, to make the picture complete other criteria should be considered as well. First, assuming that General Electric's share of war production is relatively small, equaling 20%, nevertheless the corporation uses the entire power of its influence and widespread business and personal relations to promote the military business. Second, and above all, in the United States, for example, one-quarter or even one-third of all federal expenditures made in recent years have been for military purposes. Furthermore, we should not ignore an indicator such as the property of the military departments, the huge size of which we already mentioned. In other words, bearing in mind the position of the MIC within the state sector, its role becomes far more impressive. It becomes obvious that this is a very important component of contemporary state-monopoly capitalism. According to our estimates, at the end of 1978 the American MIC owned property and capital totaling a minimum of \$340 billion (we have considered only the main MIC monopolies and property of military departments; proper corrections were made wherever the military sector of a company accounted for less than 50% of its capital). No single financial group in the contemporary world controls such capital. No other state-monopoly complex in the United States could compare itself with the MIC in terms of capital ownership.

Whereas, establishing the strength and influence of one or another financial group, usually we estimate the size of monopoly capital within its orbit, this would be far from adequate in characterizing the power and influence of the MIC. In this case we must take into consideration an organic feature of the MIC, such as the property of the government departments and their comprehensive and far-reaching influence. In other words, we must consider the joint forces of the monopolies and the bourgeois state.

Sometimes it is equally complex to determine the influence of the MIC on the shaping of U.S. national policy. It is difficult or even impossible to establish precisely for a political action the extent to which it is dictated by the common interests of the American bourgeoisie, or by the private, specific objectives of the MIC. These factors frequently coincide. The concept of "American reaction" and the range of its activities are considerably broader than the MIC, even though this complex is one of its most outstanding representatives. Haroldson Hunt never owned a war production enterprise or held a position in the Pentagon. However, this fascist-leaning billionaire quite deservedly earned for himself, in his time, the title of "the most dangerous man in America."

IV

Detente made the MIC extremely watchful. Its leaders, therefore, firmly resolved to "restore" the old international climate and turn it back to the cold war. To this effect they energized to a maximum their activities as "well poisoners."

In 1976 a "Present Danger Committee" was set up. It was the most representative political organ of the MIC. It is guided by MIC pillars such as Paul Nitze, former defense secretary, Dean Rusk, former secretary of state, and William Colby, former head of the CIA. Others who operate in this field are professional military, such as Maxwell Taylor and Elmo Zumwalt, whom we mentioned, and others. The influence of the "committee" on the present administration in Washington is described by the American journal NEW TIMES as follows: "During its first year in office, President Carter's new cabinet supported the process of detente, looking once in a while over its shoulders at the angry gestures of the heads of the 'Present Danger Committee.'" Later, however, "Carter adopted the line of behavior suggested by the 'committee,' for while, in any case." "The current danger," the journal sums up, "stems above all from the 'Present Danger Committee'" (NEW TIMES, October 30, 1978).

In August 1978 yet another reactionary political group was set up--the "Coalition for Peace from a Position of Strength." Its proclaimed objective was "achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union." This "bipartisan group" (including a number of congressmen, generals, and admirals) was put together by John Fisher, who now boasts that his "coalition" has already spent \$10 million in anti-SALT II propaganda.

A creature of the MIC such as the "American Conservative Alliance" as well suffers no shortage of funds. Recently, this "alliance" spent \$400,000 alone for the television presentation of the political film "Soviet Power and American Myth. The U.S. in Retreat." Incidentally, leading roles in the film were played by the long-time idol of the MIC, the senator from Arizona, Barry Goldwater, and retired admiral Thomas Moorer (see U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, April 30, 1979).

At the end of the 1970's the influence of the MIC gained new strength. The current U.S. military budget (\$141.2 billion for the current fiscal year) is the highest in the country's history. President Carter did not keep his electoral pledge of "cutting down the Pentagon." The Pentagon is planning to raise the military budget to \$163.3 billion by 1982. Such increased expenditures are related to the series production of the latest types of armaments.

The pressure exerted by the MIC is clearly felt in Washington's meandering course. President Carter signed the SALT II treaty. Meanwhile, however, the government gave the green light to its program for the development of a new generation of mobile intercontinental MX missiles, and promised to continue to increase the country's military budget and accelerate the establishment of a so-called "fast reaction corps."

An additional feature characterizing MIC militaristic activities is its expansion in the international arena, carried out at a particularly accelerated pace. Whereas in 1972 U.S. arms sales abroad totaled \$3.2 billion, by 1978 the figure had already risen to about \$14 billion. Arms exports by the FRG, Britain, and Japan have noticeably risen as well. However, despite the fierce competition they offer, the U.S. MIC has firmly retained its leadership positions. As admitted by Leslie Gelb, who until recently was the director of the Bureau for Military-Political Affairs of the State Department, armaments exports have now become "more than ever before a foreign-policy weapon." The U.S. MIC is supplying over 70 countries with armaments. In this connection, the book recently published in the United States by former American counterintelligence officer Thomas Garveizi "Arsenal of Democracy" is a cynical admission. Specifically, the author writes that, ". . . We are finding new markets for our armament industry. . . . Our armaments are, in fact, becoming a new form of colonialism. The armaments industry has expanded to such an extent that the domestic market has become too small. . . . It suffices for a salesman to sell the latest weapon to any given country and then sit back until the neighbor will want to have it too, either out of jealousy or fear. New generations of weapons rapidly contribute to the obsolescence of their predecessors, as a result of which the arms race goes on. . . ." (T. Gerveizi, "Arsenal of Democracy," New York, 1978, pp 61, 68).

How not to recall Bernard Shaw's character of Andershaft, the cannon king, who explained his credo as follows: "To sell weapons to anyone who offers a proper price, regardless of individuals or persuasions: aristocrat and republican . . . protestant and Catholic, thug and policeman, black, white, or yellow . . ." (Bernard Shaw, "Izbr. Proizv." [Selected Works], in 2 vols, vol 2, Moscow, 1956, p 72).

However, the military-industrial complex is not satisfied merely with exporting armaments. It is also promoting exports of capital, setting up abroad centers for the manufacturing and marketing of military equipment. A decision was recently made to set up an American industrial center for the production of weapons in Saudi Arabia and a British one in Egypt.

Currently the MIC has thrown substantial forces to "work" in the Senate to block ratification of the SALT II treaty. The MIC has established the treaty-ratification battle line in the struggle against detente. Once the American journalist D. Pearson and Jack Anderson remarked that the MIC is making its way to Capitol Hill through a "mixture of drinks, bribery, and beautiful blonds" (D. Pearson and J. Anderson, "The Case Against Congress," New York, 1968, p 334).

Naturally, other, more effective means exist for indoctrinating the legislators, many of whom have acquired solid blocks of stocks issued by military-industrial corporations, not without MIC help. In an article entitled "What Is a Seat in the U.S. Congress Worth?" THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out that the "price" of a congressman and, particularly, a senator, has been rapidly increasing of late and that here it is far from being merely a case of inflation (THE NEW YORK TIMES, January 18, 1979).

Washington's most responsible hour has struck. "Should the American Senate fail to ratify the SALT treaty it would be condemned by history," sensibly stated Edward Kennedy, the senator from the state of Massachusetts. "The United States would be better off with no treaty whatever than with such a treaty," objected Washington-state Senator Henry Jackson (known, actually, in political circles in the country as the "senator" from "Boeing") (TIME, July 2, 1979). Here is yet another quote which sheds light on the position of the MIC and American reaction in general on this important matter: "Why is it that many members of the Senate are mistrustful and hostile to the treaty? The answer is that there are influential circles within the United States which object to any agreement with the Soviet Union which could improve or reduce the tension of relations between Washington and Moscow. If such relations show tension the business of such circles prospers. Should relations become less tense they no longer blossom but vegetate." This was the view of THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, a bourgeois American newspaper.

Threatening to defeat the SALT II treaty, the MIC and its representatives recently succeeded in insuring a \$2.7 billion supplement to the current military budget. Now they are trying to promote a decision on an annual real increase of 3 to 5% in the U.S. military budget. The MIC is trying to use the very procedure for the ratification of the SALT agreement as grounds for increasing militaristic allocations.

The fact that the MIC opposes detente and restrictions of the arms race is, generally speaking, obvious: its power and privileges in contemporary bourgeois society are related to militarism and conflicts in the world. However, it is no secret even for the MIC that the arms race has now become

a "flight into non-existence." Could it be that the MIC bosses are hoping that the nuclear storm will bypass them? Hardly, they are far from being naive. Could it be that a basic common sense is gaining the upper hand over the fierce hatred for the socialist world and the "arrogance of power" of the MIC kings? That is possible. However, there is more to it. Are they blinded by profits? Naturally. Are they willing to take risks? This too is true. There could be no greater crime than the one currently committed by the military-industrial complex by undermining detente and promoting the arms race.

Grown by imperialism in the United States and other Western countries, the military-industrial complexes have become the shock force of international reaction and the enemies of detente and peace. This is manifested in the foreign policies of the capitalist countries. Their foreign political course fluctuates between the line of the soberly thinking part of the bourgeoisie and that followed by its aggressive and adventuristic wing. Today the military-industrial complex is a factor which hinders the implementation of the only acceptable policy of restraining the arms race and of peaceful coexistence.

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CSO: 1802

BOOKS ON THE USSR CONSTITUTION PUBLISHED BY LOCAL PUBLISHING HOUSES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 125-127

[Review by F. Makarov of the following books: "Narodnyye Deputaty" [People's Deputies], by B. K. Alekseyev and M. N. Perfil'yev, Leningrad, 1977, 40 pp; "Slovo o Velikom Zakone" [Tale about a Great Law], by Z. Voskresenskaya, Detskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1978, 32 pp; "Dlya Schast'ya Tvoyego" [For Your Happiness], Rostov, 1978, 144 pp; "Pravo Plyus Obyazannost'" [Right Plus Obligation], by V. V. Dyukov, Kaliningrad, 1978, 69 pp; "Za Vse v Otvete" [Answerable for Everything], Rostov, 1978, 96 pp; "Zakon Vsey Nashey Zhizni" [Law of Our Whole Life], Stavropol', 1978, 77 pp; "Zakon po Kotoromu my Zhivem" [Law According to Which We Live], Irkutsk, 1978, 176 pp; "Zakon po Kotoromu Schastiye Prikhodit" [Law Which Brings Happiness], Blagoveshchensk, 1978, 112 pp; "Konstitutsiya Deystvuyet, Zhivet, Rabotayet" [The Constitution Acts, Lives, and Works], Sovetskaya Rossiya, Moscow, 1978, 198 pp; "Rozhdennaya Zhizn'yu" [Born of Life], by M. D. Kravtsova, Syktyvkar, 1978, 112 pp; "Sem'ya, Obshchestvo i Zakon" [The Family, Society and the Law], by V. S. Makarova, Novosibirsk, 1978, 104 pp; "Sochetaniye Lichnogo i Obshchestvennogo v Trudovom Prave" [Combining Personal with Social Factors in Labor Legislation], by E. R. Martirosyan, Novosibirsk, 1978 96 pp; "KPSS v Sovetskoy Politicheskoy Sisteme" [The CPSU in the Soviet Political System], by F. F. Petrenko, Moskovskiy Rabochiy, Moscow, 1978, 144 pp; "Gorzhus', Moya Otechestvo!" [My Country, I Am Proud!], by B. S. Ryabinin, Sverdlovsk, 1978, 120 pp; "Sovety i Zhizn'" [The Soviets and Life], by T. S. Sushkov, Sovetskaya Rossiya, Moscow, 1978, 176 pp; "Chem Gord Chelovek" [What Makes a Man Proud], by V. N. Syromyatnikov, Leningrad, 1977, 64 pp; "Konstitutsionnyye Osnovy Politicheskoy Sistemy Sovetskogo Obshchestva" [Constitutional Foundations of the Political System of Soviet Society], by B. Topornin, Moskovskiy Rabochiy, Moscow, 1978, 136 pp; "Sila Trudovogo Kollektiva" [The Strength of the Labor Collective], by L. V. Ulitina, Perm', 1978, 72 pp; "Partiya Rodnaya" [My Party], by B. N. Tsvetkov, Leningrad, 1977, 36 pp; "Shkol'nikam o Novoy Konstitutsii SSSR" [Students on the New USSR Constitution], Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1978, 61 pp]

[Text] Two years have passed since the new USSR Constitution became effective, proving its truly democratic nature and great constructive power. Within that period a large number of works were published promoting the Fundamental Law of our state.

The republic and local book publishers have made a major contribution to this important matter. This is eloquently proved, for example, by the works published by RSFSR publishing houses on the constitution, by now totaling several million copies. We shall consider some of them.

The topic of the country's Fundamental Law is unusually comprehensive. As B. Ryabinin states in his book, "Today we are speaking of the constitution of our state, but in fact we are discussing life as it is, as it lived, as it should be and as it will mandatorily become" (p 16). Hence the broad range of topics covered by such works.

A group of authors from the newspaper IZVESTIYA prepared an artistic-publicistic album entitled "Konstitutsiya Deystvuyet, Zhivet, Rabotayet." It presents the full image of the Soviet citizen raised by the communist party, a person with lofty moral ideals, and active builder of communism. The documents, articles, letters, and photographs contained in the book are a convincing illustration of the fact that the Soviet people are the real maker of their Fundamental Law.

Lenizdat and Moskovskiy Rabochiy have made a substantial contribution to its dissemination through the publication of the publicistic series "Behind the Lines of the USSR Constitution," and "Talks on the USSR Constitution." The books contained within these series describe the most important characteristic features of the country's Fundamental Law and the truly democratic freedoms, rights, and obligations of the citizens it codifies.

The thought of the further perfecting of socialist democracy under developed socialist conditions runs throughout these works. They extensively discuss the foundations of the social and political system of the USSR and the characteristics of our state of the whole people. Thus, the role of the communist party as the leading and guiding nucleus of the political system of the developed socialist society, and the ways and means of party leadership of state and public organizations are described in the books by F. Petrenko, B. Topornin, and B. Tsvetkov. The authors note that the heroic accomplishments, military exploits, and heroic history of the Soviet people are inseparably linked with the activities of the party, which embodies, to use V. I. Lenin's definition, "the mind, honor, and conscience of our age."

The authors describe the steadily rising level of party guidance and improvements in the style of party-political work at all levels. The daily efforts of the CPSU Central Committee, the local party organs, and primary party organizations, are imbued with such concerns. This does not paralyze in the least the initiative of other organizations. Conversely, the party tries to actively encourage their activities and enhance their role in the solution of economic and political problems.

A clear example of this is found in the expanded rights and functions of the soviets of people's deputies. The book by B. Alekseyev and M. Perfil'yev states that in our country there are over 50,000 soviets and

that only working people who are producing all the material and spiritual goods of our society are elected to each of them, starting with a rural soviet to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is proof of true rule by the people.

The collection "Za Vse v Otvete" discusses the new constitutional article on instructions by the voters as one of the manifestations of the truly democratic nature of our system. In accordance with this article the soviets must consider the instructions of the voters and take them into consideration in the formulation of the plans for economic and social development on their territory, drafting the budget, organizing the implementation of instructions, and informing the citizens of this fact. The extent of this work is shown in the data provided on the work of Rostovskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, which in the course of the current convocation alone accepted for consideration 365 instructions given the oblast soviet deputies; over 11,000 were given to all local soviet deputies in the oblast. It is important that over one-half of them have already been carried out.

The factual implementation of the principles of socialist democracy in the activities of the soviets of people's deputies is just as convincingly described in the collection "Zakon Vsey Nashey Zhizni," the book by T. Sushkov, and other publications.

For the first time, the new Fundamental Law defines the role of labor collectives and clearly formulates their tasks and functions. This has become the topic of a number of publications whose authors emphasize the great importance of the constitutional stipulations on the place of labor collectives in social life, while the very fact is considered as one of the outstanding gains of socialism. In her book describing the life of her enterprise, rod-maker Hero of Socialist Labor L. Ulitina speaks of the fruitful influence of engineering and technical personnel and workers on production improvements and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The reader will not remain indifferent to the thoughts of this noted worker on the joys of free labor and the proud feeling of the workers as the rightful masters of their state, and the convergence of the individual interests of the members of the labor collective with those of the entire society.

From the rostrum of the extraordinary seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "We drafted a constitution not for decorative purposes. It must and will be implemented in all its parts. It must and will become a powerful means for the further development and intensification of socialist democracy." This is the main trend followed in works on the constitution. Through their books scientists, writers, party workers, journalists, and specialists in various fields of knowledge are engaged in a very important and necessary dialog with the reader on the chapters and articles of the Fundamental Law, helping him better to clarify their meaning and significance and help in the aspiration to follow the lofty principles and norms of this moral-

political canon of our life. It is also good that books especially aimed at the young readers--the young citizens of the USSR--are being published as well. The books for children and adolescents "Shkol'nikam o Novoy Konstitutsii SSSR," "Slovo o Velikom Zakone," and others are easy to understand.

Let us particularly mention books and articles in anthologies written by leading production workers and kolkhoz members. They share their thoughts on the place of every Soviet person in the ranks of the active fighters for communism and his civic honor and patriotic duty, moral ideals, and great rights and obligations.

In his book, describing the great accomplishments of the Soviet people and the successes of his plant collective, V. Dyukov, planer at the Kaliningrad Railroad Cars Manufacturing Plant, emphasizes that the working person aware of the fact that he works for himself and for the common good, is in the center of all accomplishments. Hero of Socialist Labor M. Chikh, a miner, is the author of an article in the collection "Dlya Schast'ya Tvoyego." He considers that the constitutional stipulation to work conscientiously means the effective utilization of every minute of working time. ". . . This," he writes, "is the duty as workers. And, if you wish, it is also our worker's honor" (p 27). In his pamphlet V. Syromyatnikov, worker at the Reduktor plant, passionately and convincingly describes the life-stance of the Soviet person--innovator, tireless worker, master of the country, possessing great rights and obligations to the people. "Currently," the author notes, "a great deal is being spoken in the Western capitalist countries about human rights and freedoms." However, "what kind of human freedom and rights do we speak about if a person is deprived of the right to work. . . . What kind of right and freedom is this? . . . Personally, I cannot conceive of freedom without free labor. It seems to me that the right to work performed by me not simply as a worker, but as a full owner, is the first and basic human right. This great right, codified by the constitution, has become our norm" (pp 18-19).

The books on the constitution written by workers clearly show the driving theme of their thoughts and patriotic actions. Here, for example, is what T. Vasina, brick layer at the Tyndatransstroy Trust and RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy writes in the collection "Zakon po Kotoromu Schast'ye Prikhodit": "Is there anything better than to feel one's involvement with the great accomplishments of one's time! What could be more important than to develop within oneself the creator, the master who goes into the future made with his own hands! The Soviet Constitution opens all roads to us. . . . I am happy, for my work may be a small yet reliable brick in the building of the first communist society we are constructing" (p 20).

Such books, containing extensive factual data and profound thoughts, call the readers to action and to practical steps for the implementation of constitutional stipulations and principles.

Unfortunately, examples of a different nature could be cited. Some publications precisely fail to describe the way the constitution operates

and has become part of the daily life of the people and an incentive for upgrading their political and labor activity. Another extreme is noticeable as well. Some authors describe in the greatest possible detail the rights of the Soviet citizens without considering them as organically linked with obligations. They do not draw the attention of the reader to the implementation of the constitutional norms of life. Thus, the pamphlet "Rozhdennaya Zhizn'yu" describes the rights of the citizens and the guarantees of such rights and the way they are exercised. However, the civic obligations of the Soviet person are mentioned in passing, scantily and uninterestingly. Such a one-sided approach does not contribute to the readers' profound understanding of the spirit of the constitution or master the essence of its stipulations.

Publications on the constitution are aimed at comprehensively helping the reader not only to properly determine his rights and obligations, but to profoundly master the principles of the Fundamental Law and its theoretical stipulations and related juridical rules so that he could obey the constitutional norms consciously and with conviction. Yet, here is, for example, the book "Zakon po Kotoromu my Zhivem," published by the Vostochno-Sibirskoye Izdatel'stvo as an aid to propagandists. Written in a schematic and pseudo-scientific style, and containing inaccuracies and errors, it adds a great deal of confusion to the clarification of the constitutional stipulations concerning the role of the soviet of people's deputies or of a soviet deputy. Should the reader resolve to understand the nature of the discussions of the authors, he must wade through a thick verbal labyrinth! The following is merely one example: "In the socialist society the responsibility of the individual is based on his high conscientiousness and its measures are of various types and forms. As a whole, it has a both social and governmental (juridical) aspect and, in terms of the extent and methods of implementation, each of them has its characteristics and differences. The moral and political responsibility is of strictly social nature and is expressed in terms of socially or party-wise unseemly actions" (p 95).

Annoying inaccuracies, some of them even in quoting the constitution and other sources, spoil some pamphlets published by the Zapadno-Sibirskoye Izdatel'stvo, particularly "Sem'ya, Obshchestvo i Zakon," and "Sochetaniye Lichnogo i Obshchestvennogo v Trudovom Prave."

Need we prove that popular science literature published for the mass reader carries a major propaganda charge? It is important here for both authors and editors not only to be thoroughly familiar with the topic, but to display the highest possible responsibility for the precise interpretation of each stipulation and word of the Fundamental Law.

The publishing houses are continuing to publish new books on the USSR Constitution. Let us hope that they will reflect even more vividly and completely the comprehensive life of the developed socialist society inspired by the great ideas of the October Revolution.

BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 79 pp 127-128

[Text] "Perepiska V. I. Lenina i Rukovodimyykh im Uchrezhdeniy RSDRP s Partiynymi Organizatsiyami 1905-1907 gg." [Correspondence Between V. I. Lenin and RSDWP Institutions and the Party Organizations in 1905-1907]. Collection of documents in five volumes. Volume I: 22(9) January - March 1905. Book 2, March 1905. Editorial collegium: D. I. Antonyuk et al. Prepared by K. G. Lyashchenko, Ye. D. Orekhova, V. N. Stepanov, and others. Mysl', Moscow, 1979, 372 pages.

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