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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 16, November 1979

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CREATIVITY OF THE MILLIONS

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[Text] When the Soviet state was just undertaking the building of socialism, the creation of a new social system in our country was a daring plan, a great Marxist-Leninist idea which was to be turned into reality. Today this problem of universal-historical significance has been resolved. The comprehensive substantiation of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the power of scientific prediction, based on the only accurate assessment of the role of the toiling masses and the profound faith in their creative genius, were confirmed through practical experience. "Victory will be on the side of the exploited," V. I. Lenin wrote then, "for life, the power of numbers, the power of the masses, the power of the inexhaustible sources of everything that is selfless, idea-minded, honest, rushing forward, awakening to the building of the new, the entire tremendous reserve of energy and talent of the so-called 'simple people,' of the workers and peasants, is for them" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 194).

Under the leadership of the communist party our people built a developed socialist society. A tremendous technical and economic potential was created. The scientific and technical revolution is developing in all economic sectors. The prosperity of the people is growing steadily. Ever more favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual are appearing. The high level of production forces and the maturity of socialist social relations make it possible to pose and successfully resolve problems of tremendous scale, simultaneously in the various sectors in the building of communism.

The developed socialist society is characterized by a striving toward the future, a dynamism, tremendous creative potential, and labor competition whose tremendous constructive energy is channeled by the Leninist party toward the acceleration of socioeconomic progress.

V. I. Lenin considered that one of the most important tasks facing the young Soviet state was the organization of the competition, for he saw in it the means for involving the broad popular masses in the building of socialism and historical creativity. Today competition has become extremely widespread and is truly national. This is one of the main

characteristics of the maturity of socialist social relations. The party members are in its vanguard. It involves the participation of tens of millions of people, and tens of thousands of collectives, which year after year are improving the qualitative and quantitative results of their work, perfecting the organization of the production process, and accelerating scientific and technical progress. Thanks to its increased mass nature the role of the competition today is such that, inseparably combined with the work of every member of the socialist society, it is influencing production forces and production relations and all aspects of social life.

Competitive and creative work has become an inexhaustible source of constructive energy.

The history of many countries has known periods in which fast and considerable changes have taken place in material production, triggering corresponding changes in their socioeconomic system. However, not one of them could even be compared in terms of depth, scale, and tempestuousness with the tremendous socioeconomic changes which have taken place in our country after the Great October Socialist Revolution. This gigantic acceleration of historical progress was determined by radical changes in the nature and content of labor and the enhancement of the role of the toiling man.

The masses play a decisive role in history above all thanks to their participation in public production and in the creation of material and, the more time passes, to an ever greater extent, spiritual goods, without which social life is impossible, and the development of production forces--the foundations of socioeconomic progress. In the capitalist society, however, labor as an expedient activity from the viewpoint of its objectives is limited for the worker to its material, its tangible, side. The purpose of capitalist production is increased growth of value, and increased added value. It can never become the social target of the worker's labor. It is based on the domination of the private ownership of productive capital, the interests of the exploiting class, and the corresponding economic laws. That is why the labor product conflicts with its immediate producer, enslaving him. The uncontrolled effect economic laws displays its blind destructive force in its entirety, as a result of which the development of production forces in the capitalist society occurs through tremendous upheavals--economic crises.

With the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, labor becomes free and acquires a direct social nature. As of that moment, as an expedient human activity, it is consciously guided by the workers themselves toward achieving the social objective fully consistent with their interests: The strengthening and development of socialist ownership relations which free the working people from the oppression of the exploiters; expansion and intensification of relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid; and development of a communist attitude toward labor. Also of permanent significance in the establishment of the communist system is the fact that the social objective of labor under socialism is always not only its material product, but the conscious molding of the new man--the carrier of new social relations.

Thanks to the social objective of labor, the creation and development of socialist, truly collectivistic social relations, and their gradual conversion into communist relations, become its immediate results. The nature of the material objective of labor changes radically as well: the social wealth it creates belongs to the working people and is the material content of socialist ownership relations. Its increase in the course of labor activities leads to the further development and strengthening of the entire system of socialist production relations.

In the socialist society production, distribution, trade, and consumption processes are controlled by the sum total of economic laws whose effect is essentially controlled by society. For the first time in the history of mankind the economic laws of the exploiting society, formerly the terrible rulers of human destinies, acting with the merciless power of blind force, have been replaced by laws which, thanks to the scientific knowledge of their objective nature, have become powerful allies of the people building a new socioeconomic system and improving its inherent social relations. The system of economic laws is determined by the content and direction of the development of socialist production forces and production relations: The main objective of production, the growth of labor productivity, proportionality, full and efficient employment, and determination of the outlays of social production through the amount of socially necessary labor and distribution based on the quantity and quality of labor. The objective is set and means for its accomplishment are found on the basis of the scientific knowledge of each law; proper institutions are created and perfected, whose sum total represents the economic mechanism of the socialist society. These social objectives, sharing the same base, are concretized and become the objectives of the individual.

Approaching the study of labor activities of a collective or individual member of the production process from this viewpoint, we could see how organically it combines material with social objectives. Carrying out its assignment, the production collective focuses its efforts on the further development of socialist labor cooperation, upgrading its productivity, planned and balanced development of production, and efficient utilization of labor, material, and natural resources. At the same time, it strives to strengthen and broaden relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid. It promotes a communist attitude toward labor and involves all its members in active participation in production management and in sociopolitical life. Indicative in this respect are the plans for the social development of collectives, developed and successfully implemented in many enterprises throughout the country.

The organic combination of the material with the social objective gives labor a tremendous social content, converting the labor activities of the broad people's masses into a process of historical creativity. Thanks to the development of the socialist competition, the purpose of social development and of building a new social system is its specific free labor.

The intensification of the political and labor activity of each collective and every member of the socialist society, the profound realization by the

working people of the objectives of the building of communism and the development of their communist outlook, become a prerequisite for the further enhancement of the constructive role of the popular masses. That is precisely why the party is always concerned with steadily upgrading the conscientiousness of the Soviet people. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," concretized, fully in accordance with the decisions of the 25th party congress, the means for the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the organization of education and insuring close unity among the ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing, based on the characteristics of the different groups of working people. At the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, held last October, the party organizations were given the task of extending their influence over the entire mass of people, while at the same time reaching every person individually. A great deal depends on the successful solution of this problem.

The role of the subjective factor in contemporary public production has risen considerably. Control of complex technological processes and of the new highly productive equipment demands of the worker high skills, knowledge, initiative, and conscious discipline. As a result of the gradual specialization of production and its expanded scale, the individual labor contribution becomes an irreplaceable component of the end product in whose creation, frequently, hundreds or thousands of people become involved. The skill, ability, level of conscientiousness, work quality, and full development of the creative potential of every working person, determine the common results of collective efforts. The successful solution of the social and economic problems facing the collective becomes possible only with the active participation of all its members. Therefore, the problem of the ideological-moral upbringing of the working people, the comprehensive development of the individual, and the development in every member of society of an active life-stance and a communist attitude toward labor are most closely combined with the solution of large-scale economic problems. The upbringing of the new man as a creative, spiritually rich, and harmoniously developed personality is a prerequisite for the builder of the new society and the programmatic objective of the communist party. The significance of the socialist competition is found precisely in the fact that, combining political with labor education, it involves the broadest possible population strata in the building of communism.

On the basis of the scientific knowledge of objective economic laws and the study of specific conditions, and taking into consideration the requirements of social development, the party defines economic-policy tasks at each stage of development of our society. Resolving these problems, the competing production collectives and all participants in the competition are engaged in a steady search for means to perfect all aspects of production activities--organizational, technical, social, and economic. Progressive experience is the result of such searches and innovational approaches. This experience is embodied in initiatives. Its practical value has been proved by the labor records set by leading production workers and through the outstanding production successes of enterprises leading in the

socialist competition. The Shchekino method and Orel "non-interruption," individual plans and economy accounts, brigade contracting in construction, industry, and transportation and combined quality brigades, and the Ipatov and Yampol'skiy methods, along with many other initiatives taken up by a number of competing collectives, upgrade the socioeconomic effectiveness of output thanks to the more efficient utilization of resources and the application of progressive management and labor organization methods.

V. I. Lenin considered the possibility to repeat progressive experience one of the most important prerequisites for the organization of the competition. In the course of its guiding activities the party thoroughly studies this experience, sums it up and, on this basis, draws specific conclusions. This is exemplified by the recently passed 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." This decree, based on a profound study of the practice of economic construction in our country, including the experience of leading enterprises in a number of industrial and construction sectors, stipulates a system of measures for the further perfecting of planned economic management, the development of democratic principles in production management, and upgrading the creative initiative of labor collectives. The implementation of such measures will make it possible to considerably upgrade social production effectiveness and, on this basis, insure the steady upsurge of the country's economy and the prosperity of the Soviet people.

At the 16th USSR Trade Unions Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "It is entirely natural that at the present stage the socialist competition is acquiring qualitatively new features, new characteristics. Today the competition is inseparable from the scientific and technical revolution. To an ever greater extent it is focused on effectiveness and quality problems. Its purpose is the achievement of the best possible end economic results. It is most closely linked with the counterplans, which so vividly express the initiative and selfless toil of millions of people."

The strength of the competition today is the richness of its content, variety of ways and means, and striving to resolve the main problem: production intensification. That is precisely why the creativity of the masses and their high labor activeness are having an ever growing influence on the socioeconomic development of society, the further upsurge of production forces, and the perfecting of the entire system of social relations.

Every participant in the production process faces the task of mastering the new equipment within the shortest possible time and to use all its possibilities to obtain the highest possible economic results. This calls for steadily upgrading educational and professional standards and knowledge of technological processes. Many collectives are successfully resolving this problem thanks to the well-organized training offered by progressive experience courses and people's universities, and the spreading of the tutorship movement.

The creative approach to the technical and technical-economic problems of production development plays an ever greater role in mastering the achievements of scientific and technical progress. The activities of scientific and technical councils, in whose work plant innovators are encouraged to participate, are being energized. Public design bureaus, plant laboratories for rationalizers and inventors, and creative cooperation brigades which include engineering and technical personnel and production workers, have been created and are successfully operating. Competition among inventors and rationalizers has extensively developed in the country. In the past 10 years the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers doubled its membership, which has reached presently 10.5 million. The annual economic results from the application of inventions and rationalization suggestions has exceeded 5.8 billion rubles. The movement of innovators is an important social phenomenon in the life of our society. It is precisely on this level that we should consider the improvement of its organization and the creation of conditions for its further development. Involving ever broader toiling strata in technical creativity, the mass movement of rationalizers and inventors itself creates the necessary material prerequisites for this: the activities of plant innovators are focused on replacing manual labor with machines and eliminating heavy, unskilled labor.

Extensive work on comprehensive production mechanization and automation is taking place on the basis of the decisions of the 25th congress. New equipment is being installed and production equipment modernized on a broad scale in enterprises and sectors. By the end of 1978 the number of mechanized assembly and automated lines exceeded 155,000. There were about 80,000 comprehensively mechanized and automated sectors, shops, and production lines. In 1978 675,000 measures related to new equipment were applied. Annual savings reached 4.3 billion rubles and the number of conventionally released workers, 558,000.

Many participants in the socialist competition have energetically joined the struggle for raising the technical standard of output. Great successes were achieved by the collectives of enterprises in the Latvian SSR and Zaporozhskaya, Chelyabinskaya, Kuybyshevskaya, and other oblasts. Here work on comprehensive mechanization and automation has been developed on a broad scale. The attention of plant innovators has been directed toward production sectors lagging in terms of technical standards, and the development and application of effective means for the mechanization of labor-intensive processes. This has raised labor productivity, upgraded economic effectiveness, and released thousands of workers previously engage in heavy physical work. While highly rating the initiative of the collectives and their creative contribution to the solution of an important technical and socioeconomic problem, we should bear in mind that they could have achieved greater successes had the respective ministries organized the mass production of mechanization facilities. This problem must be resolved in the course of the formulation of the comprehensive target program for the reduction of manual labor in the 11th Five-Year Plan, as stipulated by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree.

The intensive development of the national economy and the scientific and technical revolution have given priority to the task of upgrading production quality. The acceleration of the social and economic development of our society depends on its solution. Upgrading production quality will enable us to meet most completely the growing material and cultural requirements of the working people. At the same time, it will make it possible to raise labor productivity, improve working conditions, reduce all kinds of production outlays, and thus reach a high level of socioeconomic effectiveness. The struggle for high quality of output--one of the most important factors in the development of the socialist economy--has now become the main objective of the participants in the competition. Enterprise collectives in a number of industrial sectors have improved their work in this direction and achieved positive results. On 1 October 1979 the state Emblem of Quality had been awarded to 72,900 items (compared with 12,000 in 1975). According to the USSR State Statistical Administration the share of superior quality goods in the overall volume of output in the first half of 1979 was 13.3%; for the country's industry at large the planned assignment for this indicator has been considerably overfulfilled. In 1978 the best results in the competition for increasing the production of such goods were achieved by the collectives of the Moscow Automotive Vehicles Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev, the Volga Association for the Production of Passenger Cars, the Kiev Tochelektropribor Production Association, the Leningrad Instruments Plant, the Onega Tractors Plant, the Uralmash Production Association, and many others.

These collectives owe their successes to the good organization of individual and collective methods of competition for high work quality involving all production subunits and teams. A planned system for the prevention of rejects is in operation. High production standards and labor and technical discipline are maintained. Progressive experience is being extensively disseminated and moral and material incentive methods are used effectively.

The concept of "quality" is comprehensive and dynamic. In order to meet social requirements most completely and adequately, the goods must meet a number of requirements of a social, economic, aesthetic, technological, and ecological nature. Since such requirements are steadily rising, the task of improving quality remains the constant concern of all production collectives.

A method for resolving this problem consistent with present-day conditions was found in the comprehensive quality-control system which was developed at enterprises in L'vov, Yaroslavl', Moscow, and Leningrad. The system covers all stages of the life cycle of the good, ranging from design to use by the consumer, and is a flexible and mobile form of production organization which makes it possible to make full use of the sum total of scientific and technical, production, and socioeconomic factors in steadily upgrading quality. At the beginning of 1979 the system had already been applied by 3,000 industrial enterprises and 30,000 more were preparing to apply it Currently such systems are becoming ever more widespread in a number of economic sectors.

The competing collectives could achieve a considerable level of production effectiveness by organically combining the utilization of the three factors for its enhancement: Growth of labor productivity, improved production quality, and saving of all resources.

Saving and the fullest and most effective utilization of material, manpower, and natural resources are based on the very essence of socialist production and its main objective. The decisions of the 25th congress and the materials of CC CPSU plenums emphasize the importance of the strictest possible economy and thrift as the most important prerequisite for the development of the national economy and for upgrading the prosperity of the people. The advantages of the socialist planned economic system and accelerating scientific and technical progress offer tremendous opportunities for saving considerable material facilities in all units and at all levels. The fullest possible implementation of such possibilities depends, in the final account, on the practical activities of the individual working person and the thrifty and economical attitude toward socialist property. The purpose of the organization of the socialist competition is to develop a feeling of ownership, the ability to save the people's kopecks, and to look for and find means for the multiplication of the people's wealth.

At the present stage in its development the socialist competition has been enriched with a number of new ways and means of struggle for thrift. Every year an all-union public review of effectiveness of utilization of raw materials, materials, and fuel and energy resources is held. In the first three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan its participants have submitted over 11.6 million suggestions. Their use made it possible to save 5.2 million tons of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, about 32.2 billion kilowatt hours of electric power, and many other material resources. A valuable initiative was displayed by the working people of Chelyabinskaya Oblast in the rational utilization of metal. A creative-cooperation contract was concluded among metallurgical workers, workers in industrial enterprises, and scientists. Measures formulated through joint efforts made it possible to save hundreds of thousands of tons of metal. A number of examples could be cited of new forms of competition for economy. Their characteristic is that the reduction of material outlays is achieved by improving technological processes and the organization of labor, developing cost accounting, applying economic analysis of production processes and operations, and reducing production costs. The strict observance of technological discipline, reduction and utilization of waste, choice of optimum work regimens for the equipment and machine tools, and diminution of losses caused by faulty goods, are all, as the practice of leading collectives has confirmed, capable of amounting to a tremendous saving of funds and thus substantially upgrading economic results.

The merit of the leading collectives is that, involving all participants in the competition in the search for reserves, they apply new progressive norms for resource outlays and achieve considerable savings and produce additional goods. This experience, disseminated in the enterprises of Moscow and Moscow Oblast, and in Sverdlovskaya, Chelyabinskaya, and other

oblasts deserves comprehensive support. Let us point out that in some sectors enterprises considerably outstrip the norms of utilization of material resources. Waste of ferrous metals remains high. Thus, for example, ferrous metal waste in metal processing accounted for 32% for the Ministry of Automotive Industry, and 33% for the Ministry of Electrical-Equipment Industry. The situation is no better at the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, Ministry of Machine-Tool and Tool Building Industry, and Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, where waste accounts for 27 to 31% of ferrous metals used. In the elaboration of a comprehensive target program for metal and fuel savings we must make comprehensive use of the experience of the leading enterprises working on the basis of progressive norms of outlays of material resources.

The role of the labor collective--the primary cell of our social organism--rises immeasurably under the condition of a mature socialist society. The systematic implementation of the principle of democratic centralism is expressed through the labor activity of the collective and the organic unity between the plan and the competition is obtained.

The formulation of the state plan begins from below, at the production associations (enterprises) and organizations. As emphasized in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism, production associations (enterprises) and organizations formulate their counterplans which outstip the assignments of the five-year plan for the specific year on the basis of the development of socialist competition and the utilization of internal reserves. According to the decree counterplans adopted on the initiative of production collectives and correlated with material resources are included in the annual plans.

Counterplans--one of the great traditions in socialist competition, developed during the first five-year plans--have now acquired a new meaning. The main task is to upgrade the economic effectiveness of output on the basis of the determination and rational utilization of all resources and the increase of quality indicators. Counterplanning organically combines the interests of the individual worker and collective with those of the entire society. Thanks to the participation of all members of the collective in such counterplanning the democratic foundations of planning are broadened, as a result of which the state plan for economic and social development takes more completely into consideration possibilities for economic growth. At the same time, the inclusion of counterplans containing higher pledges within the annual plans insures all the necessary conditions for the development of production and for the fruitful work of the entire collective.

Currently a number of enterprises are completing the formulation of their counterplans for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan and establishing the levels to be reached in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Thousands of enterprises are successfully coping with their obligations. Some of the best include the Moscow Plant for Electric Vacuum Instruments, the Kiev Polimer

Production Association, the Gidroprivod plant in Gomel', the Krasnyy Aksay Production Association in Rostov, the tires plant in Dnepropetrovsk, the Bol'shevik Yarns Combine in Rodniki, and many others. The collective of the head enterprise of the Stankostroitel'nyy Zavod imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze Production Association in Moscow achieved excellent production results thanks to the elaboration and implementation of counterplans. According to the five-year plan its 1979 volume of output should have been 41.8% higher than in 1975; it was to be 44.4% according to the counterplan. In fact, the 1979 growth will be about 58%. The plan called for raising the share of goods awarded the state Emblem of Quality to 45%; currently the figure has reached 51%. The new counterplan formulated by the collective calls for raising the 1980 output 68% compared with 1975. The entire increase will be the result of higher labor productivity.

In the course of the socialist competition counterplanning has been organically linked with the movement of the production collectives who called for "Working Without Laggards." This valuable patriotic initiative launched by the enterprises of Gor'kiy and Rostov has acquired great national economic importance. The primary duty of every labor collective is to fulfill its obligations to society and the state and to strictly observe planning discipline. Bearing this in mind, the working people of Rostovskaya Oblast set themselves the task of working without a single lagging collective and seeing to it that all enterprises fulfill the basic technical and economic indicators of their plans. Under the guidance of the oblast party organization a set of measures were drafted and implemented. Particular attention was paid to upgrading the level of ideological-educational work, cadre training, and increasing the responsibility of every member of the collective for the fulfillment of planned assignments. Control was intensified. Its function was to determine reasons for lagging and to prevent on time any possible violation of the rhythm of the production process. With a view to helping the lagging enterprises a number of organizational measures were implemented. The results are known: in 1977 and 1978 no single enterprise in the oblast failed to fulfill its plan for production marketing (at the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the share of such enterprises had reached 14% and there was a shortage of goods worth tens of millions of rubles). In the first nine months of 1979 only five enterprises, or less than 1%, failed to fulfill the oblast's production marketing plan. Currently only two enterprises have not fulfilled their plans for the growth of labor productivity (20% of all enterprises in 1972); the number of enterprises which had fallen behind in the production of goods based on stipulated nomenclature was reduced by a factor of almost 18.

The competition is developing in depth and is directed toward the upgrading of quality indicators. The collectives have been given the assignment of fulfilling and overfulfilling not only the annual plans, but, taking into consideration the still extant practice of "amending" them downward, the control assignments of the five-year plan as well. Furthermore, summing up the results of the competition among collectives, now the fulfillment of the plan will be estimated not on the basis of four, but eight indicators, including contractual obligations, production costs, profit, and superior-quality output.

The experiment of the Rostov people was rated highly. Addressing the November 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "We need the lively interest of every working person and of each labor collective in improving the work. We do not need farfetched 'initiatives.' We need effective initiatives, truly stemming from the thick of the masses, capable of firing and inspiring millions of people. One of them is to work without laggards. It is precisely such initiatives that must be disseminated."

The task of working without laggards is of major importance in agriculture. Due to the fact that economically weak farms have considerable unused resources, the elimination of the lagging could insure considerable increases in farm output. Hero of Socialist Labor G. I. Sonin, chairman of the Rossiya Kolkhoz, Kozel'skiy Rayon, Kaluzhskaya Oblast, a kolkhoz movement veteran, addressed an appeal to the farm workers to organize the competition under the slogan of "Working Without Laggards, with Stressed Plans!" Lagging could be surmounted within a relatively short time if the leading farms would provide practical assistance to the economically weak ones. On the initiative of the Rossiya Kolkhoz, which undertook to sponsor two kolkhozes, cooperation and mutual aid contracts were concluded between the collectives of the leading and lagging farms. Higher socialist pledges were taken. Competition developed among groups of farms whose winners are established on the basis of overall group results. Naturally, the adverse weather conditions this year could not fail to influence the results of the rayon's work. Nevertheless, the competition which developed laid the foundations for high crops next year. A set of measures was planned and is being implemented, aimed at insuring the growth of the economic effectiveness of all farms. The initiative of the working people of Kozel'skiy Rayon was positively rated in the decree of the All-Russian Council of Kolkhozes, which supported it and resolved to disseminate it extensively. Today all agricultural workers of Kaluzhskaya Oblast are entering the competition under that slogan.

Characteristic of the mature socialist society is a qualitatively new level of relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid. This is exemplified by the competition among related enterprises--an intersectorial method of competition among enterprises linked through a common production-technological cycle in the manufacturing of the end product. This form of labor competitiveness involves currently thousands of collectives in industry, construction, transportation, and agriculture. It includes workers in scientific research institutes and planning-design organizations. The competition among related enterprises has been extended within enterprises and production associations as well--among brigades, sectors, shops, and production lines. Even though each collective participating in the competition has its own production assignment, all of them are united by common objectives. The efficient work of the related units--suppliers and consumers--is a necessary prerequisite for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan by each enterprise. That is why the cooperation contracts include a set of measures which upgrade work effectiveness and quality: The installation of new equipment; acceleration of the commissioning of equipment or a project; formulation and precise implementation of schedules

for the deliveries of parts, assemblies, and complementing goods, taking into consideration above-plan obligations; improved quality and expanded variety of delivered goods; and strict observance of contractual obligations.

All this is having a beneficial influence on the work of the competing enterprises. It strengthens production relations among them and insures clear coordination between counterplans and socialist pledges.

The powerful booster which the new form of competition has become today may be seen by taking the "Workers' Relay Race" as an example. The completion on time and ahead of time of the Sayano-Shushen GES, the Nurek GES, the projects along the Baykal-Amur Main Line, the first section of Atommash, and many other construction projects was achieved thanks to the effective participation of hundreds and thousands of collectives in the Workers' Relay Race, which enriched the experience of the socialist competition and will be further developed in the implementation of most important national economic programs.

At the present level of development of production forces the intersectorial form of competition among labor collectives is assuming an exceptionally important social and economic significance. It is becoming one of the decisive factors in the expansion and consolidation of socialist labor cooperation and the further growth of production socialization. The importance of this competition method lies in its tremendous scale, in the fact that, uniting under a common production objective tens and hundreds of thousands of people, it makes tangible and visual the immediate social nature of the work and guides the collectives toward improving end economic results.

Guided by Lenin's instructions, the communist party has always ascribed tremendous importance to improving the organization of the competition in the development of the creative initiative of the toiling masses and in political education. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" makes it incumbent upon party and other organizations comprehensively to develop the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. It leads toward the fullest possible utilization of the educational possibilities offered by progressive experience, labor rivalry, and progressive methods of labor organization. It emphasizes the need for promptly and extensively informing the working people on the course of the competition and mandatorily taking into consideration, in summing up its results, not only production indicators, but the ideological-moral condition of the collective.

The tremendous usefulness of the competition in any type of labor activity is unquestionable. It comprehensively energizes it. It contributes to the just assessment of the moral and business qualities of every worker. Specific and real situations in which labor competitiveness is manifested have nothing in common with an atmosphere of tolerance, lack of conflict,

or bureaucratic idyll. The competition includes not only the winners, but the losers as well. In the course of its development, not only achievements, but shortcomings are revealed. Victory in the competition is always hard to achieve. However, this precisely is the motive force of creative competitiveness, its ability to trigger energy and initiative. It does not have accomplishments which cannot be outstripped. The very spirit of labor rivalry forces an intolerance toward routine and shortcomings.

In the socialist society the labor activity of every person is directed toward achieving the main objective of socialist production: the fullest possible satisfaction of the growing material and cultural needs of the working people. For this reason a spirit of individualism is alien to the moral atmosphere of the socialist competition. The ethics of the competition do not allow harming the dignity of the individual in the course of the comradely struggle for championship. Nor does it allow any manifestations of carreerism and the use of circuitous and dishonest methods leading to success.

The only way which insures the reaching of high results in a truly socialist labor competition and the gaining of social recognition is to work to the fullest extent of one's capabilities, show initiative, work impeccably, and always strive to reach high mastery.

This is the great attractive power of the competition and the secret of its mass nature and ability to creatively enrich the labor activities of millions of people.

5003
CSO: 1802

L. I. BREZHNEV'S ANSWERS TO A QUESTION BY A 'PRAVDA' CORRESPONDENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 79 p 15

[Text] [Question] Speaking on 6 November 1979 in Berlin, you declared the readiness of the Soviet Union to reduce the number of nuclear arms of intermediate range deployed in the western areas of the USSR compared to the present level, providing that no additional such weapons are deployed in Western Europe. In your opinion, how could the practical solution of this problem be undertaken?

[Answer] Our proposal, formulated in the Berlin speech, aims at moving ahead the solution of an entire set of problems of military detente and limitation of armaments on the European Continent. The initial reaction to this suggestion indicates that it has been properly understood by anyone who cherishes peace and security in Europe. At the same time, naturally, it was not liked by those who would like to promote a further spiraling of the arms race on the European Continent, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons of intermediate range.

As to the practical solution of the question of this weapon, the only way is the initiation of talks. The Soviet Union believes that this should be undertaken without delay. We are ready for this. The Western countries now have the floor. It is important, however, not to launch hasty actions which could complicate the circumstances and hinder the reaching of positive results. Chances for such results would increase providing that no decisions on the production and deployment of such means in Western Europe are made before the outcome of the talks. Conversely, such chances would be undermined should NATO make such decisions.

One other thing should be mentioned as well.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members have suggested to all countries who are members of the European Conference to abandon being first to use against each other either nuclear or non-nuclear weapons. We have not as yet received an answer to this proposal. I would like to re-emphasize most seriously, however, that even now the Soviet Union will not undertake to use nuclear weapons against countries which refuse to produce and acquire such weapons or deploy them on their territories. We would be ready to codify a corresponding obligation with any interested country.

5003
CSO: 1802

SOVIET FINANCES AS A FACTOR IN RAISING PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY AND WORK QUALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 79 pp 16-28

[Article by V. Garbuzov, USSR minister of finance]

[Text] At all stages in the building of socialism and communism the Communist Party and Soviet Government have paid tireless attention to problems of perfecting the planned management of the national economy as an important link in the successful implementation of the economic and social tasks in the development of our society.

At the present stage--the stage of mature socialism, when a powerful production and scientific and technical potential has been created and when the main task of the economic strategy of the party, upgrading the material and cultural living standards of the Soviet people, is being systematically resolved--such problems have become particularly important.

The main directions for improving the management of economic development were stipulated in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, CC CPSU plenums and USSR Constitution, and the addresses of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. On the basis of these stipulations the CPSU Central Committee drafted and passed the decree "On Improving Further the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs," and the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality."

These documents represent a new important stage in the advancement of the Soviet planned economic system. They provide an expanded comprehensive program for improving centralized management and developing democratic principles in economic management, upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments, and developing further cost accounting and economic incentive.

The measures aimed at improving the economic mechanism are based on the continuity of applied and practically proved ways and means of management, stipulating their further development and increased effectiveness. At the same time, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree contains a

number of important new measures and a new approach to the solution of many ripe management problems. In the elaboration of these measures the existing trends in economic management were profoundly analyzed and summed up; the results of major economic experiments conducted over a number of years in individual sectors and parts of the country, enterprises, and industrial and construction associations were taken into consideration.

Problems of perfecting planning as the main tool for the implementation of the party's economic policy hold a central position in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree. The improvement of planning should be insured on the basis of the choice of the most effective means for achieving high national-economic end results, rationally combining long-term, five-year, and current plans and sectorial with territorial planning, perfecting intersectorial and intrasectorial ratios, and forming the material and financial reserves needed for a balanced economic development.

The level of long-term planning must be upgraded substantially. The five-year plan (broken down into annual assignments) must be enhanced substantially as the main form of management and organization of economic activities of enterprises, associations, and ministries. The five-year plan must be drafted on the basis of a broad system of material, labor, and financial balances, economic and engineering computations, and progressive norms and standards governing the utilization of resources. It must be stressed yet realistic.

The system of indicators in the five-year and annual plans applying to ministries and enterprises will be subjected to considerable changes aimed at intensifying their orientation toward improving the quality results of the work and upgrading production effectiveness. To this effect production nomenclature included in the plan is broadened, while at the same time the responsibility of enterprises is increased in fulfilling their obligations for deliveries in accordance with concluded contracts. A conversion is made to planning production growth rates on the basis of net (normative) output whose purpose is to characterize more accurately the results of the work of labor collectives and their factual contribution to increasing the country's national income. The role of long-term economic norms is enhanced considerably within the planned assignments.

The measures aimed at improving national economic planning, stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, create a reliable base for improving and developing all links in economic management. This applies to an important link such as finance.

Along with other economic levers, Soviet finances play a noteworthy role in the process of planned economic management, in stimulating the growth of output, and insuring the necessary control over the rational utilization of labor, material, and monetary resources.

Considerable changes in the formation and utilization of the financial resources of the state have taken place following the March and September

(1965) CC CPSU plenums and the 23d party congress, which laid the beginning of the implementation of important measures in the field of improving economic management. Above all, as a result of the increased scale of output and its greater effectiveness and the growth of the country's national income, their volume has increased substantially. Compared with the 8th Five-Year Plan, in the 10th Five-Year Plan it will be higher by a factor of 2.2.

The increase of the state's financial resources was paralleled by quality changes in their structure. The share of profits rose considerably in financial resources as a result of the growth of labor productivity, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and lowered production costs: its share in the overall volume is 33% today as against 27.5% in 1961-1965. The volume of amortization withholdings has also risen substantially on the basis of the considerable growth of productive capital. At the beginning of 1979 it totaled 63.2 billion rubles, as against 18.8 billion in 1965. Income from foreign trade rose. This proves the further intensification of economic cooperation among socialist countries and the development of mutually profitable trade with capitalist and developing countries.

The ratios and forms of distribution of resources, profits in the first place, between the economy and the budget have changed substantially. Whereas in 1965 30% of all profits were left at the disposal of enterprises and state and economic organizations, 43% were left in 1978. These funds were used to finance planned outlays for expanded reproduction and for economic incentive funds.

The expanded rights and economic independence of enterprises in the utilization of fund accumulations took place while retaining the leading role of the state budget, through which today over 60% of the country's national income is redistributed. Between 1965 and 1978 state budget revenues rose by a 2.6 factor. Budget outlays for financing the national economy rose from 44.9 to 141.3 billion rubles, or more than tripled; outlays for sociocultural purposes rose from 38.2 to 89.1 billion, or by a 2.3 factor.

All these changes in the mobilization, distribution, and utilization of state financial resources insured the uninterrupted financing of economic and social measures as stipulated in the five-year plans, and helped to upgrade social production effectiveness and the development of cost accounting of enterprises and associations.

However, in the light of the requirements and tasks of the contemporary stage of the country's development and the increased role of intensive factors of economic growth, the need to insure the further perfecting of the system of financial relations within the national economy has become ripe. As an inseparable part of the system of planned economic management, the financial mechanism must influence to a greater extent the mobilization of intra-economic reserves. It must direct ministries, associations, and enterprises toward a more efficient utilization of available resources and

the achievement of high national-economic end results of their work. That is why the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism pays great attention to measures aimed at improving the planning of financial resources, the procedure for the distribution of profits and payments within the budget, the formation and utilization of economic incentive funds, and the intensified influence of financial and credit levers on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. Their main purpose and general direction is to insure the further development of the centralized principles in financial management, while at the same time expanding the economic rights of enterprises, associations, and ministries in the utilization of financial resources. This would make it possible to intensify their economic incentive to reach high production indicators and raise their responsibility for achieving them. It should be pointed out that along with the decree on improving the economic mechanism, the USSR Council of Ministers passed a special decree "On Additionally Broadening the Rights of USSR Ministries and Departments and Transfering to the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics the Right to Resolve Some Economic Construction Problems." The decree stipulates a number of additional measures contributing to the development of the initiative of economic organs, both centrally and locally.

Financial planning is a structural component in planning the economic and social development of the country. The accuracy with which the financial resources of the state are allocated and the completeness with which they are formed and the plans for financing economic and social programs are implemented, largely determines success in implementing the social, economic, and scientific and technical assignments they contain.

The role of long-term financial plans and balances, above all the coordinated financial balance of the state, is increased. Starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, it will be drafted as part of the five-year state plan for the country's economic and social development. It will reflect the financial program of the state for the five-year plan, with an annual breakdown and with singling out the main sources for financial resources and directions in their utilization, as well as the formation of the necessary financial reserves. This will make it possible to insure a closer interconnection between material and value ratios and upgrade the substantiation of the five-year-plan assignments.

In order to insure the more precise substantiation of the overall amounts of financial resources and the basic directions in their utilization in the forthcoming five-year period, combined computations will be made (for basic indicators) of USSR state budget revenues and expenditures for the five-year period, with an annual breakdown. At the same time, computations (again for the five-year period with annual breakdowns) will be made for long-term and short-term loans, and a balance of population income and expenditures will be drafted. All this will make it possible to upgrade the quality level of long-term coordinated financial planning and substantiation of plans for the economic and social development of the country at large.

In connection with the increased role of the five-year plan as the main form of planning and as a base for the organization of economic activities, and in order to increase the significance of long-term economic norms in planning, the need arises to formulate five-year financial plans on the level of ministries, associations, and enterprises. In practical terms, this is the first time that such complete plans will be drafted. Their purpose will be to raise the level of financial management of enterprises and sectors, and will be a prerequisite for the extensive application of long-term economic norms, including those governing the distribution of profits and the allocation of a single fund for the development of science and technology, along with economic incentive funds.

The comprehensive approach to the improvement of long-term financial planning, which encompasses all aspects of financial relations within the national economy, and the inclusion of stipulated measures at all management levels, creates the necessary prerequisites for the profound substantiation of the government's financial program and its close link with the five-year-plan assignments. All this will contribute to upgrading the role of long-term plans for USSR economic and social development and their successful implementation.

Improvements in financial planning also largely depend on the structure and nature of the approved plan indicators. In this case profits play an important role. Assignments dealing with the overall amount of profits will be included in the five-year plans (with annual breakdowns) of enterprises, associations, and industrial ministries. In individual sectors, instead of profits, assignments will be formulated on lowering production costs. This should increase the responsibility of all management levels for the substantiated elaboration of assignments on the growth of profits and on reducing production costs.

One of the distinguishing features of the measures stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree is insuring the comprehensive influence of planning and economic levers on the development of production and upgrading its effectiveness. For this reason measures aimed at improving financial planning are combined with the further intensification of the role of financial levers and with upgrading their effectiveness and purposefulness.

The decree calls for a conversion to the normative procedure for profit distribution. This means that, starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, on the basis of their level of readiness and of assignments included in the five-year plan, the industrial ministries will be issued fixed norms of profit withholdings (with annual differentiations) left at their disposal. From such funds they must finance capital investments, repay bank loans, pay interest, insure the growth of working capital, set up a single fund for the development of science and technology and economic incentive funds, and carry out other planned assignments for the development of the sector. The ministries have been granted the right to set up corresponding withholding norms for profits shown by industrial associations, production associations, and big enterprises, based on their characteristics and level of profitability.

The normative procedure for profit distribution has been applied for many years by the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems. It guarantees to increase the resources left at the disposal of the sector on the basis of the improved results of its activities, with a parallel growth of profit withholdings for the state budget. It expands the rights of ministries and associations in handling resources. In 1977-1978 several other industrial ministries--Ministry of Heavy Machine Building, Ministry of Power Machine Building, and Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building--were converted to the normative procedure for profit distribution.

Yet, as practical experience has proved, the effectiveness of the norms is greatly reduced by violations of plan stability and frequent changes in wholesale prices of goods. The annual review of wholesale prices leads to changes in the value indicators of the plan, profits in particular, thus requiring refinements in the distribution norms as stipulated in the plan. For this reason the long-term nature of economic norms, which insures the stability of wholesale prices for the five-year period, is a major prerequisite for the preservation of the long-term nature of economic norms. This task is included in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, and its practical implementation is important.

A conversion to the normative distribution of profits increases the dependence between resources left at the disposal of ministries, associations, and enterprises, and the results of their work. This is more consistent with the principles of cost accounting. However, it is important not only to increase the level of interest, but also the responsibility of ministries, associations, and enterprises for the results of their activities and the fulfillment of their planned assignments and obligations to the state budget, as well as insure stable income for the uninterrupted financing of measures stipulated in the state plan for the country's economic and social development.

The solution of this problem under the new conditions is insured by a number of measures. One of them is including within the five-year plans along with norms, an absolute amount of withholdings from profits for the state budget, guaranteed by the ministries. If in any given year within the five-year plan the profits plan has not been fulfilled, payments to the budget for that year must be made in the full amount by respectively reducing the amount of profit left at the disposal of the enterprise. Such a procedure of relations with the state budget will demand of the ministries, associations, and enterprises a higher level of economic management, improved organization of planning and financing, active work by all economic services, and operative decision making on finding additional intra-economic resources by lowering production costs and eliminating unproductive outlays and losses.

A conversion to a new procedure for profit distribution does not mean, however, that the amount of capital investments in industrial sectors will be made dependent on the size of the profit or other internal resources.

Such an approach could hinder the purposeful improvement of social production ratios, the accelerated development of some sectors and production facilities, and the implementation of comprehensive target programs. One of the advantages of the socialist economic system is the possibility for a centralized planned redistribution of resources. That is why even with cost-accounting management methods, should enterprise sources for the financing of capital investments by industrial project be inadequate, the five-year plans of ministries, associations, and enterprises will stipulate the use of bank loans and, if necessary, state budget funds.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree calls for further improvements of the current financial levers and incentives with a view to the more effective utilization of material, manpower, and natural resources.

At the end of 1978 basic productive capital in industry totaled 479 billion rubles, while working assets in stocks of commodity-material values exceeded 101 billion. Under such circumstances it is important to motivate the associations and enterprises to make more efficient use of the assets channeled into the growth of productive capital and reserves, and to promote greater returns per invested ruble.

Payments for assets must play a definite role in the solution of this problem. Currently payments for assets are one of the biggest payments to the budget. Their share in the overall state revenues exceeds 10%, and in payments from profits, one-third. However, the potential possibilities of this type of payment are still inadequately used. In a number of sectors payment norms are relatively low, averaging 3%. Yet, a considerable share of the productive capital has been freed from such payments. No payments are made for the assets of enterprises showing low profit or operating on a planned loss basis. As a result, in industry alone about 20% and, in some ministries, most, capital assets are free from such payments.

Increasing the stimulative role of payments for assets may be insured by setting, as a rule, the rates at the 6% level and shortening the list of productive capital subject to preferential treatment. Naturally, this can be achieved only by taking into consideration the level of profitability of the individual industrial sectors.

In accordance with the new procedure payments for above-norm and non-credited stocks of material values and uninstalled equipment will come from profits left at the disposal of associations and enterprises. This will intensify their interest in lowering the amounts of such stocks and of uninstalled equipment, which are quite substantial today in a number of sectors. At the same time, enterprises and associations are given the right to keep for their own use savings obtained as a result of the fulfillment of their production and profit plans with assets of a lesser value than stipulated in the plan.

Under such conditions requirements concerning the accuracy with which planned requirements for productive capital are determined along with the

norms governing enterprise working capital are raised considerably. Of late many ministries have weakened their work in this important sector and failed to pay the necessary attention to the acceleration of the turnover of working capital, to insure its preservation, improve norming, and involve in economic circulation above norm surpluses of material values.

Before the end of the current five-year plan the industrial ministries must formulate and, in coordination with the USSR Ministry of Finance, approve economically substantiated norms for working capital for production associations and enterprises. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the amounts of their working capital must become consistent with such norms. If necessary, such norms may be replaced with bank loans. It is important to organize all this work in such a way as to insure the rational and effective utilization of material values, accelerate their turnover through production equipment and technological improvements, reduce amounts of finished goods stored in warehouses, and insure the rhythmical work of supply and marketing services.

Under production intensification conditions problems of the rational utilization of water, land, and other natural resources, and environmental protection are assuming ever greater importance. In accordance with the USSR Constitution and the decisions of the party and the government, extensive work is being done in this direction. As we know, the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a number of legislative acts calling for the rational utilization of the land fund, the ground, and the ground and water and timber resources. An extensive program of measures for environmental protection and for the rational utilization and reproduction of natural resources is being implemented in accordance with the"Basic Directions for the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980," passed at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree calls for upgrading the economic incentive and material responsibility of enterprises for the better utilization of natural resources. To this effect, in particular, enterprises will pay for the use of water taken from the water resource system. Such payments, to be included in production costs, have increased the attention paid to the economical utilization of water. This is particularly important in the case of water-intensive production facilities. Available experience in the use of such a financial lever has confirmed the expediency of broadening its realm of application.

Measures are also being adopted to encourage the rational utilization of the land. Starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, the economic evaluation of the land assigned for construction purposes must be taken into consideration in the technical and economic substantiations for the construction of industrial projects. Such a procedure will contribute to the choice of designs offering the lowest construction cost estimates and the rational assignment of the land in the building of enterprises. The creation of normal economic conditions for the reproduction and preservation of the country's timber resources will contribute to raising payments per stump in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Withholdings from enterprises in the extracting

sectors will also be increased so that state expenditures for geological prospecting may be taken more fully into consideration.

At the present time, as we know, the stress of supplying personnel to the national economy has increased. This problem was thoroughly considered at the 25th CPSU Congress, which earmarked means for its solution through the more efficient utilization of available manpower and increased labor productivity, based on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The solution of this problem will also be facilitated by the system of economic measures stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree. This includes, in particular, the introduction of ceilings on the number of workers and employees in ministries, associations, and enterprises, a conversion to normative wage planning, and linking more closely the assessment of activities and the material incentive fund with the growth rates of labor productivity.

Raising current withholding rates for social insurance also contributes to improving the utilization of the available manpower. The rates were set many years ago and today no longer reflect the factual outlays for its reproduction. At the present level, the rates, which in some industrial sectors range from 4.7 to 9.0% of the wage fund, make it necessary to cover a considerable percentage of social insurance expenditures with state budget funds. Raising the rates of state social insurance will secure the fuller compensation for outlays for the reproduction of manpower resources. This is important in a scientific price-setting system and for the accurate determination of the economic effect of the installation of new equipment and the intensification of incentives for the rational utilization of cadres.

Resolving problems of the further development of social production and its intensification, the Soviet government actively uses a powerful lever such as production economic incentive. We are well familiar with the important role which the establishment of economic incentive funds played in improving enterprise work, funds such as material incentive, sociocultural measures and housing contruction, and production development. Over the past five years their amounts have been raised considerably. In 1978 they totaled 27 billion rubles, 12 billion of which went to the material incentive fund.

Yet, we should acknowledge that the system of economic incentive is not as yet fully oriented toward the achievement of high national-economic end results by enterprise collectives and individual workers, and does not sufficiently influence production intensification.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree earmarks important measures to improve the entire economic incentive system. Assessing the results of economic activities of associations and their incentive, the fulfillment of plans for the deliveries of goods in accordance with contracts and of assignments for upgrading production effectiveness will be the first to be taken into consideration. The material incentive fund will

be related to quality indicators such as the growth of labor productivity and the production of superior category goods. For a number of sectors the use of other fund-forming indicators will be allowed, such as, for example, saving on material resources, upgrading capital returns and the shift coefficient and the level of profitability, and lowering production costs. From the viewpoint of the effectiveness of the incentive system, also very important is for the production associations and enterprises which considerably increase their output of new and consumer goods, and their adoption and implementation of counterplans, would be governed by higher norms.

Enterprises and associations are given extensive rights in the utilization of economic incentive funds. Specific measures implemented out of such funds will be decided by the production associations (enterprises) and organizations independently. The role of the labor collectives has been increased in resolving problems of using the assets of such funds.

The decree pays great attention to problems of stimulating scientific and technical progress and insuring the more extensive utilization of its achievements in the national economy as the main prerequisite for production intensification.

The accelerated pace of scientific and technical progress is related to involving the use of a growing volume of financial resources. In 1979 20 billion rubles were appropriated for the development of science, compared with 6.9 billion in 1965. Considerable funds are also being appropriated for the compensation of additional enterprise outlays related to mastering the use of new equipment. In order to concentrate resources along the main directions of scientific research and to master new equipment, and to upgrade the responsibility of industrial ministries for their utilization, the decree calls for replacing the current procedure of financing, based on a number of appropriation sources, with a single fund for the development of science and technology. It will be set up by the ministries from planned profit withholdings according to norms based on net output percentages (normative) and, in some sectors, based on marketed goods.

The ministries will use the funds from the single fund to finance scientific research, experimental design, and technological projects, and for compensating for outlays related to the development and mastering of new types of goods and technological processes, the application of a scientific organization of labor, and compensation for additional outlays for improved production quality and increased outlays in the first years of production of a new commodity. In carrying out particularly important scientific research projects involving substantial outlays, along with the assets of the single fund for the development of science and technology, state budget funds will be used as well. The experience gained in the formation and utilization of the single fund for the development of science and technology in a number of ministries, the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry above all, proves its effectiveness.

A gradual conversion will be made by scientific research, planning-design, and technological organizations to a system of computations for fully completed projects accepted by the customers. This procedure will increase the responsibility of scientific organizations for the prompt completion of the work and will be an incentive for upgrading its effectiveness.

The technical level of output and level of satisfaction of the requirements of the national economy are inseparably linked with the problem of production quality. From this viewpoint the practice of markups to wholesale prices for highly effective goods and superior category items has been fully justified. The overall amount of additional profits obtained by the manufacturers sellings goods awarded the Emblem of Quality has risen noticeably in recent years. The right to use up to 70% of such markups for economic incentive purposes, granted the enterprises, intensified their interest in producing highly effective goods and superior quality items. Currently there are over 70,000 industrial goods bearing this emblem. In a number of enterprises the additional profits earned as a result of supplements to wholesale prices represent a considerable share of withholdings for their material incentive fund, ranging from 25 to 45%.

The decree stipulates a further increase of the incentive which such price markups provide. In particular, henceforth, higher bonus markups will be applied to wholesale prices of new, highly effective goods for industrial use, whose parameters are consistent with the best domestic and foreign models, ranging from 0.5 to 1.25 of the profitability norm adopted in setting the wholesale prices of the specific commodity.

The mechanism for the distribution of additional profits obtained from such markups has been changed somewhat. Up to 70% of its total will be channeled, as in the past, into the economic incentive funds of production associations (enterprises) and organizations. The balance will be equally divided between the single science and technology development fund and the state budget. Stricter economic penalties will be applied to enterprises and associations which are slow in renovating their goods and fail to upgrade their technical standards. Discounts from wholesale prices totaling 50% of the amount of profits earned will be applied for second quality goods, i.e., for morally obsolete goods. Following the lapse of the time for the termination of their production, all profits earned from such goods will be withheld. However, such goods will be marketed at no discount prices, so that it will be unprofitable to the consumer.

The effect of an economic lever such as fixed payments is also aimed at accelerating the process of production renovation. The practice of its application to highly profitable industrial commodities produced over long periods of time will be expanded.

Measures in the field of price setting are scheduled to play a major role in insuring the rational utilization of material resources. To this effect, in processing industrial sectors the profitability of some goods may be determined in a new way: not as a ratio of profit to total

production costs, but after subtracting the cost of the used raw materials, fuel, energy, materials, semi-finished goods and complementing goods. With such an approach the increased incentive of enterprises to produce material intensive goods will decline.

Another contributing factor here will be that in replacing expensive materials with less expensive ones without lowering the quality of the items produced, wholesale prices will remain unchanged for the balance of the five-year plan. Enterprises which lower material outlays will obtain an additional source for profit. The procedure governing the price setting of new items with a lowered material intensiveness, compared with already produced goods, will also be of stimulating importance. In this case wholesale prices will be established in such a way as to retain the profit which the manufacturer would earn from the marketing of the replaced product. It is important that in this case, in order to determine the volumes of output and labor productivity until the end of the five-year plan, the wholesale prices used in the plan for the previously produced goods will apply.

Said changes in the price-setting system will become part of wider measures in the field of wholesale prices to be implemented in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The current system of wholesale prices and rates, whose foundations were laid in 1967, is no longer consistent with the conditions governing the production and marketing of goods as they exist today. It does not reflect changes in the structure of industrial output and location of production forces which have taken place following the latest wholesale price revision. As a result of the increased share of the eastern and northern parts of the country in the extraction of fuel and raw materials, their production outlays have risen as well. At the same time, in the previously developed areas, as a result of the worsening of mining-geological conditions, production costs have risen and profitability has declined. Consequently, coal extraction and timber procurements have already become losing sectors. Yet, in some sectors of the processing industry, machine building in particular, an unjustifiably high profitability has developed. This does not contribute to increasing the incentive of enterprises to continue to lower production costs.

On the basis of the study of the dynamics and trends of national economic and current outlays in individual industrial sectors, and bearing in mind the increased role of wholesale prices and rates in production planning and economic incentive, it was deemed expedient to engage in their overall revision with a view to reflecting more completely in wholesale prices the socially necessary outlays for the production of industrial goods. This will create more favorable conditions for the practical implementation of measures to improve the systems of planned management and cost accounting, and will make it possible to upgrade even further the effectiveness of financial levers.

The solution of the economic and social problems set by the communist party largely depends on conditions in capital construction. The volume of state

capital investments in the national economy today totals 116 billion rubles. However, such huge resources are used with inadequate effectiveness. Funds are scattered by ministries and departments among a number of projects. Construction is slow, as a result of which the planned deadlines for the commissioning of production capacities and projects are violated. Above norm volumes of unfinished construction and stockpiles of equipment in the warehouses of enterprises and construction projects rise. The reasons for this situation are largely related to shortcomings in planning and in assessing and stimulating the work of construction organizations.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree has provided, in accordance with the stipulations of the 25th party congress, a system of measures whose implementation should lead to major improvements in the management of this important national economic sector. Particular attention shall be paid to improving planning and upgrading the balancing of volumes of capital investments against material-technical, manpower, and financial resources, and capacities of construction and installation organizations. The commissioning of production capacities and projects will become the main indicator of the plan and the assessment of construction results. A new indicator will be introduced for the solution of this problem: marketable construction output. This will make it possible to increase the responsibility of contractors and customers for the prompt commissioning of enterprises and projects.

The reorganization of economic incentive should also contribute to the reaching of such objectives. The amounts of bonuses for the timely completion of capacities and projects will be raised. Bonuses will be paid for successful work on the technical retooling of operating enterprises. With a view to increasing the interest of construction workers in carrying out reconstruction projects, sectorial correction coefficients will be made to the existing cost norms of construction and installation work and overhead expenditures, which will make it possible to take into consideration additional outlays related to the implementation of such projects.

The extensive use of a progressive system of account settling between contractors and customers, based on the end construction output--complete construction and delivery of enterprises, targeted complexes, priorities, and projects, ready to begin production, will contribute to the accelerated commissioning of production capacities and sites, and to upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments. The conversion to such accounts must be completed as early as 1981. Their use will terminate the payment of advances by customers and will introduce the crediting of outlays for unfinished construction and installation projects. Construction organizations which have failed to insure the timely commissioning of enterprises and projects will pay a higher interest rate for the loans used. This will influence the amounts of their profits and economic incentive funds.

A procedure for uninterrupted financing and crediting of the capital construction plan shall be established with a view to creating the necessary conditions for the implementation of the five-year plan. Financing

will be based on lists of projects covering the entire construction project within the limit of amounts approved in the cost estimates.

The financial and banking organs which must participate more actively in the formulation of the five-year plans and work for the concentration of funds on unfinished and priority projects, maximum utilization of installed capacities and directions of allocated capital investments, above all for the technical retooling of operating enterprises, will play an important role in the implemented reorganization of capital construction. The financial and banking organs must make full use of their right to control the effective utilization of funds appropriated for capital construction.

As indicated in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, improving the organizational structure of management is an important part of improving management of the economy. Proper suggestions will be drafted aimed at surmounting departmental lack of coordination and insuring further improvements in sectorial and territorial management, and in the organizational methods for the implementation of target programs.

Improvements in the economic management system, systematic implementation of the course toward the establishment of associations in industry, conversion to a two-three step management system in construction, and improving the management of other sectors will contribute to upgrading production effectiveness and the levels of planning and economic management. At the same time, all such measures must be accompanied by increasing the quality and productivity of managerial and engineering labor, and reducing its cost. Unfortunately, the facts prove that the managers of some ministries do not always display the necessary persistence here. Many enterprises allow personnel surpluses and violate the personnel cost discipline. USSR ministries and departments, and councils of ministers of union republics must make more active efforts to insure the further rationalization of the structure and reduce the cost of the administrative apparatus, and implement measures insuring an effective control over the observance of the established procedure for the expenditure of funds by subordinate enterprises and organizations.

Thus, while retaining a certain continuity, important changes shall be made in the existing financial mechanism, aimed at improving financial planning and intensifying the influence of finances on the reaching of high economic end results in enterprise activities and upgrading production effectiveness and work quality.

The main task now, as stipulated in the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and Stage Organs," is the systematic implementation of the stipulated measures.

Together with the USSR Gosplan and other ministries and departments, the USSR Ministry of Finance is currently drafting the new normative documents and method stipulations and instructions. Some of them have already been completed and adopted. However, a great deal remains to be done. It would

be difficult to overestimate the importance and responsibility of such work. The quality of the method documents currently drafted, which will guide the daily practical activities of enterprises, associations, and ministries, will largely determine the completeness and consistency in the implementation of party and government decisions aimed at upgrading social production effectiveness and the quality of our entire work. It is also important to strictly observe deadlines for the drafting of the corresponding documents, since some of the measures planned in the decree must be implemented this very year, thus contributing to its completion with high results. The CPSU Central Committee directs to this the attention of all state and economic organs, ministries, associations, enterprises, and all working people in our country.

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OVER THE TYUMEN' REGION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 79 pp 29-37

[Essay by F. Rodionov]

[Text] The present essay is the last work of party member Felix Nikolayevich Rodionov, deputy department editor of our journal, honored cultural worker of the RSFSR, who died in Hanoi on 25 October, on his 50th birthday.

A most honest person, he sensitively listened to the rhythm of our great constructive work, while his restless soul as a party reporter, as he described himself, always took him to the most difficult sectors of the struggle. The reader may have properly appreciated his essays dealing with acute problems, published in KOMMUNIST in recent years, such as "Pathfinders" (No 4, 1978), "Party Efficiency" (No 8, 1977), "Unquenchable Thirst" (No 12, 1978), "A Remote Area" (No 18, 1978), and "On the Covered Tracks of the Past" (No 8, 1979). He was as happy as a child when he was given the chance to visit fraternal heroic Vietnam and intended to write about its people--workers and soldiers, party workers and journalist colleagues. However, he was betrayed by a sick heart.

The editors pay their homage to the memory of their comrade by publishing F. N. Rodionov's uplifting story on Tyumen' fliers, written in the course of a flight assignment to Western Siberia.

We were standing in the open tundra, in the center of a small trailer park: some 15 of them, miniscule houses on runners. Despite the rapidly falling darkness, the inscription was still readable on the doors: "SU-50 Industrial Base." In the distance we could see the shape of the Mi-10k

helicopter. Beyond the motors of powerful machines noisily rumbled as the layers of the Urengoy-Chelyabinsk gas main were returning from the track. They walked slowly, tiredly, somewhat clumsy in their heavy clothing, ready for the bad northern weather. They respectfully looked at the tall and thin figure of the helicopter pilot and greeted him respectfully. Yuzhakov nodded and followed them with his friendly eyes.

"Here everyone is a hero. It is not bad while the sun is shining and if the winter cold doesn't kill anyone. Here the snow blows with sand. You cannot raise your head. That is why the boys walk bent at an angle. We still do not know whose work is more difficult: ours, in the air, or theirs, on the ground. We would not achieve very much, one without the other: the ground without the sky, and the sky without the ground."

The section master approached. He was a young boy. His name was Nikolay Bukhanets. Until very recently he was a press operator at the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine. He graduated from an evening technical school and came here at Novyy Urengoy, in search of romance. He lives with his young wife in a trailer. He earns no more than he did at the metallurgical combine. Yet, difficulties here are numerous, involving supplies and personnel. He is responsible not only for his own work, as at the Magnitka, but for a big collective.

"Well, how is romance?"

He waved his hand:

"Work."

He said this heavily, and sighed, but his voice did not carry disappointment but the stubbornness of the worker. He discussed with Yuzhakov the next day's load. The conversation was short. After he left, Yuriy Aleksandrovich smiled:

"That is the romanticism. Tomorrow we shall be bringing a load. Four tons under the belly. Fifty kilometers there and 50 kilometers back. A piece of the gas main has come up. It was laid in the winter, in the permafrost. The ground has now melted and the pipe has come up. We shall put weights on to sink it back."

In the morning Yuzhakov took off in the helicopter. Everything living bent down from the storm raised by the rotor. This was not a flying engine but an entire enterprise: an "umbrella" with a rotor 35 meters in diameter and 2 turboprop engines developing 5,500 horsepower each. Nothing of this could be noted in the air. Running on the ground is not the shadow of a giant but of a delicate dragonfly. It is comfortable in the cabin. The crew is well dressed and, I would say, elegant in their light flight uniforms. It is as though we are not in the tundra but are attending a reception. The pilot shows no tension whatever. His hand on the flight

stick seems rigid, as though he was not flying this powerful machine. Only by looking closely one would note a bare motion of the wrist.

From time to time Yuzhakov would remove his hand from the stick. This means that control over the helicopter has been assumed by R. F. Konstantinov, a flight commander who is flying with us as second pilot. He has a broad oriental face with high cheek bones and narrow slit eyes. He gently manipulates the instrument switches, as though caressing them. Whenever Konstantinov takes over, Yuzhakov remains motionless, reminiscent of a resting bird. His long legs are bent at the knees, and his broad shoulders are drooping, like wings.

Throughout the flight navigator V. A. Berlov kept charting the course. Usually the flights of passenger planes or even cargo airplanes are controlled from the ground. The helicopter pilots wear no phones to listen to instructions from the ground and the navigator has no prompters. Berlov was scanning the tundra, "capturing" the sight from a height of 400 meters, constantly checking his sighting with the 10-kilometer scale map which never left his hand, computing something with his navigation ruler.

Railroad tracks showed up and the Pur River glistened. A dredger was at work. White ships were sailing the water. The impression was as though everything was happening not beyond the polar circle but somewhere along the Volga steppe. Work in the air, in the ground, and on the water was proceeding on schedule.

Suddenly I remembered another encounter. In 1958, I believe, a frail youngster with a huge mane of black hair showed up in the editorial office where I worked. Unselfconsciously he was reading his poetry in an unfamiliar language. However, the sound was so expressive that we could guess the meaning without translation: we could hear the wind whistling, the blizzard, the stumping of reindeer hooves, and the splashing of the fish. Later the poems were translated and published. They spoke of the tundra, of the courageous Mansi people. Their author and now famous poet Yuvan Shestalov was incredibly pleased and invited everyone to visit him. He argued:

"It is not far. We shall fly to Sverdlovsk and from there, on reindeer, it is close."

"How long on reindeer?"

"Very close. Three loaves of bread."

Yuvan's native Khanty-Mansiyskiy National Okrug is here, in the Tyumen' area. At that time, however, the length of the road was measured by the number of loaves of bread which a reindeer driver would consume along the way. To us this seemed amazingly romantic.

Now, the navigator was calculating the flight in kilometers, giving the estimated time in minutes, charting the course, quickly making complex computations. Exotic measures have been replaced by conventional. Here everything seems commonly familiar. Unwittingly, we think: speaking of romanticism, do we not sometimes prefer the familiarity of the past to the thrust of man into the new, the unknown future? Is this thrust not the greatest romanticism?

The people are marching forth at a headlong pace. . . . We are now over Novyy Urenga. Next to it is Urenga. There was the city of Nadym. Today it is known as the old Nadym. There is a new one. Accomplished projects become rapidly "old" under our own eyes. We hasten to describe as new merely the initial outline, to assert ourselves and our actions on earth. This is not a wish to reject the past but the passionate aspiration to find the unknown, to conquer the still unconquered. This precisely is a thrust into the future, from measuring distance in loaves of bread to millions of tons of petroleum and billions of cubic meters of natural gas.

The helicopter flew over the railroad station. Loads of freight are strung along the tracks like beads. Containers with machines, pipes, reinforced concrete goods. . . . We are now waiting for the white weight to be attached to the helicopter. For this reason it must "freeze" in the air. It does, even though this is not exactly the case. Like a purebred horse it cannot stand still: it tries to rush ahead, backs, or goes to the side. Its huge body is shaking. Yuzhakov appears imperturbable but I can see the hands on the controls white from tension. That is why the hands of the pilot are calloused as those of an airhammer operator. It is no accident in the least that in the pilot's personal file, under "social status" he is identified as "worker."

Many long and difficult minutes Yuzhakov keeps 10,000 horsepower under control in the air. Finally, having hooked up the load, the worker waves his arms and the helicopter rises smoothly. We are flying back. Once again the severe landscape of the tundra appears. It is as though someone had put a trace of green in the black-brown waters without being able to paint anything else. Only along the river beds can we see larch trees and dark firs. The remaining space is monotonously flat: rusty green grass along the swamps and lakes with reindeer moss. It grows here like feather-grass in the steppe. Sandy spots are visible under the moss. All this is washed, cut up by small rivers, lakes, and old river beds filled with water. Here the ocean came and went, leaving after it a sea bottom on which life on earth has still not been able to settle, to blossom.

Sitting in the powerful Mi-10k, it seemed to me that it would fear nothing, that it would protect us from any evil storms. That is what it seemed like. . . . Now I can see the way Yuzhakov is closely looking at the ground, seeking landmarks, not to get lost in the green space and perish in the tundra. The navigator computes the course. However, one flies the helicopter also by looking at streams, outlines of lakes, shades of grass.

One must sense air holes and whirlwinds which are particularly dangerous when carrying freight.

Helicopter pilots know that wherever there is sand or woods the ground is warmer and airstreams flow upward. Swamps and permafrost, in turn, absorb heat, and like a compressor, drag toward them the heated air. In the intricate currents of this "fifth ocean" the pilot must find the type of straights where the helicopter would not swing or threaten to drop the cargo under it. Yuzhakov is an excellent pilot not because technology has freed him from the power of the elements but, on the contrary, because he feels himself part of nature, one with it. Flying the helicopter he watches the direction of the wind by the ripples on the lakes and gages its strength by the bending tops of the trees.

Once in a while, when Konstantinov takes over, Yuzhakov turns to me and smiles easily. Gray eyes and blindingly white teeth burst out on the sun-tanned face. At first I thought that this was a southern tan, so even and golden it was. However, Yuriy Aleksandrovich laughed:

"In the tundra, one gets a suntan in the cabin just as good as in Sochi."

The previous day we had not had the occasion to talk at length. Nevertheless, I found out the way Yuzhakov found himself in the tundra and the way he learned to read its nature. He came north when Tyumen' was still a quiet city unfamiliar with the petroleum boom. At that time he was flying the Po-2, warmly known as "sewing machines," delivering the mail to remote settlements in the oblast. Naturally, this was not such interesting work--carrying the mail. However, the youngster who had just graduated looked with admiration at the "veterans" coming back from their trips. Respectfully yet persistently he asked them about the flights. Unaccustomed to lengthy talks, they answered tersely. However, even their curt answers created an unusual world, dangerous with its traps and snares, where one could get lost in the fog and drop in air holes.

One day the commander summoned Yuzhakov:

"Tomorrow you fly as escort to Birkin."

Escort . . . this is a long-abandoned word in a pilot's vocabulary. Yet, once it was mandatory for all novices in the north. The roots were little studied. The instruments of the Po-2 consisted only of a magnetic compass, speed indicator, and altitude meter. There were no radio communications. The flier flew over an almost desert world and even in extreme emergency no one could advise him, or correct his error. That is why a novice would begin his flights with an experienced pilot flying a safe route. The route had to be memorized well. That is what escort meant.

On the eve of the flight Yuzhakov located V. A. Birkin at the airport. The latter shook his hand firmly and said simply as to an equal: "So, we fly

together." Then they studied the maps at length. The young flier could not get used to such maps which looked like those of a sea pilot. They showed the outlines of rivers because at that time they flew only over the rivers. The entire dry land was marked as a tundra with nothing else. Noticing the hesitation of his subordinate, Birkin began to explain the characteristics of the flight, joked, and told stories from his flying experience. When darkness began to fall over the city he grumbled:

"Let us sleep now to be fresh tomorrow. Remember: we are flying as a pair. Do not shame me. Naturally, it will be difficult. However, others have flown as well and so will you."

It was a sunny morning. The green tail of Birkin's "sewing machine" was ahead. Fearfully, Yuzhakov was looking downward. At first he saw the blue Pyshma and then they flew over the Tobol. The rivers disappeared, the snow disappeared, the banks were flooded, and the water was coming closer even to villages built on high hills. There was water everywhere. "If something happens to the engine, where to land?" Yuriy thought intensely, trying to find firm spots in the flood, looking out of the window. The airstream splashed his cheeks and whistled in his ears. He became even more concerned. As though sensing the feeling of his young comrade, Birkin encouragingly waved his wings. Yuriy felt ashamed and the concern which dimmed his eyes suddenly disappeared. Now he was able to see not only water but forests, birch trees, larch groves, and tall pines. They looked like the figures of beasts--bears, elks, foxes. . . . Everything seemed like toys. He felt like a giant.

When the flight terminal appeared on the steep bank of the Irtysh--Tobol'sk, with its ancient wall and the obelisk to Yermak, hewn out of light-colored marble, Yuzhakov burst into song. For the first time in his life he was completing not a training flight but a real working flight, delivering to Tobol'sk 200 kilograms of mail. On the airfield Birkin gave his shoulder a friendly tap:

"Let us celebrate this!" He added, seriously, "Naturally, unpleasant things will happen: fogs and snow storms, and you will also get lost. I think you will make it. You have already flown."

This was like a prophecy. On his fifth or sixth flight Yuzhakov was flying over that same Tobol. Suddenly he saw a wall of fire rise over the forest. The wind was raising clouds of smoke from the fire. They soon blocked the river. He flew a few kilometers and realized that he was lost. Through the smoke the river appeared to be on the right even though it should have been on his left. He went back and retraced his course. However, once again the river turned out to be on his right, which was not the way it was supposed to be. He went back again. He pushed the stick forward. The airplane plunged into the choking smoke, dropping down quickly. Yuzhakov was already prepared for anything. His altimeter was no longer working. Yet, he was lucky: he saw the river through the smoke. The airplane flew

over the Tobol at a height of no more than six to seven meters, following each of its turns. Finally, he was able to pierce through the smokescreen and rise to the proper height; now he was flying in the clear air and, once again, Yuzhakov felt like a giant.

Far worse things happened. There are in the tundra winter days in which even though visibility is good--five to six kilometers--no horizon is visible. The snow blanket blends with the white clouds. It becomes even worst when frost comes from the Arctic Ocean. . . . One such day Yuzhakov was flying north of Tyumen' and became lost. All he could see was a white cover. Suddenly the engine began to make a piercing noise. He cut off the fuel, but the motor continued to roar. Oil appeared on the windscreen. He had to turn the motor off and land almost blindly. Jumping out of the cockpit, he ran to the motor and looked. Everything seemed to be in order. Only then did he note that he had no propeller. It had fallen off. Apparently, metal fatigue had been unable to withstand the frost. It took him 12 hours to reach the closest settlement, walking down the white desert of the tundra. His skis broke, he walked, falling waist deep in the snow, then crawling. Nevertheless, he reached a road. He was picked up by a passing sledge. When he telephoned the airport, the usually curt Birkin, who had called him only by his last name, was shouting:

"Yurka! You are alive! Good boy! Wait, we are flying with a new engine."

. . . Now, sitting in front of me, after being dunked in water, freezing in the snow, or threatened with mortal danger, sitting and smiling. Eyes the color of steel, deep wrinkles, sharp cheek bones and the bright smile of a child. . . .

Yesterday, I asked him:

"You are past 40, are you planning to leave the tundra? It must be hard."

"No," he answered quickly. "It is hard to explain. Here, in the north, each one of my cells carries a peak load, physical, intellectual, emotional . . . That is why life here is a hundred times richer than anywhere else."

His thoughts were interrupted by the phone by A. Yu. Tyumen'yev, the radio operator:

"I can see the gas main. Distance, 70 meters."

Lying ahead from the loose earth, standing out like a diseased vein, was the pipeline. It stretched out black, shining, covered with water.

"Fifty meters, 30, 25 . . . ."

Once again Yuzhakov's hands were welded to the controls. The U-shaped load had to be put on the pipe in such a way as not to tear off the thin layer of insulation.

"Pipe on the left, two meters; height, 10 . . . ."

Shaking and humming the helicopter dropped down slowly.

I can see the place. Five meters ahead. The load is at a 45° angle. More to the left . . . ."

"Twenty centimeters over it. We are sliding it along the pipe . . . ."

"Good!" Tyumen'yev finally shouted. "Up now!"

The helicopter began to shake even more. Yuzhakov shut his eyes. Suddenly, I realized that he was carrying out all such operations blindly, not looking at the freight. He was only listening to the voice of the operator and feeling with his fingers and palms the resistance of the machine, the wind, the freight. This feeling cannot be simply described as a sense of touch. We say that the instrument is the extension of the human hand. What about the helicopter? Is it the clothing of a person carrying out a gigantic work in these barren lands? It is as though tons of a mass are put on Yuzhakov's shoulders and legs, trying to bend his arms . . . . His eyebrows are raised, he has deep wrinkles around his mouth, his eyes are frozen. This is not simple physical stress. Listening to Tyumen'yev's instructions, he stresses his imagination, trying to imagine the location of the pipe, the load, the helicopter, and all the components of the maneuver. He succeeds. Blending with the huge machine with his entire body, each of his cells responds to its slightest movement.

That is what the modern highly skilled worker is. Like a storm, in the clothes supplied by the scientific and technical revolution, he is powerful. He is great in the work of his mind, in his creativity.

"The load is on the pipe," Tyumen'yev reported and, after a few seconds, ordered: "Up!"

We were "home," by the SUD-50 base, by sundown. The moss under our feet was soft and springy like a carpet and dwarf birch trees were shaking their leaves in the wind. The engines were quiet and we could talk without shouting. Looking at the quiet fliers, I asked:

"Was it difficult?"

"We chose this job ourselves," Yuzhakov responded. "When we were boys, we were running to the flying clubs. Tyumen'yev, Konstantinov, Berlov . . . "

"What about you?"

"Naturally. In Omsk."

Therefore, since childhood they shared the same attraction, an aspiration toward a single goal, unity of thought.

In the trailer assigned to us, on the wall of the small room hung a reproduction of the painting by Yan Stan, "Mother and Child." The trailer belonged to a young couple. The wife had flown to Moscow to give birth and promised to return soon, with the child. The husband was on an assignment. A photograph was stuck to the mirror: a dark-complected man, with lively eyes and a beard, and a pregnant blond woman, smiling happily and tenderly. Yuzhakov rocked on his heels in front of the photograph and said:

"Strange. I have been flying here for almost 30 years. Everything was desert. Now, families are settling down and children are being born. Native Russians are appearing in the tundra. Raising a child in the tundra is no joke. That is what they have decided. Taking the first step is very important."

He warmly looked at the photograph of the man and the woman. They too were like-thinking people. Some went into the barrenness running away from the world. These had come to the north to build a world here suitable for the normal life of many people. Yuzhakov paced the little room, stopped once again in front of the photograph, and said:

"Obviously, they love each other." Firmly, he went on: "A person must love. His wife, his work, his life. This way he feels irreplaceable and needed in this world."

. . . Breakfast consisted of mushrooms, whortleberries, and cloudberries. Permission to fly was given at eight. We flew to the old Nadym for kerosene. A huge eight-ton container was hooked on and we flew back. The rotor blades are beating the air and the compressor is turning. Down below a team of six tractors is dragging a drilling tower. A bulldozer is leading the way, cutting the upper layer of the ground with its blade and the tower is sliding on the permafrost. Yuzhakov noted and shouted:

"We move such towers alone."

I knew that. It was not for nothing that Yuzhakov was one of the first fliers to be awarded the medal "For Developing the Ground and the Petroleum and Gas Complex of Western Siberia." He has landed geologists on Yamal Peninsula, and hauled drilling, tractor, and other equipment to Shaim, Samotlor, Nizhnevartovsk, and Ust'-Balyk. He flew where the first industrial petroleum appear in Tyumen'. The ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium awarding him the title of Hero of Socialist Labor reads as follows: "for outstanding successes achieved in servicing through aviation the building of most important national-economic projects. . . ."

Down below flows Siberian gas to the west along the pipelines. These are the first kilometers of the Urengoy-Chelyabinsk gas main. The hulls of compressor stations are shining in the sun, pushing the gas over hundreds and thousands of kilometers. This is a busy day. Above us an Mi-8 is flying, hauling cement. Another Mi-10k is flying, with a tractor hitched

on it. On our right, another helicopter flying almost over Novyy Urengoy itself is hauling pipe. The helicopters are rushing along the air-freight route. However, along this route as well, even though lacking obstructions and swamps, the initial kilometers had to be opened.

I recalled the story of I. Ye. Savchenko, deputy chief for political affairs of the Tyumen' Civil Aviation Administration on the fact that it was precisely Yuzhakov who flew those first kilometers. It was at a time when the Shaim-Tyumen' petroleum pipeline, the first in the north, was being completed. The end was near and the mood was to celebrate. Suddenly it became apparent that there was a pipe shortage. The summer was hot. The swamps had thawed out and the rivers were flooded. No way to pass. It was then that the decision was made to carry pipes with helicopters. At that time, however, no one knew how much weight to hang on the helicopter and how the helicopter would behave in the air.

Yuzhakov flew to the railroad station of Mezhdurechenskiy settlement where the pipes were being welded in 35-meter-long sections. The construction workers had prepared a long suspension cable. Yuzhakov knew that the weight of the cable would be almost as much as that of the pipes. He decided to shorten the sling to a minimum to be able to take two sections.

It was early in the day and the weather was calm. The pilot flew over Kondoy and was able, with the corner of his eye, to see the outline of the freight. He feared that the cable might break and hit the helicopter's fuselage. However, the pipes seemed to be all right. Yuzhakov increased the speed. The operator watching the pipes through the hatch was alarmed.

"The load is moving!" he told the commander.

"Hopefully they won't start jumping and break the bolt," Yuzhakov thought and slowed down.

They reached the pipeline without incident and unloaded the pipes along it, on a meadow. A second trip was successful as well. In the afternoon, however, the sun warmed up the ground and twisters developed. Cumulous clouds appeared with strong bumps.

"The load is swinging," the operator reported.

Yuzhakov maneuvered to reduce the motion but heard again:

"The pipes are jumping like springs."

Yuzhakov tried to get out of the cumulous clouds. Meanwhile, the freight snapped. The helicopter jumped upwards, but no hit followed. Look! The helicopter pilots spent the balance of the day with engineers, recomputing the strength of cables and selecting proper suspension diameters.

The next day, trying to forget the occurrence, the crew resumed work. The first trips were successful. However, in the afternoon the bumps resumed. The pipes began to shake the helicopter and threatened to hit the cabin. . . . They just managed to reach the pipeline and began to make the descent. As though in a nightmare, the operator again shouted:

"Cable breaking up!"

Ignoring it, Yuzhakov continued calmly to lower the helicopter.

Two more strands snapped. On the very ground the cable broke and the pipes dully rumbled as they fell on the meadow.

The crew spent an entire week developing a pipe-hauling system. Risky test flights lasted a whole week. However, by the time that five additional crews had reached Mezhdurechenskiy, Yuzhakov had already developed a system for hitching the freight, the optimal diameter for the cables, and the calmest route.

People in Tyumen' still remember telephoning the aviators in Tobol'sk and asking for communists-helicopter pilots. A hurricane-strength wind had torn down the masts of the electric cable. Deprived of its electric power, the city sunk in darkness. The cable crossed impassible swamps and in order to repair it foundation beams had to be laid first. This would have taken weeks. The city party committee secretary asked the party members-helicopter pilots for help. First to take off was Yuzhakov's crew. They reached Tobol'sk without adventures. The people at the city party committee were waiting. One hour was spent in conference with construction workers. They thought, argued, estimated. A cable mast weighted more than a helicopter could lift. They decided to drag it along the ground on two of its four "legs." Naturally, it was risky, but no other solution was possible.

The deep gully in the forest cutting proved to be narrow. The torn props were at its bottom. Before lowering the helicopter Yuzhakov remembered the direction of the wind so that, rising, to avoid an unexpected blast which could throw the helicopter down. While the top of the mast was being tied to the helicopter, it became apparent that the tail blade, which found itself between two fir trees, might cut into one of them at any moment. Yuzhakov was watching the second pilot, who, turning back, was giving instructions: "Pine to the left;" "pine to the right!" . . . That is how he kept the helicopter under control until the order to lift off was given.

Rising above the trees, the helicopter was hit by the wind on its side and it almost hurled itself to the right. However, the pilot expected the blow and instantly countered it. The wind rose and the helicopter, tied to the cable, had to be driven in an arc whose radius was the mast. Not one meter of tolerance was allowed upward or downward. Alarmed, he thought: would the helicopter be able to carry the load? Would it not crash? The mast

gripped the helicopter like a hand of steel. It tensed, rising at an angle of under 80°. The engineer reported the number of revolutions per minute and the fuel outlays. Yuzhakov's engineering mind was analyzing the effect of the mechanisms while his hands could feel the tight resistance of the stick. This meant that more power was available. He needed it badly. . . . Inertial force would pull in the opposite direction and drag the helicopter with it. Yuzhakov turned on full power. The helicopter roared, and in one instant the mast was up and put on her foundations. The construction workers busied themselves on the ground. He was free. He was then told that all his blood had drained from his face and that for several hours he was dead white.

The communist-helicopter pilot fulfilled his duty. The line was repaired and the city received power.

Such are the concerns that bad weather may cause here in the north. Thick fogs may cover the earth and snowstorms may blow, and hurricane winds could bring everything down along their path. That is why the shining sun today could be considered unexpected luck. A pair of swans are gliding on the lake as in a picture. Reindeer are running along the tundra, prancing and dancing with their strong bodies

Konstantinov is not in the cabin. Young Yacheslav Cherepanov is occupying the right seat of the second pilot. He is flying the helicopter. Yuzhakov is attentively following his movements. Lying ahead the sun has made a huge rainbow. It looks as if we would cross it anytime now and sail into the amazing kingdom of colors. Yet, literally under our very noses the multicolored rainbows scatter into rain. The sun lies somewhere ahead.

Led by a big bird, a flock of swans unexpectedly rises from the lake. Many of the birds are young. They disturb the single rhythm of the flight and break ranks. The leader patiently leads them upward. He will lead them over the tundra until all of them have learned how to fly. The way one's Birkin had trained Yuzhakov. Subsequently, Yuzhakov himself has trained hundreds of pilots in the polar skies. He looks at the flock of swans and and smiles, says something on the phone to Cherepanov who corrects the course. We are flying toward the sun where one of the most romantic construction projects of the century awaits the helicopter pilots.

Yagel'noye-Tyumen'-Moscow

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METHODOLOGY STANDARDS ARE A PREREQUISITE FOR SUCCESSFUL RESEARCH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 79 pp 38-44

[Report on the meeting of the Central Council of Methodological Seminars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium]

[Text] The growth of the scientific-theoretical and conceptual role of Marxism-Leninism is a legitimate feature of the spiritual atmosphere of our time. The problems of the ideological upbringing of the Soviet people and the molding of the new man--the builder of communism--are resolved by the CPSU on the solid foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory. "Marxism-Leninism," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th party congress, "is the only reliable base for the formulation of a correct strategy and tactic."

This directly applies not only to political, ideological, and national economic activities, but to scientific research and technical developments of a fundamental and applied nature as well. The quality of the thinking of pioneer scientists, innovators, and inventors, and their ideological training and methodological standards determine the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress and fruitful activities in all realms of knowledge and practical work.

In recent years philosophy (methodological) seminars conducted in scientific research institutes and VUZ's have had a particularly great influence on the creative environment among the scientific intelligentsia. Promoting a proper understanding of phenomena and facts of objective reality, such seminars are contributing to the strengthening of an active life-stance and Marxist-Leninist party-mindedness in every Soviet scientist.

The expanded session of the Central Council of Methodological Seminars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, held on 8 October last, was dedicated to the task of improving this important form of political upbringing in the light of the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Education Work." It was attended by senior personnel of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and other party organs, noted Soviet scientists, and heads of seminars at scientific institutions and higher educational establishments.

Opening the session, P. N. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, emphasized that under the conditions of developed socialism and of the scientific and technical revolution Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which is the conceptual-methodological foundation of scientific knowledge and the base for the intensifying interaction among social, natural, and technical sciences, plays an important integration role. Methodological seminars are an effective method for the ideological and political upbringing of scientists, ugrading the effectiveness and quality of research, and strengthening the alliance between philosophy and the individual sciences. Currently nearly 6,000 such seminars are being offered in scientific institutions and VUZ's, covering broad circles of scientific workers and teachers in the fields of the natural, social, and technical sciences. They contribute to upgrading the level of the Marxist-Leninist training of the scientific workers and to their social activeness.

Yu. A. Ovchinnikov, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president and chairman of the Central Council of Methodological Seminars, read a report to the participants in the session. Science, said he, is an attribute of modern society. Its influence on human progress is tremendous and steadily rising. Its achievements are extensively discussed in all realms of society. Acting today as a direct productive force, it is interacting ever more closely with the national economy. Expenditures for science are rising. At the same time, so does its social responsibility.

We are witnessing outstanding discoveries, and unexpected turns in the development of scientific thinking. In the capitalist countries such achievements are frequently used in the interest of reaction and militarism and to the detriment of mankind. For this reason acclamations in honor of science and the bright hopes related to it are frequently replaced there by dark and pessimistic forecasts. The situation in the developed socialist society is different. Here the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution are combined with the advantages of the economy based on the public ownership of productive capital, and are aimed at the further enhancement of the people's prosperity.

The new conditions for scientific progress and the deepening revolution in the natural sciences and in practical work, the speaker pointed out, raise in a new fashion a number of important conceptual and methodological problems facing the scientists. We are resolving them with the help of conscientiously mastered and creatively applied dialectical materialism. This essentially distinguishes us from researchers whose views are distorted by idealism and restricted by metaphysics.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the importance of Marxist philosophy to the theoretically substantiated approach to the solution of specific problems. ". . . Anyone who undertakes to resolve a specific problem without having resolved the general problems in advance," he emphasized, "will invariably, at each step, subconsciously, 'clash' against such general problems. Yet, clashing blindly against them in each specific case would mean

dooming one's policy to the worst possible confusion and lack of principles" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 15, p 368).

In 1922 the leader of the Soviet state defined in his work "On the Importance of Militant Materialism" the tasks of the union of Marxist philosopers and members of the individual sciences, pointing out not only the exceptional importance of creating a "society of materialistic friends of Hegelian dialectics," but also the need to create conditions which, in the final account, would contribute to making every scientist a "modern materialist, a conscious supporter of the materialism as presented by Marx" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 45, p 30).

Dialectical materialism is the universal methodology of contemporary scientific knowledge. Its mastery by every scientist today is particularly necessary, for the theory of knowledge has become the arena of the gravest ideological struggle.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" was a major event in the life of the Soviet scientist and in the ideological-political life of our entire people. Along with other forms of theoretical training and higher qualification of the specialists, philosophy (methodology) seminars conducted by scientific-research institutes, design bureaus, and VUZ's must play their role. To an ever greater extent they are becoming a means for strengthening the alliance between Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the individual sciences.

Developed as early as the mid-1920's, these seminars fulfilled the function of party-political education: the exposure of the broad circles of the intelligentsia to the theory of dialectical and historical materialism as a scientific world outlook and as a methodology for revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. By their very nature they immediately became a means for establishing party-mindedness in science. Management on the part of the party organizations continues to determine many of the essential aspects of their activities.

Today they are a particular type of theoretical and ideological activity of the higher level of scientific and educational cadres, meeting the task set by L. I. Brezhnev: "Our specialists must not only master their skill to perfection but be familiar with the laws of social development and foreign and domestic policy, and have a broad outlook. No one could be a good Soviet specialist without a profound study of Marxist-Leninist theory and a clear understanding of the policy of the party and the state."

Yu. A. Ovchinnikov discussed briefly the way in accordance with the directival party instructions philosophy (methodology) seminars have improved their work. From a consideration of uncoordinated theoretical-cognitive topics, they have converted to the purposeful and all-round study of fundamental problems, linking this with the topical problems of the five-year plan. Such studies have become more intensive and the quality

and level of seminar work have been upgraded. Seminar plans have become ever more consistent with long-term and annual collective and individual plans for scientific research activities by institutes or VUZ's. To an ever greater extent the work of the seminars has developed as an organic part of the professional activities of specialists, and their topics began to be included in the plans for scientific projects and publications. The level of coordination and cooperation of methodological studies conducted by a variety of collectives has been upgraded. A great deal of positive accomplishments were achieved by the Scientific Council on the Comprehensive Problem of "Philosophical Problems of Contemporary Natural Sciences" and the Central Bureau of Philosophy (Methodology) Seminars in the Natural and Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the regional republic, city, and other seminar bureaus. Conferences with the participation of party, scientific, and economic managers have been very helpful in improving the organizational forms and intensifying the content of seminar work.

At the present time, considering the new tasks of the current stage in the building of communism, the new CPSU requirements, the new characteristics of the ideological struggle, and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the time has come to substantially improve the work of philosophy (methodology) seminars. The speaker emphasized that they must be in step with the headlong advance of scientific and technical progress. Major events are occurring in a number of natural scientific areas. They can be properly interpreted only on the basis of dialectical-materialistic methodology, in accordance with the theoretical conclusions of the party and the summed-up experience of its political and ideological activities in all realms of social life.

For example, the seminars should deal with the solution of global problems affecting the environment, supplies of energy, industrial raw materials, and comestible goods, struggle against diseases, and so on. Today the prediction of social, economic, and ecological consequences of scientific discoveries and technical innovations assumes particular importance. A complete forecast and elaboration of corresponding recommendations for practical action are possible only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Characterizing the uniform system of philosophy (methodology) seminars which has been developed currently in the country, Yu. A. Ovchinnikov drew the attention of those present to the fact that whereas in the 1970-1971 school year there were 3,700 such seminars, today their number has nearly doubled, attended by over 200,000 specialists.* Such seminars operate in

*Considering that today over 1.3 million scientists are engaged in scientific work (more than 400,000 of whom are candidates or doctors of sciences), it would be easy to predict the possibilities for the further growth of this method of ideological-educational and theoretical work--the editors.

most institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences. They are fruitfully at work at the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin. Their number in the academies of sciences of union republics and the sectorial academies is growing. New seminars are being established in VUZ's, scientific research institutes, and design bureaus. They meet the ripe spiritual requirements of scientific and pedagogical workers and all specialists for the profound interpretation of the philosophical-methodological foundations and social significance of natural and social phenomena they are studying.

However, quantitative growth is insufficient. It is important to upgrade the fruitfulness and effectiveness of the seminars. To this effect, the speaker said, they must be more closely linked with the immediate creative activities of the corresponding institutions and the lives of their collectives.

Methodological seminars are offered at the higher level of the political education system. This implies maintaining a high theoretical level in the approach to the study of the problems considered. As a rule, participating in the seminars are the most skilled and experienced specialists in their respective fields of knowledge, and the faculties of scientific research institutes and VUZ's. Institute directors or noted scientists head such seminars.

The work of the seminars is supported by publications which sum up their positive experience. However, as the speaker noted, few such printed matters are available. All of us read for pleasure and practical use articles and books on matters of the theory of knowledge and general scientific problems written by outstanding scientists. They strengthen the general standard of thinking, contribute to scientific work by talented young people, and develop feelings of professional ethics and socialist patriotism among scientists. The seminars must contribute to the growth in the number of such publications.

The speaker expressed the wish that the scientific councils of scientific research institutes and VUZ's pay greater attention to the activities of philosophy (methodology) seminars. Seminar plans must be coordinated with the basic plans of activities of scientific organizations and higher educational institutions. Clearly, it would be expedient to included reports on seminar work in the annual accountability reports submitted by scientific research institutes and VUZ's. This is already being done by a number of scientific institutions and schools.

The need to set up a single organ which would guide the entire system of philosophy (methodology) seminars in the country has become obvious today. It would be based on the uniform new regulation on such seminars. In this connection the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium (in accordance with the CC CPSU instructions) passed a decree on creating the Central Council of Methodology Seminars, instructing it to provide overall scientific-methodological guidance to all such creative cells, regardless of their

departmental or regional affiliation. The central council includes noted scientists in the social, natural, and technical sciences.

An essentially important characteristic of the development of philosophy (methodology) seminars is increasing the help they receive from the party committees. This help is expressed in the daily guidance of the seminars and in holding on their basis conferences on topical problems of methodology, philosophy, and sociology of contemporary scientific knowledge and in the preparation of corresponding publications. The greater the attention paid to seminars by the party organizations, the greater their prestige and activities become. All this creates favorable conditions and offers extensive opportunities for further improvements in this method of ideological and scientific work.

In conclusion, Yu. A. Ovchinnikov expressed the confidence that philosophy (methodology) seminars, consistent with the requirements formulated by the CPSU and the scientists, will become, to an ever greater extent, a real school for high theoretical standards of thinking and Marxist party-mindedness, and strong points for the development of the dialectical-materialistic methodology of the social, natural, and technical sciences under developed socialist conditions.

A. P. Aleksandrov, USSR Academy of Sciences president, took the floor in the course of the discussions of the report. He emphasized the need to increase relations between natural scientists and engineers, on the one hand, and philosophers, on the other. Such relations are reciprocally useful. In recent decades mutual understanding between them has improved noticeably. This contributes to the successful solution of complex contemporary scientific problems. In this case the role of methodology seminars would be difficult to overestimate.

He cited as an example the comprehensive program in the field of energetics. At the current stage of its implementation the conclusions drawn by the social sciences must be taken into consideration.

The revolution in physics and the basic achievements in the other sciences, A. P. Aleksandrov went on to say, have required the profound and comprehensive philosophical interpretation both of new accomplishments as well as methods for achieving them. All memorable errors made by scientists (including philosophers) have been caused by inadequately high thinking standards and related imperfect recommendations. Such errors have been able to draw scientific research away from basic research and developments and into narrow practicalism. The task is not to repeat such errors in order not to fall behind the accelerated base of scientific and technical progress. Today we are on the threshold of new basic concepts in the physics of the microworld, genetics, cybernetics, and other scientific directions. This calls for strengthening relations among representatives of different sciences. This depends not only on the extent of coordination of scientific efforts, but the level of understanding among scientists,

based on the unity of objectives, outlook, and methodology, and basic coincidence of methods used in general theoretical analysis and assessment of phenomena in reality.

Academician N. N. Blokhin, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, described methodological seminars as an important form of ideological work in medical institutions. Their topics are based in accordance with specialized skills. Man is the subject of theoretical and practical medicine. The characteristic here is that man is a social phenomenon and in the struggle for his health medical-biological and ethical problems become closely interwoven. That is why problems of deontology--the science of the interaction between the physician and the patient, and the physician and society--play an important role in seminar programs. Such seminars are a real school for the young scientific workers. Philosophers must be involved to participate more extensively in their conduct. The development of the scientific and technical revolution faces medicine with a number of new problems whose proper solution can be accomplished only through the joint efforts of medical scientists and representatives of the social sciences.

I. A. Glebov, USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium member, described the experience in organizing the work of philosophy (methodology) seminars in Leningrad scientific institutions. This experience is quite instructive and of interest to many cities and scientific centers in the country. It was thoroughly covered in the recently published collection "Filosofsko-Metodologicheskiye Problemy Spetsial'nykh Nauk" [Philosophical-Methodological Problems of the Individual Sciences] (Nauka, Leningrad, 1979).

The trend to harmoniously combine three types of problems has been clearly manifested in the sum total of directions and topics followed by the seminars offered by the Leningrad institutes and USSR Academy of Sciences institute departments: sociopolitical, strictly philosophical, and scientific-methodological, in which the use of dialectical materialism in practical work and applying it to the subjects of knowledge retains its leading and determining role. The work plans of the seminars are coordinated with the plans for scientific research activities of institutes and their subdivisions. On the other hand, the plans for scientific research activities also include problems developed in methodological seminars. The results of the studies conducted by the latter are systematically reflected in articles, collections, and collective monographs by seminar participants, published by the institutes.

According to I. A. Glebov, the fact that such seminars are also a means for cooperation, for the unification of scientific forces (not only within the city, but with research and design institutions of different oblasts and republics) in the elaboration of most topical, under studied, or comprehensive problems of knowledge and practical experience, is an important aspect of their activities.

The speaker described in detail the organizational structure of the network of seminars. It is based on specific principles which were formulated and developed as their management acquired practical experience. The Bureau for Philosophy (Methodology) Seminars of the Leningrad Institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences is a collective organ for such leadership. It consists of the heads of institutes and aktivs of seminars and is approved by the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. It has the duty to resolve, competently and operatively, all general problems related to the planning, organization, control, accountability, and summation of the experience of seminars. As a rule, the bureau is the organizer of and participant in the planned symposiums, conferences, and meetings.

Regular conferences between managers and secretaries of party organizations and chairmen of bureaus of philosophy (methodology) seminars sponsored by the Leningrad institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences play a positive role. They deal with the general results and trends of development in the seminar system for specific time intervals. They bring up the common reserves and possibilities typical of most seminars, and formulate recommendations on intensifying the content and improving the organization of their work.

I. A. GLebov stated that close interaction contributes to a united centralized guidance of the entire system of seminars sponsored by scientific institutions in different fields. In this case the Leningrad Chair of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences has assumed the functions of a base institution providing direct assistance to the city seminars bureau (scientifically, organizationally, and methodologically) and to the institutes (in particular, by supplying them with consulting philosophers).

The bureau of each seminar is the main link within this system. Usually it is headed by the head of the institution or by a major scientist. It includes members of the institute's party committee and scientific council. It makes the aktiv of the seminar, plans its activities, and insures direct contacts with the USSR Academy of Sciences Chair of Philosophy and the city seminars bureau.

It would be hard to imagine the successes of methodology seminars without the guiding role of the party organizations of the institutes. They are systematically helped by the Leningrad Oblast and City party committees, the political education house of the Leningrad Komsomol and Leningrad Party Committee, and the rayon party committees.

A. M. Roganov, head of the propaganda department of the Moscow City Party Committee, shared the experience in Marxist-Leninist education of the workers in the capital's scientific-research institutes and VUZ's.

The popularity and prestige of philosophy (methodology) seminars are steadily growing among the scientific intelligentsia. Whereas five years

ago there were 570 such seminars in Moscow, there are now 1,134 (587 in the social sciences and 547 in the natural sciences); they are attended by over 30,000 scientists--heads of scientific institutions and subdivisions and leading scientific workers, i.e., those who truly determine and direct the development of theoretical thinking. Such seminars currently operate in practically all city rayons, not only in academic institutions, but in many sectorial scientific-research institutes.

The Moscow party raykoms, party organizations, and administrations of a number of scientific institutions pay constant attention to improving the activities of such seminars. The rayon CPSU committees have set up special councils and commissions to help them. Problems of their activities are discussed at city conferences of the ideological aktiv, meetings of bureaus of rayon party committees and the party committees of research organizations.

Methodological seminars focus on topical conceptual, gnosiological, and strictly methodological problems of the scientific areas in which their students work. Discussions of discoveries at the crossroads of different sectors of scientific knowledge help the scientists, on the basis of the principles of dialectical materialism, to clarify more profoundly the nature of the subjects studied, and of the new phenomena and processes. The seminar students willingly address themselves to topical sociopolitical and ideological problems as well.

The level of work of such seminars, A. M. Roganov said, largely depends on their instructors. That is why the party organizations pay particular attention to their choice. Noted scientists in the capital actively participate in the elaboration of methodological problems and in guiding methodology seminars. They include natural and social scientists such as Academicians N. G. Basov, N. N. Blokhin, O. G. Gazenko, I. P. Gerasimov, N. P. Dubinin, A. G. Yegorov, F. V. Konstantinov, M. B. Mitin, A. L. Narochnitskiy, Yu. A. Ovchinnikov, Ye. K. Fedorov, P. N. Fedoseyev, and others.

A special council has been set up at the Moscow City Party Committee Political Education House, working in close contact with the Central Bureau of USSR Methodology Seminars. It consists of noted scientists--philosophers, natural scientists, and social scientists. The council develops topics, curriculums, and methodological recommendations for the methodology seminars, gives methodological aid to their instructors and students, and organizes consultations. The council extensively deals with the organization and holding of city and rayon theoretical and practical science conferences. Furthermore, the council studies the effectiveness of the training, sums up and disseminates the best practical experience in seminar work, and substantiates recommendations for improving their activities. In the new school year the city council will set up within the Marxist-Leninist educational system base seminars whose experience may be used by party organizations and propagandists of many scientific institutions and organizations.

Academician D. M. Gvishiani emphasized the increased significance of comprehensive development methods and, in this connection, the role of quantity methods, the formalizing and modeling of complex processes, and the systems approach to their study. The methodological weakness here is the predominance of empiricism. In order to reach the proper level of theoretical summations, the researchers must develop a high standard of thinking. This is based on Marxism-Leninism and the dialectial-materialistic method, which presumes the study of any subject in the entirety of its essential characteristics, unity between internal and external relations, and integral qualities (which is, precisely, the aspiration of the "systematists"). It is precisely dialectical materialism that develops an immunity in those working in the natural and technological sciences to stupid influences and manifestations of false methodology, so greatly characteristic of the bourgeois way of thinking. Success in refining the conceptual scientific apparatus, which is made necessary by the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, is possible only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

The role of psychology in contemporary scientific knowledge was described by B. F. Lomov, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Psychology director, and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member. In our days this science is assuming ever greater importance.

Today problems whose solution requires psychological studies arise in a variety of areas of social practice: production, management, education, health care, art, and ideology--wherever man is the subject of direct study.

Psychology is developing as a comprehensive discipline which includes over 30 specialized areas and directions. It is not astounding, therefore, that its philosophical (methodological) problems are acquiring particular urgency. It is only on the basis of dialectical materialism that it is possible to synthesize data acquired in the individual psychological disciplines and gain a proper understanding of the future development of their entire system. The problems developing in psychology are not of strictly scientific interest alone. They are most directly related to ideology and the ideological struggle.

B. F. Lomov cited examples of faulty trends in bourgeois science supporting the exploiting classes in their inhumane practices. Thus, the members of Western reactionary circles are seeking arguments for their tendentious political conclusions in Freudian and neo-Freudian concepts which are trying to insinuate the idea of the innate antagonism existing between man and society.

In a number of capitalist countries, the United States in particular, to a certain extent so-called Jensenism (named after Jensen, its founder) is popular. It claims that every person has, allegedly, genetically given limits of mental development. This "theory" is used to promote racism and to fight the national-liberation movement.

Achievements in the field of experimental psychology are extensively used in the West to develop "techniques" for ideological indoctrination. It is a question of developing methods for influencing human social behavior on the basis of knowledge of objective laws governing perception, memory, thinking, emotions, and so on. For example, a television transmission can be organized in such a way as to make the audience remember what is desired and trigger in it certain emotional reactions and shape specific behavioral patterns.

B. F. Lomov stated that in the ideological struggle against such distortions of the social function of science as in the struggle against false theoretical currents which are their base and justification, the development of psychological problems based on Marxism-Leninism and the further development of the Marxist concept of man and of the interaction between man and nature and society, assumes exceptionally great scientific and political significance. How is one or another human behavior determined and by what? How to assess man's creative possibilities? Is the development of man's capabilities restricted? How do biological and social factors affect mental development? The clarification of these and many other problems directly related to psychology requires a substantive philosophical approach.

The practical experience in the work of philosophy (methodology) seminars in the Novosibirsk Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department was described by V. A. Mindolin, secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee in Novosibirsk.

In the running such seminars as the highest form of ideological training of scientific cadres, and as the most important means for upgrading the professional standards and developing an active life-stance among the scientists, the extensive political and organizational work of the Novosibirskaya Oblast Party Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department played the main role.

There are 25 academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and 50 doctors of sciences working in the bureau of philosophy (methodology) seminars of scientific institutions in the Novosibirsk Scientific Center; the bureau mandatorily includes members of committees and bureaus of party organizations and consulting philosophers. All in all, the scientific center sponsors 40 seminars attended by about 3,000 scientists.

In recent years the party organs have called for upgrading seminar work-effectiveness and for upgrading the quality of all seminar activities. Tangible results have been achieved in the elaboration of topical problems of the methodology of scientific knowledge with subsequent publications of seminar materials (press articles, collective works, and monographs). Since 1973 all philosophy (methodology) seminars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department have converted to long-term problem planning;

starting with 1975 they have converted to five-year planning (1975-1980) in accordance with the state planning of research in scientific institutions and of the tasks set to science by virtue of the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The new seminar tasks and higher level of activities called for radical improvements in coordination and planning, the creation of research groups, the regular holding of scientific conferences, the selection and preparation for publication of the best theoretical papers, the summation of specific practical experience, and so on. Briefly stated, the urgent necessity arose to centralize the activities of seminars and to create an authoritative scientific-methodological organ. Such an organ was established on the initiative of the Novosibirskaya Oblast Party Committee and Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee: the Scientific Council of Philosophy (Methodology) Seminars of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department (Academician A. P. Okladnikov, chairman). The group for coordinating the work of seminars, headed by A. T. Moskalenko, doctor of philosphical sciences, became its nucleus.

As a result of implemented measures and the constant attention paid by the party organs, the influence of philosophy (methodology) seminars on the scientific, cultural, and social life of the Novosibirsk Scientific Center has been increasing with every passing year. In the past four years alone nine scientific conferences have taken place (four of them on topical socioeconomic and methodological problems of development of contemporary science and problems of interaction between basic and applied research; determination of the strategy of scientific research under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution; and methodological problems of basic scientific sectors and the philosophical summation of their achievements). Eleven volumes of seminar works were prepared for printing, and seven of them have already been published.

V. I. Siforov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and director of the Institute of Problems of Information Transmission, discussed the significance of philosophy (methodology) seminars in the development of technical sciences. One of the topical tasks of such seminars is the comprehensive study of the nature of technology and technical creativity. The beginning of this work was laid by the founders of scientific communism themselves. Lenin issued an instruction of permanent value: "The continuation of the work Hegel and Marx must consist of the dialectical processing of the history of human thought, science, and technology" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 29, p 131).

The practical directions followed by the technical sciences and their subordination to planning and designing determine the characteristics of research activities in this area. Here we must take into consideration economic, economic-political, aesthetic, psychological, and other requirements. The development of the technical sciences and their relations with the other social processes must be considered in order to determine the

specific nature and define the position of the technical sciences in the general process of social development. The profound and comprehensive study of all this will contribute to the further interpretation of phenomena and processes in the scientific and technical revolution at the present stage and to the making of effective decisions in accordance with the directival stipulations of the CPSU.

As a result of this meeting, the Central Council of Methodology Seminars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium passed a regulation on philosophy (methodology) seminars applicable to all scientific institutions and higher educational establishments in the country. It emphasizes the idea of the closest possible interaction between Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the individual sciences. It must define both the content and the organization of the work of seminars. Their very name clearly reflects the fact that they must deal with problems whose solution requires the direct use of dialectical materialism as a methodological base of contemporary science. The regulation formulates the main tasks of the seminars, defines their types, and ways and means of work, and principles of organization and management of their activities, as well as standard document forms.

The decree passed by the Central Council of the USSR Academy Sciences Presidium expresses the aspiration to strengthen even further the interconnection among social, natural, and technical sciences, and to upgrade the role of seminars in the elaboration of topical comprehensive problems of scientific and technical progress, and upgrading the effectiveness and quality of ideological work in scientific collectives; attention has been drawn to the topical nature of increasing the aggressive struggle against bourgeois ideology, anti-communism, and all forms of revisionism and opportunism. The Soviet scientists will mark with new successes the celebration of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and will make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan and of the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

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ON THE SUBJECT OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 79 pp 45-56

[Article by V. Ionov]

[Text] One of the most characteristic features of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine is its outstanding consistency and integrity, harmonious connection and intercoordination among a great variety of its concepts, even those which might seem to belong to quite disparate areas.

Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with any kind of eclecticism. Any conclusion drawn by the social sciences claiming to novelty and truth must be accessible to direct or indirect investigation by comparing it with conclusions already proven by Marxism, "passing it" through the X rays of classical methodology.

By virute of the very essence of Marxism-Leninism no single one of its parts could be arbitrarily removed. In the same manner alien additions to Marxism quickly show their incompatibility with its fabric. Let us point out that "solid" bourgeois liberalism has long been able to realize this from its class viewpoint. "Revisionists have thought and are still thinking," complained the "democratic" FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG, in 1908, referring to its allies in the social democratic camp, "that somehow one could retain Marx and, nevertheless, form another party. The hope is vain. Marx must either be absorbed whole or entirely rejected. No half-way methods are possible here. . . ."

"True, liberal gentlemen!" wrote V. I. Lenin on this occasion. "Once in a while you unexpectedly tell the truth!

". . . Gentlemen, you have perfectly described the nature of bourgeois science, bourgeois liberalism, and its entire politics. You have realized that Marx cannot be swallowed in bits" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 16, pp 469-470).

A close consideration of the problems of scientific communism as a structural component of Marxism-Leninism and as the theory of the new society

necessarily leads to the conclusion that the scientific concept of this society can only be comprehensive. It would hardly be admissible to take from such a concept (even with the stipulation that this is meant for some kind of scientific communism "in the narrow sense") any given process, the sociopolitical process for example, and try to build on it the entire theory of the developing system.

Such a reduction can bring nothing good. Absolutizing superstructural phenomena and ignoring the deep currents in the technical and economic base of society, cannot only disturb the integrity of the Marxist-Leninist historical materialistic approach to social phenomena and processes, but may nurture all possible subjectivistic illusions which, by virtue of their uncontrollability by objective factors, could take a great variety of directions and shades. No guarantee whatever exists against jumping into hasty and groundless categorical "leftism," or ideological looseness which fears clear views and conceals its avoidance of specificity and its omnivorous attitude behind the showy "fashionable" petty word "pluralism."

"At the present stage in the country's development," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress, "the need for further creative development of theory is not reduced. On the contrary, it becomes even greater." The task of developing a creative atmosphere in scientific work remains today as important as in the past. "Naturally," the report further noted, "the creative comparison of views must be based on our common Marxist-Leninist ideological platform. It is important systematically to observe the principles of party mindedness in science in order to firmly rebuff right-wing opportunistic and leftist views of foreign ideological opponents."

Actively discussing the subject of scientific communism, occasionally even qualified specialists have described it as philosophy. There was a view that in the 1960's, literally in front of our own eyes, it "detached" itself from the Marxist philosophical theory of social development--historical materialism.

The only true part in this opinion is that scientific communism is one of the youngest sociopolitical disciplines taught in higher educational institutions. However, to claim that it is just as "young" as a science as well may be expected either of students who naively link the "birth" of a science to the beginning of their own familiarity with it, or of university faculty members who, thinking on the basis of routine methodological positions, would decide where to "squeeze in" the new course in the curriculum, among other familiar subjects.

Views on the "youth" of scientific communism as a science are erroneous for the reason alone that it is one of the three components of Marxist-Leninist theory, a practical-political result and, at the same time, of an age as old as the philosophy and political economy of the working class, and that it appeared and developed as the spiritual weapon in the class struggle and

the revolutionary reorganization of society, becoming steadily richer on the basis of the summation and dialectical-materialistic processing of all the new creative accomplishments in the social and natural sciences and social practice.

As a system of knowledge on the social system asserted by the proletariat allied with the working people of town and country on the basis of the socialization of labor in large-scale machine industry, and the rejection of private and establishment of public ownership of productive capital, the theory of scientific communism is "senior" not only to the subject as it is taught, but to its practical implementation within the communist socio-economic system. It is a science which, like no other among the social sciences, proves the impossibility of successful social progress in the age of universal-historical domination of the working class without the preliminary interpretation of the leading trends of social development, and without the "faster reflection of reality," scientific prediction, and forecasting of social processes. As F. Engels pointed out in the third section of "Anti-Duhring" ("Socialism"), written in 1877-1878, large-scale industry developed the contradictions which were dormant in the capitalist production method into such obvious antagonisms that the approaching end of this production method could be almost physically felt, while the new production forces could be preserved and developed only through the introduction of a new production method consistent with their current development stage. These contradictions developed to such an extent that the struggle between the two classes, triggered by the existing production method and steadily reproduced by it, with an ever sharper antagonism, covered all civilized countries and is intensifying with every passing day. For this reason already now (in the 1870's, 40 years before the October Revolution--the author), an understanding has been reached of such historical interconnections, an understanding of the conditions of social change which has become necessary by virtue of such relations, as well as an understanding based on all the basic features of this change" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 277).

In its first phase, already extant in the world socialist system, unlike all other systems, real communism is the creation not only of history but of its natural product--science. It owes a great deal to the latter both for its appearance and steady advancement. Remove today from social activities, claiming to be revolutionary, its essential theoretical foundation--scientific communism--and you will have a disorderly "jerky" practice with the implementation of utopian "projects," adventuristic leaps into politics, and attempts either artificially to accelerate or deliberately to slow down natural social processes. This is clearly confirmed by the Maoists' fatal "experiment" in China and by their disgusting "students," the Pol Pot people in Kampuchea, which developed into a cynical annihilation of a civilization and a people, and a monstrous mockery of ideas.

Identifying the content of a school course in scientific communism with the content of the science itself is far from being an innocuous inaccuracy.

It leads to a number of both factually and politically erroneous conclusions. First of all, willy-nilly, the introduction of a new subject, in this case, is misinterpreted as a kind of "rebirth" of scientific communism, which allegedly had been "neglected," and had found itself in a "pen" in the post-Leninist period of the existence of the Soviet state. Secondly, matters are presented as though the party, implementing most important socialist changes between the 1920's and the 1950's, "did without" social science, which is the direct substantiation of its policy.

The extent to which such an image is inconsistent with reality is confirmed by the fact alone that it was precisely at that time that the CPSU and the other fraternal parties (initially in the USSR and, subsequently, in the people's democracies) implemented the Leninist plan for the building of socialism, and that Marxist social science was developed and was concretized above all precisely in its aspect that included and "serviced" scientific communism. The claim of a "break" in the development of this Marxist-Leninist structural component and in the dissemination and teaching of its basic stipulations is nothing but one of the manifestations of the familiar circumstantial-subjectivistic assessment of an entire period in the development of Soviet society which has been justifiably criticized and successfully surmounted following the October (1964) CC CPSU Plenum.

Finally, identifying the course in scientific communism with scientific communism as a science means, in fact, a justification of dilettantism in the management of various fields of social life. It creates, on the one hand, a groundless confidence that knowledge acquired merely on the basis of a limited school curriculum is sufficient in working as a scientist or making competent political decisions; on the other, it creates a scornful attitude to the effect that going beyond a popular textbook becomes an unnecessary "refinement," "complication" or "scholasticism." In other words, the superficial approach to the solution of most complex problems of party, state, economic, and cultural construction becomes the only acceptable one, while oversimplification, unrealistic ideas, and voluntarism are legitimized. This radically contradicts the Leninist style of work whose vital importance in practical political leadership was authoritatively discussed at the 25th CPSU Congress.

"Naturally," M. A. Suslov said at the 16 October 1979 All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, "scientific ideas must be taken in their entire depth to the broad toiling masses in an intelligible language, firmly uprooting various cliches and pseudo-science. While striving toward maximum popularity in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory, it is important always to remember that there are limits which no popularity could or should cross. By this I mean the depth and meaningfulness of thoughts. In Lenin's words, this precisely is what distinguishes the popularization of great doctrine among the broadest popular masses from base popularization."

Obviously, we should not forget the truth that the content of science can be presented in terms of a school subject only in the ideal. As a rule,

however, it is far broader, richer, and more complex. Naturally, there have been cases in which an entire scientific direction, previously unknown, may have been based on a new course of lectures by an outstanding scientist. However, this is more the rule than the exception. A subject which contains only the most accurate and, at any given stage, unquestionable, end conclusions of research usually cannot (nor should it) cover the entire scientific data, the entire system of proofs and hypotheses or viewpoints on as yet unresolved scientific problems; it provides a kind of "extract" of science, i.e., something universally acknowledged and whose foundations could be learned by non-specialists. In terms of scientific communism this means what it necessary for mastering the Marxist-Leninist program for the revolutionary reorganization of society by masses of people who are not engaged in the least in the specialized scientific study of political and social problems.

The purpose of a course is pedagogical, methodological. It is based on the interests of the clarity of presentation, the reaching of maximum understanding, and the fastest possible mastering by the students of some, usually necessarily limited, amounts of knowledge. The purpose of science is different: it is the steady forward progress in the field of the unknown, the transformation of the unknown into the known. It has practically no limits, for its subject is inexhaustible. That is why, frequently, science and a school discipline are different in terms of structure, volume, content, and nature of ties with related disciplines.

Obviously, training courses must also be structured scientifically. From time to time their compilers must "take an inventory" and include that which has become unquestionable, which has been additionally acquired by science within one or another period, without being satisfied with older data. The texts of lectures and plans for seminars must be systematically revised. One must not entirely lose himself in the labyrinth of previous methodological developments, but always remember the fact that science, being immeasurably broader than the field of research, experiences constant changes and, in the final account, always outstrips any taught subject. The substantial distinction between the latter and the science it teaches always consists of the following: In science priorities are based on the relationship between the searching social awareness and the totally unknown object, while the training course is based on the relationship between the searching individual awareness and phenomena known to science, its developed methods for analysis, and the sum total of information already acquired by society.

Science can exist even without representing a special teaching subject. For example, for a long time the foundations of scientific communism were taught to students in courses on historical materialism, socialist political economy, and party history. Such "lack of independence" in teaching a science did not mean in the least that said science was not sovereign as a specific field of knowledge. At the same time, we must acknowledge that the separate teaching of this science raised the level of its "sovereignty," and contributed to the refining and more detailed, profound, and systematic elaboration of its problems.

Most frequently it is a question of distinguishing between the subjects of scientific communism and historical materialism, which is part of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. This is no accident. There has always been and there always will be a profound and close interconnection among such fields of knowledge. In the period following the appearance of communism, but before the writing of the "Das Kapital," scientific communism was a set of conclusions based mainly on the philosophical-sociological analysis of the trends in the growth and decline of capitalist society and, on the basis of this analysis, a reinterpretation of previous utopian socialist ideas. Whereas the claim of "separation" of scientific communism, which is accurate to a certain extent (even though the very term "separation," which for some reason is greatly liked by some philosophers, is obviously loose from the scientific viewpoint), obviously this would apply not to the 1960's of the 20th century, but to the time interval from the mid-40's to the mid'60's (the first volume of "Das Kapital" was published in 1867) of the 19th century. Therefore, the specialists who identified the beginning of the teaching of scientific communism as a separate subject with its developing as a separate science were behind no less than a century.

Substantial changes have taken place since then in the status of scientific communism within the system of sciences. In the 19th century they were related to two circumstances--the creation of a Marxist political economy and the development of the revolutionary movement of the international working class, thanks to which non-philosophical data invaded and assumed a noteworthy position within scientific communism.

What does this mean in specific terms?

First of all, before the appearance of the first socialist state, i.e., before the 1917 proletarian revolution in Russia, the only real subject of scientific political economy was that of capitalist and pre-capitalist production relations. The science developed, above all, as capitalist political economy. At the same time, already then the elements of the future socialist political economy were developing within Marxism as a scientific prediction. However, since its own subject--real socialist production relations--had not as yet appeared, it did not as yet exist as a separate science. It is interesting to note that these elements were included by the founders of our doctrine, at that time, not within political economy but within scientific socialism, thus taking it beyond the limits of philosophy. To prove this, it would suffice to study the structure and content of Engels' "Anti-Duhring," and Lenin's works "Karl Marx" and "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism."

Secondly, scientific communism could no longer be conceived merely within the framework of historical materialism also because it began to formulate the foundations of the strategy and tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat, which, again, is not a task of philosophy.

Turning to the history of the development of scientific communism enables us to find yet another difficulty in the study of its changing

interrelationships with philosophy: the impossibility to avoid a consideration of the link between both with a third science--political economy. That is why a clarification of the principles on the basis of which the subjects of the three component parts of Marxism is a prerequisite for the continuation of the study. Here again the fact that the subjects of these sciences cannot be separated on the basis of a single strict ground, as they partially coincide in terms of content and, therefore, objectively are not mutually exclusive, has been the reason for a number of differences among scientists.

In fact:

Marxist-Leninist philosophy deals with the universal laws governing the movement of nature, society, and knowledge; such laws are of interest to science from the viewpoint of the most expedient organization and control of the practical interaction between the social man and the socio-natural environment which surrounds him from all sides or, expressed in strictly philosophical terms, the interaction between the subject of historical practice with its object. In one or another historical age the so-called "intellectual background" has a great influence on the activities of the scientist. Here the world perception and outlook of the class whose interests are expressed by the philosopher consciously or subconsciously play the main role, i.e., the historically determined system of knowledge of relations between man and his surrounding natural and social conditions, his place in the world, the purpose and meaning of his life and activities, and the system of traditions and behavioral norms consistent with this system. Marxism-Leninism alone raises the philosophical awareness of the age to a scientific level and it alone can surmount the class limitations of such awareness;

Political economy studies material social production relations, which are of the greatest importance to mankind, production-economic relations, above all, constituting at each stage of social development the economic structure of society and its base;

As to scientific communism, its subject is a single socioeconomic system considered in its entirety as a developing, living, dynamic, and contradictory organism with its base and superstructure and its general laws and their specific manifestation in the conscious practical activities of the toiling masses guided by the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The following conclusion may be drawn on the basis of a short description of the similarities and differences between the subjects of these sciences: Common to all three, one way or another, is a consideration of social laws; common to philosophy and political economy is the fact that both (true, each in its own way) study all socioeconomic systems; common to socialist political economy and scientific communism is the particular attention paid to the establishment and development of a single, specifically a new, historical society; common to philosophy and scientific communism is the comprehensiveness of the consideration of society in the totality of its essential relations, both material and ideological.

Hence the difference between the last two sciences and political economy: the latter studies the production-economic aspect of social life, which, even though most important, is the only aspect and, compared with philosophy and scientific communism, is analytical in nature. Both philosophy and the theory of scientific communism are synthetic, even though they do not duplicate each other, and complex, even though differently: the former studies human society as such, while the latter deals exclusively with communist society.

As we know, Marxist social philosophy--historical materialism--deals with the laws which operate either in all systems (laws of interaction between social life and social consciousness, production and tenor of life, division of labor, correspondence between production forces and production relations, etc), or in a number of systems (such as, for example, the laws of the class struggle, development of statehood, etc). The various types of human communities remain in the center of its attention--the means through which the individual, the collective, and society are interlinked under different social conditions and at one or another level of development of production and culture. Historical materialism studies the universal and the specific in history. It does not engage in the special study of a specific historical society in terms of their specific phenomena (even though it relies on its analysis), for this would mean the loss of its specific nature and its dissolution within the science of history. In all cases, it remains the philosophy of history, for which reason it cannot be a science of the laws governing one or another separate system.

Legitimately deriving from the preceding historical process the inevitable transition to a communist social system, historical materialism seems to be "surrendering" here its "rights" to scientific communism. The communist system is the focal point of attention of historical materialism to the extent to which it confirms through its appearance and subsequent evolution the social laws it has formulated. Further, it is interested in it as a party science expressing the historical interests of a specific social class--the proletariat. Finally, it is promising as being alive and steadily acquiring a variety of social data from the viewpoint of the subsequent development of historical materialism itself.

Let me clarify this thought. As a real system of social relations in the initial, the socialist phase of its development, communism stems from the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist socioeconomic system which was established initially in a single country. Did the laws of the establishment, development, and functioning of the socialist social system which appeared with it have a universal nature from the very beginning? Yes, the Marxist-Leninist would answer, even though he would acknowledge that the differentiation among the universal, particular, and specific features of the revolutionary process in one or another country is always very difficult in terms of its theoretical-political analysis. Using this, the enemies of socialism are still continuing to deny its sociohistorical determinism and its unconditional necessity for any country. Such attempts

have been particularly adamant when the laws of the new system, carrying within it a universal principle and trends of universal-historical significance which, in the final account, will inevitably appear and dominate the way of life of each nation, when such laws, from the viewpoint of their dissemination, have acted for a certain period of time essentially within the limits of the only proletarian state and in that sense (and only in that sense) were exclusive. Understandably, for this reason they could not have been the special subject of scientific communism alone.

With the consecutive dropping of a number of countries from the world's capitalist system and the establishment and replenishment of the world socialist system, its laws are ever more actively narrowing the laws inherent in capitalism, reducing their field of action while expanding their own, and acquiring, from the viewpoint of their dissemination, no longer an isolated but a special nature, proving themselves to be, to an ever greater extent, the regulators of the universal-historical process and coming closer in terms of the level of universality to the laws studied by historical materialism. This advance will continue until socialism, in the final account, has become a comprehensive world system and its main laws have become the universal laws governing social development. At that point the opposite may be predicted: the most common of these laws will, in all likelihood, once again, little by little, begin to deal ever more energetically with historical materialism and the extent to which it is separated from scientific communism will be reduced ever more substantially.

The following characteristic picture will develop (which must necessarily be presented here schematically):

First, in the middle of the 19th century there was the birth of scientific communism together with historical materialism and on its basis;

This was followed by its fundamental substantiation outside of philosophy on the basis of conclusions related to political economy;

This was followed by an enrichment through the practice of the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class;

The there was a merger with the practice of building a new society;

Finally, after a lengthy period of relatively autonomous development which will be concluded with the victory of socialism throughout the world, a "restoration" of its general conclusions (in a form which we do not nor could know as yet) to historical materialism.

In other words, this would be expressed as follows:

Prior to victorious socialist revolutions Marxist social philosophy is based on the factual data drawn only from the pre-history of human society;

Following the founding of initially one and, subsequently, a number of socialist countries, it draws data also from the international experience of the building of socialism and communism;

Finally, a time comes when the only real data for it will be communism winning in all corners of the globe.

The only possible conclusion at this point will be that the most general laws governing social development must become the general laws of the new system developing on their own base. Mankind will no longer know of any other.

When the collectivistic organization of production and all social practice has definitely made "obsolete" the habitual way of life, the practical-political significance of scientific turns to the irreversible past and the pre-history of human society will abate for understandable reasons (even though the interest which the public and science may show in them may periodically rise), and the broadest possible summations of scientific communism will be able to function in the role of historical materialism. Therefore, whereas, initially, historical materialism "founded" the first form of scientific communism, whose task was the theoretical prediction of the essential features of the new system, in the course of its further development, particularly as a result of its merger with the revolutionary struggle and the appearance and development of its real subject--the socialist and communist society, gradually becoming the only type of society on earth--scientific communism will become a kind of main starting base for the historical materialism of the communist age, in a way repaying to it its "debt."

According to a quite familiar concept, philosophy does not directly study phenomena in nature and social life, but deals with them as they are reflected in other scientific concepts. It is precisely this quality that must be manifested in the dialectical "change of roles" we described between historical materialism and scientific communism, a change which will inordinately enrich Marxist-Leninist social science. Whereas the very fact of the appearance of scientific communism, contrary to utopian communism, entirely depended on the creation of a dialectical-materialistic philosophy of history, as we can see, in the course of time, conversely, the development of such philosophy itself will become ever more dependent on precisely the successes of scientific communism.

Arguing on the subject of scientific communism and failing to make a distinction between it as a science and a school discipline, many social scientists have experienced difficulties in separating scientific communism from socialist political economy, since they shared a great number of common features not only in terms of methodology, but of problems and conclusions. Since the latter has long been taught as a separate course in VUZ's and technical schools, it was suggested to "restrict" scientific communism to a sum total of problems of a superstructural nature and "assign"

it the study of the laws governing the activities of Marxist-Leninist parties and workers-peasant states in guiding the process of shaping socialist and communist social relations.

This approach might seem tempting from the viewpoint of observing continuity in the teaching of the social sciences. Had the reason here been merely the unwillingness to change the existing course in political economy and, above all, of the question of the pedagogical expediency of including or not including one or another problem in the subject, obviously, its solution should have been entrusted to methododological specialists and their decision obeyed. However, when such a viewpoint is motivated through assertions that it is precisely this that the subject of scientific communism "must" be "as a science," an entirely natural objection arises. Why is it necessary to tear up the system by "forbidding" scientific communism to consider one of the most important aspects of its subject--the base of the appearing communist society?

In this case socialist political economy, while remaining a section of Marxist political economy as a science of production relations and, at the same time, a theory of the base of socialist society, cannot fail to act as one of the parts of scientific communism as well. Externally, the subject of "scientific communism" does not claim to provide a comprehensive presentation of the theory of the new production method. On the training level such a presentation may (and, probably, still must) immediately follow the study of the laws governing the capitalist production method. This is a matter of method and tradition. As a science, however, scientific communism cannot fail to encompass this theory. We may agree or disagree with this conclusion. The fact, however, remains irrefutable: a tremendous area of social science belongs to two sciences. We have no right to "order" either of them as to the type of study it "must" deal with and what it "should" abandon. In this case we are dealing not with the logic of professional-shop interests affecting one or another detachment of social scientists, but with the incomparably more powerful and insurmountable logic of the social object itself.

The argument on whether to include the theory of socialist (and communist) production relations either within political economy or scientific communism seems sterile and insoluble, for it is based on the metaphysical confrontation of "here or there." Yet, neither science could do without the study of such relations in their specific breakdown: the former by singling out production relations from the sum total of socialist social relations and considering them as a separate subject of research; the latter, by considering production relations within the system of all other social relations.

Naturally, it cannot be said that such an "either-or" approach would be absolutely unsuitable. Far from it. First of all, at the initial stages of a study it is always necessary temporarily to breakdown and separately to interpret the various sides of its subject. Thus, in the case of one or

another type of production relations in the socialist society, it would be entirely natural for specialists in scientific communism to abstract themselves for a time from a consideration of other types of social relations and to try purposefully to study everything which has been accomplished so far by specialists in political economy. In turn, the political economist is objectively forced occasionally to abandon the extensive yet nevertheless limited field of his specific occupation and adopt the "integral" viewpoint of scientific communism, so that at a given point he could present the new society as an organic entity. It is only after such a study that he could broaden his range and try also to encompass the interaction between production and other, such as ideological, relations. Secondly, the "either-or" concept is useful for pedagogical purposes: it would be sensible from the methodological viewpoint, to initially acquaint the students with the analytical breakdown, making it, therefore, easier to understand the subject. It would be inadmissible only to ascribe to this method an unjustifiably broad significance in science as a result of which it results may turn out to be inaccurate.

Thus, acknowledging as accurate the view that scientific communism is a science dealing with the laws of the establishment, development, and functioning of the communist socioeconomic system, we reach the conclusion that its correlation with the other two structural components of Marxism-Leninism is complex. It coincides with political economy in the aspect which studies the base of the socialist and communist society, i.e., it deals in its own way with that field of knowledge today known as socialist political economy.

As to philosophy, scientific communism has given it invaluable historical help throughout its development. What is the problem here? To answer the question let us recall one of Lenin's views. "Engels openly states," we read in "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," that "'with any age-making discovery, even in the history of science' (not to mention the history of mankind) 'materialism inevitably must change its form'. . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 18, p 265). Historical materialism as well is subject to such changes and it is precisely scientific communism that promises to provide a specific base for this (and is already doing so). In other words, it is very promising as a summation of the greatest discoveries in theory and practice affecting the true history of human society and raising the philosophical self-awareness of mankind to a new level.

As we know, historical materialism appeared as the result of the discovery by Marx and Engels of the decisive role played by material production in social development. For many decades it was precisely material production that was if not the only, in any case, the main realm of productive toil. The scientific and technical revolution which has been developing since the middle of the 20th century introduced here qualitatively new aspects. For the first time it proved, on a mass scale, the direct correlation between the development of production forces and research, scientific discoveries, and innovative ideas. Therefore, spiritual production began to be part of

productive toil. Under socialist conditions, which put an end to the exploitation of a tremendous majority for the sake of the enrichment of an insignificant minority, this is combined with the gradual growth of the significance of ideological-moral and creative incentives along with economic incentives to work. In addition to the eternal stimuli--the material needs of man--today, to an ever greater extent, spiritual requirements and the developing need for work itself, under the influence of socialist social relations, are assuming an ever greater role as motive factors for labor activity. All such changing correlations require the further study of the foundations of social progress, intensified by taking the new realities and conclusions of scientific communism into consideration.

The coincidence between some of the content and problems of scientific communism and the other components of Marxism-Leninism does not exclude the existence of unique characteristics of that science. The clearest example of this is found in the numerous specific sociological studies conducted by party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations together with scientific institutions throughout the country.

Those who consider that a sociological study is entirely a subject treated by historical materialism, on the one hand, and supporters of the development as an independent science of the so-called "specific sociology," on the other, may object. The first are wrong for including in the realm of the philosophical sciences strictly applied research carried out with the help of quantitative methods not specific to historical materialism (demographic, specific-economic, etc). The second are wrong because they refuse to note that the "specific sociology" they support, which includes studies which vary both in terms of topic as well as level of summation, turns out to be, first of all, heterogeneous and, secondly, deprived of a single theoretical base.

Actually, "specific sociology" is not singled out in our country as a separate science, perhaps due to the fact alone that it provides a quantitative analysis and modeling of social processes occurring in the socialist society mainly on the basis of the interest of scientifically substantiating the management of its progress. For this reason it would be no exaggeration to claim that it operates and progresses entirely within the channel of scientific communism, having no social data other than dynamic socialist reality with all its "hypostases," and without any objective other than comprehensively helping to improve it.

Therefore, in addition to its general theoretical system, scientific communism has a tremendous applied unity whose purpose is to provide a scrupulously detailed study of the bigger and smaller components of the socialist society as single social organism, and for acquiring a great deal of specific data which become the base of new theoretical conclusions and practical decisions. The further successful development in a state of harmonious interrelationship of both the system and this specific link within the system is a mandatory prerequisite for the confident and victorious building of communism.

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'WITH TRUTH IN THE HEART . . .'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 79 pp 57-61

[Article by L. Kerbel', people's painter of the USSR and laureate of the Lenin and State prizes]

[Text] The Soviet painter is flesh from the flesh of our great creative people and his works are inspired by and passionately aspire to see, understand, and record forever the unique, the splendid features of the new world and the new man. The organic nationality of art, and the burning Bolshevik party-mindedness of a creative position are the inviolable foundations on which the grandiose building of Soviet artistic culture is rising. The fate of the fatherland and the shoots of the communist future in our life are both our fate as artists and the leading topic of our work.

In our day the high social vocation of art is revealed with particular emphasis. It derives its particular urgency from the life of the people. I remember the noteworthy statement by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev which describes the main purpose and hope of the creative searchers of the men of Soviet culture: ". . . The artistic word, the colors, expressiveness of stone, and harmony of sound inspire our contemporaries and provide the hearts and souls of our descendants a memory of our generation and our time, with its concerns and accomplishments."

Socialist artistic culture is greatly responsible for the solution of the key problem of raising a comprehensively developed and ideologically convinced person. I had the luck to participate in the recent all-union conference of ideological workers at which the progress of Soviet art toward the ever more profound and fruitful study of the character of our contemporary--the builder of communism--and the daring turn of the artists to the complex and topical problems of our time was highly rated by the party. Our art, the speakers said, must awake civic-mindedness, promote socialist idea-mindedness, and develop an active life-stance and irreconcilability toward philistinism and manifestations of private ownership mentality. The new society can be built only by highly conscientious and convinced people.

The militant, aggressive, and critical nature of the conference, and the ideas expressed at it that art is a powerful means for ideological and

educational work, and that the men of culture must focus their attention on major and socially significant problems, affected me, as a painter and sculptor, most of all. The point is that monumental art is one of the most durable, most effective forms of propaganda work. In his talk with A. V. Lunacharskiy, V. I. Lenin expressed his brilliant idea of monumental propaganda. Vladimir Il'ich wanted to involve art in the education of new generations and in molding civic and patriotic feelings. Today we must implement his behests. However, to accomplish this we must be worthy of the great task set by Lenin and raise our souls to its level.

I recall a conversation I had once in my studio. I was visited by a journalist. She looked at castings of heads along the walls, photographs of monuments to Marx and Lenin, sketches of monuments to our soldiers-liberators, and asked: "But what do you do for the soul?" Our talk was unsuccessful, for all that I had been able to create, all that was in the workshop or on squares in Moscow, Smolensk, Kaluga, Kazan', Sofia, Karl-Marx-Stadt, or Columbo, all of this had been created for the soul, by order of the heart and the mind, for a profound inner need. All this was also the history of the typical life of an artist under socialist conditions (by happy coincidence I was born on 7 November 1917), the story of his difficult spiritual growth and creative searches, in order to master the age through man, through his appearance and his character. "This time is humming in telegraph wires and this heart is with truth. It was with the fighters or the country or beating in my heart," was the poetic and civic mood beautifully expressed by Mayakovskiy. This has always fed my own work as a sculptor.

Ever since I appeared in this world, socialism gave me citizenship and it was this that predetermined my entire life and career. I grew up together with the Soviet state and with it listed my memorable dates. History powerfully entered my childhood when, in January of 1924, when I, together with friends and relatives, with the entire people, experienced the great sadness of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's death. Since then his face has become painfully familiar to me. Those winter days, when the people were parting with their leader and teacher, left and inordinately strong impression on me. My first adolescent work, which marked, in fact, the beginning of my career in art, was taken in 1933 with a molded bas relief of V. I. Lenin in which I tried to put all my love and respect for the brilliant thinker and revolutionary.

Naturally, the topic of Lenin, huge and unencompassable, was beyond the forces of the adolescent mind and clumsy hands. However, already then I thought about it and marched toward it. Subsequently, becoming ever more familiar with Vladimir Il'ich's revolutionary biography, and reading and rereading his works and recollections of his friends and party fellow workers, thirstily absorbing everything new in our literary, graphic, and plastic Leniniana, I marched toward our great compatriot, discovering for myself ever new features of his noble appearance. Without such long and fruitful work, essentially philosophical, and without an interpretation of

Lenin's figure as shown on photographs and portraits, in the light of his historical revolutionary-transforming activities, continued by the communist party, and without tireless attempts to find a key to the plastic realization of this topic, based on the people's image of Lenin carried in the soul, without this there would be no monuments of Vladimir Il'ich in Poltave, Birobidzhan, Smolensk, Leninskiye, Gor'kiy or Sofia. To this day I go to Lenin and with every step discover a new horizon.

Naturally, the road of the sculptor to his topic is different from that of the writer or composer. Specific problems facing the difficult craft of the sculptor arise involving skill, mastery of the subject, freshness, precision of the plastic language, and so on. However, a new plastic language cannot come without an ideological intent which requires its true artistic representation. In my view, the typical process of the realistic depiction of life goes from a profoundly understood and felt subject to its meaningful graphic development, to its only proper and, therefore, effective form. This is, I think, the main line of true search and innovation in art.

In fact, how does art develop? It is raised to new heights not by self-seeking technical virtuosity, not by putting an object on a rack, and not by modernistic and abstractionist affectations. . . . There is no question, problems of form can be underestimated least of all in the creative professions, along with technical skill, perfect mastery of all the secrets of the trade, ability, and inventiveness. Occasionally very talented people may have been carried away by strictly formal searches and, perhaps, they may have contributed to the development of some new artistic methods. However, we well know that a true work of art is not only an invention in terms of form, but a discovery in terms of content.

To assume that technical exercises cover the entire meaning of art is the equivalent of believing that the sharpening of knives and the cleaning of pots is the main feature in cooking tasty and nutritive food. Art attracts and spiritually nourishes the soul when real life beats in it, when it is exposed to all the winds of history, when it is supported by a spirit of humanism. If this is lacking art drys out, degenerates into mere entertainment and a toy for snobs, i.e., it perishes.

"New art is always born with the new man." This thought expressed by J. Becher, I believe, explains a great deal in the evolution of sculpture to which essentially man is the supreme objective of all aspirations, so to speak the super task of creativity. One could engage in producing abstract paintings, understood by no one and, honestly stated, unneeded by anyone. One could also dedicate one's life to the recreation of the beautiful images of Marx and Lenin which embody the best human features, to perpetuate the characters of cosmonauts and labor heroes--the most outstanding representatives of our age. At that point such a creation is no longer something personal. It belongs to the people, it affects them, it calls them to become better and purer. This the supreme joy.

All my works in the war and postwar years and most of my portraits are imbued with the tireless desire to depict the character and reach the beauty of the new, the socialist man, my contemporary, and to discover his moral wealth, experience his feelings, and penetrate his thoughts.

At the start of the Great Patriotic War I was assigned to the Northern Fleet as military painter. I care very much for the portraits of Northern Fleet troops. I knew these people well, I saw them in difficult and responsible times, I knew how they would behave in the face of death. This sharpened my feelings and made my vision more accurate and precise. It was as though the deep knowledge of a person itself was guiding my hands molding the clay. With such knowledge and love for man the work proceeded amazingly easily and quickly. For example, I worked with particular inspiration immediately before battle sculpting the head of Hero of the Soviet Union, flier N. A. Bokiy.

Portraits were painted of troops and commanders in semi-dark shelters, close to the front line, under the thunder of artillery shelling and to the accompaniment of savage fascist bombing. I shall never forget Twice Hero of the Soviet Union V. S. Petrov. This man lost both hands in the war, yet remained in the active army. He was the embodiment of the man of the new system, raised by the Soviet system, and I wanted to depict him in such a way as to enable the people to realize the sources of his heroism.

To this day the topic of the war exploits of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War remains dear and exciting to the Soviet painters. Working on monuments and memorials perpetuating the unfading glory and spiritual greatness of our soldiers and of the peaceful toilers in times of severe trials--monuments erected today in Moscow, Yaroslavl', Berlin, Zeelow, Rudny, and Maloyaroslavets--I thought of our unpaid debt to those who defended the fatherland arms in hand and tirelessly worked for victory in the rear, those who lay in the embrasures of strong points or used their airplanes like a battering ram, to the millions of men and women, children, and adults whose lives were carried off by the bloody river of war. I consider as the greatest distinction the fact that I, like many of my comrades and colleagues, had the honor to make my contribution to this great patriotic cause. To revere the memory of the heroes is the call of my homeland, my party, my people. It is the order of my heart.

In the postwar years sculptures of heads became the main direction of my work. This is a complex and demanding art, which tolerates no indifference or superficiality. Mere technique would not do. Thanks to sculpture I have been able to meet many outstanding people, precious to me. It made it possible to express my love for them. I wanted to do this truthfully and clearly, deeply and expressively, even though I was far from always successful.

The attitude of the artist toward his character largely determines the success of the work. I became convinced of this working on the busts of

our cosmonauts. I was fortunate to become more familiar with them. Before that, I had read a great deal about them, listened to radio broadcasts, and looked at motion pictures. Gradually, I developed a certain image of the cosmonaut as an unusual person not only by virtue of his profession, but his appearance as well. In reality, however, everything looked entirely different. They were all optimistic, simple, communicative, and good people. Naturally, they had different characters, likes, and inclinations. However, what united them was a feeling of friendship, collectivism, and reciprocal support. At the same time, they showed a great deal of new and outstanding features which could not be found, for example, among the fliers in Chkalov's time.

I made several successful busts of Yuriy Gagarin, for I knew and loved our first cosmonaut and was an old friend of his. He was a very warm, responsive, and happy person, with a deep and fine feeling for beauty. He was a symbol of the modern Soviet man, the embodiment of the best found in our people. I believe that Gagarin vividly embodied our age, the postwar years of our country, with its constant aspiration to go forward. Time passed and the Gagarin generation, those young builders with their caps pushed back, which I depicted in 1947 in the sculpture "Labor Reserves," became the pioneers of space flight.

The strong civic principle in plastic art has always been expressed in monuments, which gradually became the focal point of attraction of my creative thoughts and aspirations. That is why I welcomed with such deep emotion the announcement of the all-union open contest for a design for a monument to Karl Marx in Moscow. I used all my forces and experience in working on the monument of the founder of scientific communism.

Marx' figure had long drawn my attention. Marx is one of the tremendous figures of universal history. His personality blended two powerful and previously separate currents which embodied the leading trends of social progress: the revolutionary struggle of the social depths, the toiling masses, for their liberation from class oppression, and the forward development of progressive science and culture, involvement with which was the privilege of the ruling classes. As a historical person Marx grew from the elements of the people's protest, directing and disciplining it through his brilliant thinking.

An article by A. V. Lunacharskiy which described Marx as a block, a monolith, provided me with a plastic solution to the shape of the monument. My idea was a monument hewn out of a single piece of rock out of which should rise the figure of the leader of the world's proletariat. It was from this grain of an artistic image that gradually a more detailed vision of the monument matured, which in turn I transformed and enriched without losing the basic idea.

I was immeasurable happy to learn that my design for the monument had been accepted and that I had been commissioned to make it out of granite. The

day of the inauguration of Marx' monument became the most precious and memorable day of my life. The recognition of my work triggered an unparalleled flow of energy and the infinite desire to work, to do everything within the possibility of my modest forces to justify this high honor and trust shown by the party and the people.

Work on a monument of Marx on his own land, in the workers' city with great revolutionary traditions, now named after him, became a turning point in my life. Here the sculptured image of Marx was crystalized from a thought once expressed by F. Engels: with Marx' death mankind became shorter by a head. Marx is the head, the mind, and the will of the working class and of all mankind. The creative nature of the Marxist theory is emphasized by the "flying" aspect of Marx, coordinated with a time when the world of socialism, in which the ideas of Marxism triumphed, inaurgurated for mankind the space age with the launching of the first man-made earth satellite. The monument in Karl-Marx-Stadt organically blends with the surrounding city square, dominating its architectural appearance.

To me this monument became a symbol of the unbreakable friendship between the USSR and the GDR, and a testimony of the love and respect which our contemporaries feel for the great son of the German people. Wherever I have been and worked abroad, in the GDR, Sri Lanka, Bulgaria, and Italy, I have seen that true art is an irreplaceable means of struggle for peace and for the better future of the people, a harbinger of friendship among nations and international solidarity of the working people of all continents.

The busts of political leaders and soldiers, workers, kolkhoz members, men of culture, and foreign communist fellow workers, monuments which I have made, and the works of other sculptors, my colleagues, will, I would like to believe, present in the course of time the overall portrait of our people, of our age.

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LENIN'S ADVICE TO THE GENERATIONS

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[Article by V. Chikin]

[Text] The Communist Youth League, created by Lenin, motherly nurtured by the party, has already entered its seventh decade. "The Komsomol is entirely mature," said L. I. Brezhnev at the 18th Komsomol Congress. "Its spirit, however, is always young." The youthfulness of the spirit is replenished with each new influx of young forces and maturity is increased through the experience of the struggle.

Yes, the age of the Komsomol is determined today not in terms of bylaws or chronology. We interpret short flashes and entire decades of rich and active life of a single organism, energized by the beating of a single heart, inspired by a single ideal, striving toward a single goal. The 39-million-strong family of today's Komsomol members justifiably includes millions of fighters who, under the leadership of the Leninist party, launched the communist youth movement in the country and which rallied and developed it. Their lives are merged with its history and their actions and thoughts are merged in the vital force which we know as revolutionary continuity.

A Great Heritage

The first members of the great Komsomol tribe matured early, very early. Fifteen-year-old Nikolay Ostrovskiy enlisted in Kotovskiy's brigade, in Budennyy's cavalry. The youth went through the Civil War with blades and bullets, paying in blood for each victory and revolutionary lesson. No less fierce was the struggle against dislocation. We could confidently say that Korchagin's narrow-gage track was the most difficult prologue to the Bykal-Amur Main Line. Socialism grew together with the young generation of the October Revolution. Dneproges, the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, Magnitka, Komsomol'sk, Turksib, and Metrostroy are not merely a list of big projects, but also peaks of spiritual self-expression and landmarks in the social maturing of the youth league.

In the time of Nikolay Ostrovskiy, after telling the inspiring story of Pavka Korchagin, would be turning the first pages of the Komsomol's biography, life would add to it ever new chapters and discover new heroes. Komsomol member Makar Mazay would set a world record in steel smelting, and Pasha Angelina would lead to the field the first Komsomol brigade of girl tractor drivers in the country. In the period of the Lenin call, when Ovstrovskiy was given his Bolshevik party card, Aleksandr Matrosov was born. Like millions of people his age he would have the honor to carry Korchagin's baton across the most difficult part of the race--through the fronts of the Patriotic War. In 1943, when Matrosov fell, Yuriy Gagarin was entering school. He received his Komsomol card and his training during the postwar renaissance, when the country was rising from the wreckage and undertaking huge contruction projects and discovering extremely rich underground resources. At the time of the Virgin Lands storming he was already beginning his first training flights. . . . At the time when Gagarin crossed the threshold of the universe the Komsomol was joined by those who will develop Samotlor, lay the Baykal-Amur Main Line, commission the KamAZ, and build Atommash. . . .

Today's Komsomol has fully inherited Korchagin's enthusiasm, the flame in the heart of Aleksandr Matrosov, the energy of Pasha Angelina, and Gagarin's daring. . . . Standing at the origins of the communist youth movement, V. I. Lenin was convinced that the unity and continuity of generations, and the blending of young forces with the strength of the party will become a powerful factor in the successful struggle waged by the working people and in the victorious ascent of society along the ladder of social progress. Lenin's formula was extremely clear: We fight better than our fathers; our children will fight even better and they will win; we will always be the party of the youth of the progressive class.

The core of Lenin's doctrine of the development of the youth movement is Vladimir Il'ich's immortal speech at the Third All-Russian Congress of the RKSM. Addressing the vanguard of revolutionary youth, 600 young communists, Lenin outlined the basic tasks of the youth league, singling out the main question: what and how it must learn if it is to be truly communist, and how to prepare it to complete the great cause of its fathers.

"This Leninist formulation of the question," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 18th Komsomol Congress, "is still entirely topical. The main thing today as well in the work of the Komsomol and in the party guidance of this work is what we must teach the youth and how the youth must learn (naturally, not only in schools, but in the broader sense, in the sense of the science of life) to become a worthy builder of communism."

"A Single Word"--Learn!

The first of Lenin's legacies is concentrated in the word "learn." However, this is only "one word." It does not as yet provide an answer to the main question: what to learn and how? Vladimir Il'ich directs the youth

to the understanding of the truth that socialism must eliminate illiteracy, for an incalculable number of Russians--three out of four adults--were illiterate. One had to battle literally for each school. The army of young enthusiasts had to act organizedly, marching toward the elimination of illiteracy the way the masses were rising to the struggle against the White Guards, dislocation, and hunger. The idea of public education was the basis of Lenin's strategy for the cultural revolution. Vladimir Il'ich explained to the Komsomol members that ordering or raising a proper slogan was not enough; it was not enough to direct into such work a certain percentage of the best workers. Mass activity had to be displayed, rallying the entire forces of the 400,000-strong league, so that, mastering knowledge, it would help all young people to leave the darkness of ignorance behind.

The Komsomol was to take up this instruction as its most personal and urgent matter. The selfless work to eliminate illiteracy constitutes an entire historical period in the biography of the league. In the 20 years which followed Lenin's decree, about 60 million people were taught.

A new stage--universal training--followed the elimination of illiteracy. The privations of the war became a major obstacle on the path of this tall wave, but were unable either to destroy or suppress the tireless passion for knowledge awakened in millions of people who had become aware of being the true transformers of the world. On the contrary, this passion became even stronger. We recall the crowded classrooms of the postwar years. We remember the tireless study of textbooks by working boys and girls. The mass census of the young people conducted 15 years after the war revealed that one of the most characteristic features of the generation was the aspiration to acquire knowledge. What a splendid heritage!

"I am a fitter, a brigade leader," says Hero of Socialist Labor V. Semenov. "Immediately after the war I was unable to study and it was only at the age of 41 that I graduated from technical school. On the one hand, this was late. On the other, tell me of another country in which the head of a family who must feed his children could allow himself the 'luxury' of studying. I was given this right by the Soviet state. Many of my brothers and sisters (we are 10) have secondary technical training. My son graduated from secondary school, served in the army, and as of last year he has worked as a gager (a very modern skill) in the neighboring shop. My daughter is graduating from an institute. . . ."

Now, when the conversion to universal secondary education has been essentially completed, we can cite most impressive educational statistics. This year over 40 million secondary school students are going to school. Over one million first year students have entered universities. There are nine million students attending correspondence and evening schools, technical schools, and VUZ's; 28 million people are improving their skills. Every third Soviet citizens is learning something. . . .

Today we are justifiably proud of such figures in the millions. However, following Lenin's instruction on adopting a careful attitude toward education, and recalling his warning against "inanimate knowledge," more complex intruments must be used to determine progress in this field. We could also estimate losses from education acquired like a multiple volume edition with no personal or social need, "just in case," and the waste of public time and public funds.

Petitions and biographies of graduates are insufficient. A person about to choose his career needs a substantiated collective advice. It is high time for vocational guidance to switch from "optional theory" to effective practice among the youth collectives.

Adamantly developing the mass movement of "secondary education for every young working person," and fighting for the quality of contemporary knowledge, the Komsomol also considers universal continuing education its noble objective. The steady replenishment of knowledge through a system of special courses and schools, people's universities, and many other forms of education provide a person with high-level skills, competence, and spiritual development.

. . . We have become accustomed to interpret Lenin's "one word"--learn! very broadly. This is entirely natural in a country which has accomplished the greatest cultural revolution. However, in his speech at the Komsomol congress this "one word" was given by Vladimir Il'ich yet another interpretation as well: to learn communism, to learn revolution. He was particularly concerned with formulating the task not simplistically or one-sidely. He cautioned against a one-sided approach, against the bookish mastering of communist truths. The mastering and understanding of communism, Lenin told the Komsomol members, must be linked with daily and comprehensive work. One must not be tempted by the memorizing of slogans or a shallow baggage of "knowledge" consisting of ready-made conclusions, but consider the sum total of human knowledge, analyze it from the positions of contemporary education, and compare them with the practice of reality.

To the Korchagins of all Komsomol periods a clear awareness of communism came together with the passionate cry, "The fatherland is in danger!" with the mandate of the fighters for food, the selfless rhythm of the subbotniks, the long literacy lessons, the important rural rallies, the pioneers' daring in the tayga, the decisive tests at the workers' faculty, the "light cavalry" march, the "partisan spark" lightning, the active new construction projects of the renaissance, the assignments of Virgin Land pioneers, and the road maps of the pathfinders. . . .

At every step life teaches the young important and meaningful lessons in communism. The Komsomol is concerned with having everyone interpret them, and for decisive conclusions to be the result of a deep analysis and of the consideration of all the facts and all practical and scientific data. The main principle of the Leninist to convince, is active knowledge.

Nearly 18 million Komsomol members are attending political and economic circles. Here the young working people are not only "listeners" but researchers. They study their work, defend workers projects, and develop new forms of collectivistic action. Students and trainees in vocational-technical schools not only master the elements of social sciences, but write compositions on sociopolitical topics. Up to 10 million such works were submitted in the course of a recent review. The university students see it as their duty not only to profoundly master Marxist-Leninist theory, but to extensively disseminate social knowledge: currently the all-union student agitation march involves the participation of 1.5 million people. Repeated contests of student works dealing with the social sciences have revealed a number of fresh theory forces, and a mass of talented propagandists. Finally, the Komsomol has established the outstanding tradition of holding annually in all its organizations a Leninist lesson which teaches the young people to consider and resolve topical life problems and most important production assignments through the lens of Lenin's legacy. Through all its practical activities the Komsomol is proving that communist idea-mindedness is an alloy of knowledge, convictions, and practical action.

Development of Joint Labor

Facing the young generation with one or another task, Lenin always considered its practical results. He taught the young people that from memorized formulas, advice, prescriptions, and programs, they must turn communism into a guide for practical work. He formulated the all-embracing objective of organizing joint labor, which would be developed and established in the course of the struggle. From the threshold of the October Revolution Lenin saw our time, the stage of mature socialism. He saw the powerful picture of transforming labor, when the single, monolithic, multi-million-strong collective will work "according to a single common plan, the common land, the common factories and plants, and by common assignment." Directing toward this objective and discussing the participation of the Komsomol in economic construction, Vladimir Il'ich assigned it the role of a "shock group" "which would give assistance in all projects, and display its initiative."

Over 60 years of socialist practice has proved that the inspiring Leninist call brought to life the most wonderful power of the youth--power of creation. Energy, enthusiasm, industriousness, spiritual generosity, creative initiative, spirit of competition, collectivism, and self-dedication are the sources of numerous initiatives and great accomplishments.

The Komsomol devoted the first zeal of its enthusiasm to the great communist initiative--the Leninist subbotniks. It was also the leader of the socialist competition. It is justifiably considered the scout of the future--the initiator of the movement of communist brigades. All this is the most widespread, most fruitful manifestation of common collectivistic

labor. In its labor biography the Komsomol entered the names of famous hydraulic power stations and canals, plants, highways, mines, furnaces, industries, complexes, cities, and settlements. In the outstanding list of its high merits the words for valorous labor predominate!

The maturity of the present generation and its responsible understanding of the great Leninist legacy are confirmed, above all, by the fact that in the 10th Five-Year Plan 145 all-union shock Komsomol construction projects are being erected by the young. Today the Komsomol labor detachments hold positions in the petroleum and gas fields of Siberia, the Baykal-Amur Main Line, the construction of Atommash, and agricultural and land reclamation installations in the Nonchernozem. The young workers, which today means nearly every second worker in machine building, light industry, and construction, and one out of three transportation workers or national economic specialists, are successfully struggling for high labor productivity.

Lenin's definition of communist labor includes not only its social characteristics but its quantitative and qualitative parameters. Yet, it is precisely the current five-year plan of developed socialism that we describe as the five-year plan of effectiveness and quality. Addressing the 18th Komsomol Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev maximally concretized this definition as applying to each enterprise, shop, brigade, or working person.

What does working effectively and qualitatively mean?

It means working conscientiously, skillfully, and effectively. It means organizing one's labor most rationally. It means displaying thrift in the utilization of material values as belonging to us. It means creating and preserving within the collective the type of work atmosphere in which the enthusiasts would be breathing the ozone of creativity, while the loafers and waste makers would feel uncomfortable.

If you want to achieve great success in the development of the communist economy, Lenin said, Lenin argued addressing the young audience of the Komsomol congress, you must always build it "on a modern technical base," "according to the latest word of science." For many decades this legacy has been the subject of special party and state concern. The building of communism through the efforts of the entire Soviet people rests on a powerful material and technical base. Once again the party calls for conquering the heights of the scientific and technical revolution using the entire social potential. In this field the Komsomol finds particularly numerous areas in which to apply its work.

Young researchers constitute a major support in all directions of the scientific front. Millions of Soviet university students are involved in research work. Hundreds of thousands of Komsomol members--engineers and agricultural specialists--are daily resolving difficult problems of technical progress. The most outstanding, however, is the scientific and

technical creativity of the youth (NTTM), whose all-union review rallied 19.5 million participants. A technically knowledgeable and gifted youth is acquiring the possibility to improve its skills in 2,500 courses for young rationalizers, and rallying its efforts in 360,000 youth voluntary creative associations. The results of their creativity in the past three years alone exceeds two million rationalization suggestions, inventions, and scientific developments, with total savings of 2.4 billion rubles.

Along with such outstanding results, however, there is a problem of the "killing of inventions," and a large number of variants of lack of co-ordination between original talent and contemporary knowledge. . . . Reducing to a minimum unproductive waste of human efforts and material resources is a noble project and the immediate objective of the Komsomol, which is aspiring to become an active force in the scientific and technical revolution.

Following is the opinion of our young contemporary, Hero of Socialist Labor A. F. Yerofeyeva, a spinner in Ivanovo:

"I am practicing the most basic and oldest profession--spinning. I am very proud of it. A work I love, studies at the textile institute, and social obligations are what make my life rich and meaningful. I feel myself growing and becoming spiritually richer. Therefore, I could be more useful to the homeland. This, precisely, is the supreme meaning and happiness of our lives."

Our very reality is becoming an amazing agitator and wise educator. However, the process of shaping the prime need is not developed through inertia only. There is no genetic code for a "specific profession" or extent of satisfaction from one's labor. All this develops in the course of the molding of the personality.

The Komsomol is aware of the need to intensify its educational activities in this direction. Still frequently, to the very last moment, the secondary school student has not as yet determined his inclination. Some students take a long break between school and the next stage in their lives; some young people feel, years on end, "in the wrong place.". . . Our constitution expands the socialist right to work to the level of the most humane right to choose one's profession. This mandates the Komsomol to imbue itself with feeling responsible for each life which was not creatively developed, and for every young person faced with a vital choice.

Building a New Morality

According to Lenin all education, upbringing, and training of contemporary young people must lead to the assertion of a communist morality. In order to define its content, arguing with the anti-communists, Lenin called for a study of the very origins of social morality, which always has a class nature, whatever "God's commandments," or "idealistic or semi-idealistic

statements" might conceal it. "To us," Vladimir Il'ich emphasized, "morality is subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat." This is the touchstone for testing one's essence, objectives, and nature of your league: Are you defending the interests of the workers and peasants? Are you helping them in their hard work, or do you prefer loafing? Do you you draw them to you, or repel them with your personal example? . . .

Communist morality is determined not by commandments and canons, codes, and prescriptions, but by life itself; it is shaped, tested, and enriched through struggle. Opening a broad scope to the noble human actions, it offers as a manual for living the principle of supreme justice--the good of the working people.

The dedication of the first communist fighters was dictated by the hard choices of the revolution: life or death.

Nikolay Ostrovskiy: What do you think, did you think that for us the sun did not shine or that life did not seem beautiful, or the girls attractive, when we were at the front in the tempests of battle? The point is, precisely, that life was calling to us. Perhaps more than the others we felt its charm. However, we were firmly convinced that the main thing now was to destroy the class enemy and defend the revolution. This awareness suppressed everything else. It filled our young hearts with enthusiasm and mighty anger. . . .

Yu. Gagarin: The main feature of man is the strength of his spirit. It is developed in us by the party. From his earliest years the Soviet person is raised in the noble ideas and lofty aspirations--in a word, everything known as communist morality. That is what gives us our powerful spirit. In our daily life we frequently fail to notice ourselves the way this power comes and accumulates. Yet, the day comes when it gushes forth. That is, probably, what happened to me. That is, probably, what was felt by the heroes of the Great Patriotic War and by the hundreds of thousands of volunteers-Komsomol members who went to develop the Virgin Land and build new plants, factories, and cities in the east of our country. . . .

The relay race of the Komsomol exploit is continuing, covering ever broader areas of life and an ever broader mass of young people. Many new names of heroes who were outstanding models in performing their duty in combat, selfless toil, inspired creativity, and sports, were mentioned at the 18th Komsomol Congress. . . . The young generation bows to their moral authority and the motherland gives them deserved glory.

Yes, Soviet reality, the socialist way of life, and communist morality educated the new man who gained and defended freedom, stopping at no difficulties or sacrifices, building the future and himself, and who, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, undergoing all possible trials, changed unrecognizably, combining ideological conviction with tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and ability to use them.

The contemporary Komsomol is the heir of a splendid spiritual legacy for raising the growing generation--the life-bearing revolutionary traditions and richest possible experience in the struggle for the assertion of a new morality, and most precise moral guidelines. This wealth must be handled skillfully. The very matter of moral upbringing and adoption of revolutionary traditions does not tolerate a one-sided and simple approach. It requires particular thoroughness and tactfulness, flexibility, and creativity. It is not sufficient to provide a certain amount of knowledge taken from history or depict the heroics of the revolutionary past. It is important to show the interconnection among ages and generations. The educational impact of revolutionary traditions is far stronger when one could see the way they enter our reality and develop and enrich life. The interested and initiative-minded participation of the pupils themselves is exceptionally valuable in this case.

We are particularly concerned with that segment of the youth who are still outside the realm of active Komsomol influence. It demands the closest possible attention and the finest art of education. We must not forget that developing communist morality norms is not in the least a mechanical vaccination process. It continues to be a struggle against the mentality of egotism and the customs of the petty owners, and the vestiges of the old morality pointed out by Lenin. In his speech at the 18th Komsomol Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev adamantly emphasized that "the assertion of the norms and principles of communist morality is impossible without the constant and persistent struggle against anti-social phenomena, spiritual poverty and its inevitable satellites--drunkenness, hooliganism, and violations of labor discipline. No less dangerous are the concealed and not always immediately noticeable manifestations of immorality. Indifference, parasitism, cynicism, and the aspiration to receive more than one gives to society, are moral faults which must not be ignored by the Komsomol or by our entire public."

Currently the attention of the party organizations, our ideological institutions, and the public at large is entirely focused on the processes of the moral upbringing of youth.

"Extending the ideological influence on all groups of people," is the task set in the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," "raising it in the spirit of the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the party and the people, and in the spirit of communist morality. Taking here into consideration the requirements of the young people and the rising level of their education and professional training."

A search is under way for the creative solution of ripe problems. In this respect the all-union conference of ideological workers, held on 16-17 October, formulated profoundly meaningful recommendations.

How to Learn?

Having formulated the basic tasks of young people who want to learn communism, Vladimir Il'ich answered also the question of how to learn. Only by organizing, rallying, and uniting the entire growing generation, dedicating one's work and forces to the common cause. Based on the initial experience of the youth organizations, Lenin issued vitally urgent and broad assignments. He singled out the main idea that the youth league must "act organizedly, for the good of the entire society." ". . . It must formulate all the tasks of its training in such a way that every day in any village or city the young people resolve practically one or another problem of joint labor, even though the most minute, the simplest." Obviously, the youth league will be able to successfully carry out its assignments "only by linking each step of its activities . . . with the struggle waged by all working people." "One can become a true communist only through labor, together with the workers and peasants."

From its very beginning the Leninist Komsomol became the acknowledged vanguard of the Soviet youth, its cementing force. Its prestige, popularity, and attractiveness are growing with every passing day and with each new contribution to the building of communism. Today in a single month as many young men and women enter Komsomol ranks as was the entire membership before the Third Komsomol Congress.

In labor above all, together with the workers and peasants, the Komsomol develops its activities and attends a truly communist university. Here is its social characteristics: almost one out of two Komsomol members--47% of the league's membership--is directly involved in material production. Let us not forget the reserve of the great labor army--students attending vocational-technical schools. Let us also not forget the active participation in constructive toil of secondary school and university students, their productive vacations, and their labor semesters. Twenty years ago the first university students detachment, consisting of less than 350 people, began a construction epic with a few adobe houses in the Kazakh Steppe. Today, numbering hundreds and hundreds of thousands of university and secondary school students, in a single labor semester this all-union detachment builds up to 15,000 projects and its contribution is already assessed to 1.5 billion rubles, along with entirely priceless spiritual gains: practical wisdom and civic and professional maturity which the young people acquire.

The Komsomol pays close attention to Lenin's behest concerning the labor upbringing of the youth and molding a workers mentality. It perfectly realizes how much remains to be done in this direction. Hence such an increased interest in universities and schools for outstanding masters, the noble patriotic movement of tutors, respectful attitude toward the development of dynasties of workers and of graduates of rural schools remaining on the land--toward all ways and means for training the working heirs of the Hammer and Sickle.

Lenin described the Komsomol members as the first builders of a communist society among the millions of builders. Comprehensively encouraging the involvement of the broadest possible masses in the administration of the state, he never neglected to be interested in the extent to which young people were actively participating in the solution of state problems and the extent to which they were represented in the soviets. Today the answer to this question is the following: 46 million adolescents participated in the discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution alone; over 5 million of them addressed Komsomol meetings, plenums, and aktivs. Over 720,000 young men and women were elected members of soviets--almost one out of three deputies is representing the interests of young people in the people's ruling organs.

The young generation is participating in the administration of society actively, competently, and with full rights. It clearly realizes that it is creating its own future. The young people draw their feeling of great promise, strength, and enthusiasm from Lenin's behests and the party's guidance. The partys ascribes exceptional importance to the conscious participation of the youth in social creativity, trusting its forces and possibilities. "You will lead to full victory the great cause begun by your fathers and grandfathers," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, addressing himself to the present Komsomol members. "Become their worthy replacement and carry the banner of communism high!"

The multimillion-strong Komsomol solemnly asserted the following:

"We swear to you, party, always to carry high the victorious banner of the October, the banner of Lenin--your banner!"

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DEMOCRATIC YOUTH FACES THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM

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[Article by V. Arslanov]

[Text] One of the memorable features of political-ideological life in the bourgeois countries in the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's, unquestionably, was the democratic youth and, above all, student movement which experienced an unparalleled upsurge and which radicalized its political and ideological aspirations, becoming a major force in the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly struggle. The dramatic history of the youth and student protest, despite its entire complexity and contradictoriness, leaves no doubt as to its progressive nature and objective anti-capitalist direction. "The young generation in the bourgeois countries," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is becoming ever more strongly disappointed in the capitalist order and way of life, expressing its indignation and protest through a variety of means. The best part of this generation is taking the path of conscientious struggle against the old system. Capitalism is finding it more difficult to hold the youth and retain its influence on it. This is yet another confirmation of the fact that this is a system without a future, without historical possibilities."

The final document adopted at the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow, noted that youth actions in capitalist countries reflect the profound crisis in contemporary bourgeois society, that the communists rate highly the upsurge of the youth movement, and actively participate in it. This principled position was reasserted at the 1976 Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, whose materials clearly show communist support for the aspirations of the young people who hold in their hands the future of the European Continent and are participating with growing energy in the struggle for peace, progress, freedom, and a socialist future.

Considerable changes have taken place in recent years in the youth movement in the capitalist countries: for a number of reasons it is believed that this movement as a whole has gone through a specific phase of development and is currently in an intermediate, a transitional stage--the stage of

separation, regrouping, and consolidation of forces, and of their more efficient organizational and ideological molding and determination for a longer period of time of its place and role in the existing political situation. The extent to which the leaders of the youth movement and its rank-and-file members will plan and develop the specific problems of this stage, profoundly and substantively, will largely determine its future. K. Libknecht's behest could serve as its current slogan: "First, clarity and then majority."

Clarity is needed, above all, in order to understand the totality of socio-economic reasons, decisive spiritual motives, and final objectives of the youth movement, its political aspect, and the color of its ideological banners. Acquiring such clarity is a rather complex task requiring the intensified theoretical interpretation of the lessons of the recent past, painful at times, for this cannot be accomplished without abandoning some popular, yet groundless illusions or radically reviewing a number of popular dogmata and prejudices, or else debunking the quasi-revolutionary reputation of some contemporary Western philosophers who claim the role of spiritual instructors of and spokesman for the expectations of the youth. Without such clarity lines leading nowhere in the evolution of student protest cannot be surmounted: leftist "activism," sexual "liberation," the counterculture, the religious wave of the youth, etc. Extensive critical and analytical work is continuing in this direction by the Marxist-oriented youth organizations in the capitalist countries and through the invaluable help of the communists who have launched an extensive theoretical discussion of the corresponding range of problems in the party press.

A clear Marxist-Leninist solution to all these problems becones even more important since the political-ideological self-awareness and self-determination of the youth movement has become an area of most acute ideological struggle: bourgeois authors engaged, right and left, in the interpretation of the happenstances of youth protest, are trying to disorient conceptually and politically the university students above all, and erect ideological barriers on the path to their conversion into a reliable political ally of the working class. Under such circumstances the accuracy and differentiation of the Marxist study of youth actions and the separation within them of what is living and capable of developing from tawdriness and parasitical ideological growths, become particularly important. V. I. Lenin wrote that, "Adults who mislead the proletariat, claiming to lead and teach others are one thing: merciless struggle must be waged against them. Youth organizations which openly state that they are still learning and that their main project is to train members of the socialist parties, is another. Such people must be comprehensively helped. The greatest possible patience must be displayed toward their errors. They must be corrected gradually, primarily through persuasion rather than struggle" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 226).

The question of the objective grounds and the real social meaning and adequacy of expression of such grounds and this meaning in youth actions

and slogans have become the most important aspect of the unabating ideological confrontation developing around the youth movement. The main tendency of bourgeois authors writing on this topic is to claim that the appearance and development of the youth movement, and the nature it assumed in the 1960's-1970's, cannot be explained through the Marxist concept of the class struggle. According to the statements of some bourgeois sociologists, "Whereas conflicts among social classes are abating, the conflict of generations as a conflict of different cultures is widening." Others, such as the recently deceased H. Marcuse, deem it impossible to proceed from the class division of society in the study of youth actions, assuming that such a situation should turn into a "nightmare" for the "old Marxists." Others again, such as J. Habermas, see in the student protest a psychological rejection of alienation with no economic foundations.

The bourgeois class nature of such attempts to prove the alleged uselessness of Marxism-Leninism as a means for analyzing events, as well as the vulgarizing of the very concept of it in the works of its "critics" are obvious, in this case, and require no particular comments. However, we should look at the arguments with which they are trying to make their false theses convincing, and the statements which they would like to use to their advantage.

The youth movement of the 1960's-1970's could develop only on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism. This is unquestionable. Yet, along with the basic contradictions between labor and capital within this system, and between the social nature of production and private method of acquisition, it expressed, in a concentrated manner, the "new intensive contradictions between society and nature, social organization and culture, and capitalist methods for the utilization of manpower and the abilities and true individuality of man, as developed through history" ("Bor'ba Idey v Sovremennom Mire" [The Struggle of Ideas in the Contemporary World] in 3 vols, vol 2, "Contemporary Capitalism: Contradictions and Doctrines." Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, p 13). State-monopoly capitalism is refining even further the "system of universal exploitation of natural and human properties" (K. Marx), which leads to a degradation of the natural, anthropological, and cultural prerequisites of mankind's commonwealth, if by the term culture we mean the sum total of means "for the development of all human forces as such, regardless of any previously established scale" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, pt I, pp 386, 476). It is a question of the aggravation of the cultural antagonisms of capitalism as a socio-historical entity.

The spiritual aspirations of the young rebels of the 1960's-1970's became a vivid manifestation of this crisis in contemporary bourgeois society and of its anti-humane nature. Even Western non-Marxist students of youth protest are forced to accept this, in one or another of its aspects. "Contemporary youth culture arose as a result of the break between basic human requirements and the possibility for their satisfaction in the industrial societies" (i.e., the developed capitalist countries--the

author), noted American sociologist E. D. Kelly in his book "Youth, Humanism and Technology" (New York-London, 1972, p 5). The basis of the politicizing of the student movement was the awareness of its participants of comprehensive social inequity and alienation stemming from the exploiting nature of the capitalist system and the desire to promote a humanistic alternative to this kingdom of social alienation. Some of the most general reasons for the student protest, according to some bourgeois scientistis, may be, above all, the feeling of alienation from society, the intensifying tendency to reject it for the sake of some new form of "comity," and deep, even though confused, freedom-oriented aspirations. A number of similar statements could be cited made by a great variety of authors. The essence, however, remains clear: the prime reasons for the entry of new generations in the arena of the political struggle should not be sought in one or another part of the bourgeois educational system per se, the special status and private interests of the young people within the framework of bourgeois society per se, or the difficulties of the socialization of the growing generation and the "conflict between generations" per se. It should be sought in the already named structural contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism whose form and ground of manifestation are found in such "breakages" and difficulties.

It is precisely because, as in any society, the youth is the center of the possibilities of human development, discovered and accumulated by history, that today it feels so sharply the fact that the bourgeois society has a fatal effect on the best among such possibilities. As the American publicist Ph. Slater writes, "Facing the need for a choice, the old culture tends to prefer ownership rights to rights of the individual; the demands of scientific and technical development to human needs; competition to cooperation; means to objectives; secrecy and concealment to openness and frankness; and formal contacts to self-expression . . ." (Ph. E. Slater, "The Pursuit of Loneliness. American Culture at the Breaking Point," Boston, 1970, p 97). The core and the pathos of the youth ideology of protest may be found in this comparison and confrontation with bourgeois reality, which has a destructive influence on man and the existing opportunities, blocked by the "establishment" for revolutionary-humanistic change.

The mass student protest against militarism which has imbued all the pores of bourgeois society and poisoned the minds of the people, against senseless consumption and against the bureaucratization of state and public institutions, including universities, in a word, against the entire bourgeois way of life and bourgeois culture, is a manifestation of an inner historical need, and of the impossibility to circumvene its laws. As a rule, youth seeks new forms of activities. However, the nature of such activities and their content are determined not by age as such, but by factual circumstances and, above all, by the social class structure. Despite the spontaneity of their protest, the students proved to be sufficiently conscious to rise above the specific interests of their stratum and

clearly, uncompromisingly, even though frequently in a confused and contradictory manner, to express some important aspects of universal interest, which today coincide with that of the proletariat. The inspiring student ideal of free creative activity and unalienated labor shows the objective logic of history, for the productive capital in highly developed production, as Marx pointed out, must be not materialized output, ruling over labor, but the comprehensive development of individuals, characteristic of communist production relations.

The paradox here is that in terms of some forms of manifestation of sociocultural contradictions within capitalism, occasionally the intelligentsia leaning toward the proletariat proved to be more sensitive than some specifically proletarian strata, particularly that of North America. Thus, the irrational consumerism, rooted in the production conditions of contemporary capitalism, triggered a sharp reaction among the intelligentsia also because it had not experienced the horrors of direct physical poverty. The rejection of bourgeois mass culture which has become in the contemporary Western world a necessary means for the spiritual suppression of the working people, assumed a very impressive aspect precisely among the students in humanities schools who had the possibility to become professionally acquainted with classical culture.

However, the unusual nature of the manifestations of some contradictions within contemporary capitalism and the reaction to them do not eliminate in the least the objective laws of social development, but are their characteristic confirmation. The fact that the student movement expressed more directly and sharply than, for example, a certain segment of the North American proletariat, the human need for a new culture, contains a real contradiction. Without detecting its meaning, the Western authors formulated the thesis of the conservative nature of the working class as such and the shifting of historical initiative to the intelligentsia and the students. Yet, as is well known, the intelligentsia could reach an awareness of the general course of history only to the extent to which it reflects a proletarian class interest. The task of the revolutionary intelligentsia, Lenin emphasized, is the scientific formulation of proletarian awareness and its introduction into the labor movement. However, the formulation of this awareness is possible only as a conclusion based on the direct practical struggle waged by the proletariat against capital--a conclusion whose veracity is found, again, in the political practice of the proletariat headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties. Any attempt to resolve proletarian problems apart from the proletariat and for the proletariat is threatened by tragic consequences which would affect the intelligentsia as well. For this reason, even if outstripping the awareness of the backward workers' strata, the revolutionary intelligentsia moves only along the direction leading to the proletariat. In the opposite case such "outstripping" means its separation from the workers' movement and degeneration into sectarianism and false protests.

The false protest is the tragic theme in the complex polyphony of the contemporary capitalist world. In the 20th century, any uncompromising

rejection has frequently proved to be one of the methods for the preservation of bourgeois ideology. Sincerely rebelling against the inhumanity of Western civilization, the students were unable to avoid the effect of the "irony of history," detected in the so-called "counterculture."

As an attempt to set up special forms of community and life-style within bourgeois society, develop a non-conformist individual, and promote a new conceptual orientation, the "counterculture" was promoted by its theoreticians as a utopian island of freedom in the kingdom of total coercion. Unlike the progressive socialist doctrines of the past, however, characteristic of the "counterculture" was the decadent desire to "drop out" from reality. It is noteworthy that the intensification of its influence was noted in periods of decline of youth revolutionary activity.

As a rule, the traditions of a pessimistic rejection of reality in the spirit of oriental religions, and the mystical plunging into one's inner "I" came alive in the hippie camps with their total permissiveness and the numerous yet shortlived "communes" of men and women. Thus, the newspaper of one such "commune" proclaimed that "the error of the 'classical' revolutions was action against the government, whereas the evil should have been sought in man in general, and one should have fought not the pollution of the environment but the pollution of the soul." The fact that modern capitalism is promoting the pollution of the soul at the same rate as environmental pollution is a fact. However, was this with which the rebels launched their cause, unwittingly abandoning the main line of struggle for a radical reorganization of the entire social system in favor of the old sermon liked by capitalism of preliminary moral cleansing? The fact that some young people found themselves in a prostrate condition was frequently related to the extreme forms of extremism. Attempts to create a separate subculture or counterculture found their logical end in the direct turning to religion. In a period of breakdown of the hippie colonies some of them became communes which were practically indistinguishable from those of religious sects (such as, for example, the "Hare Krishna," the "Jesus movement," etc).

The dead end of the "counterculture" was a characteristic manifestation of the objective logic of things which demand the liberation of democratic movements from pseudo-revolutionary bourgeois traditions. Today even the former supporters of the "counterculture" are forced to acknowledge that it has nothing in common with the liberation movement: Thus, according to one of them, the democratic opposition "did not originate in the least in the counterculture" ("Gesprache mit Herbert Marcuse" [Talks with Herbert Marcuse], Frankfurt m M, 1978, p 110). However, there is a great difference from such forced stipulations and the awareness that the "counterculture" is one of the most characteristic manifestations of the inner confusion of the contemporary Western world. It contains a fistful of insoluble contradictions affecting the sick bourgeois awareness, whose last haven is the "total" rebellion against civilization. This rebellion is proclaimed by leftist radical ideology as the only possible means for

breaching the philistine world and rejecting the "one-dimensional" man who has abandoned freedom for the sake of "comfortable slavery." This ideology considers as the source of irrationality of contemporary capitalism not in the least the bourgeois social relations, but reason as such, with its principles of objective truth, necessity, and reality.

The rejection of reason, whose praise was characteristic of classical humanistic tradition, is the main thesis of the theoreticians of the "counterculture." In their view any thinking which obeys the criteria of objectivity, necessity, and causality is inevitably trapped by repressive technical rationality. The concept of the "counterculture" thus rests on an intricate yet quite primitive paradox: the contemporary bourgeois society which gives the impression of a rational organization is, in fact, irrational. Consequently, any rationality, i.e., reasonability, is irrational and unreasonable. The popularity of this sophistry is explained by the inability of the bourgeois mind to understand the true material reasons for the crisis of the contemporary capitalist society. The Western world indeed carries the obvious features of irrationality, triggered by the "rational" means for the preservation of an obsolete production method. However, the "counterculture" theoreticians convert this truth into its opposite. In their interpretation, the slogan of freedom becomes the concealment of refined spiritual suppression.

The "repressive" reason is the product of labor activities. For this reason, the "new" culture must be based on the opposite of labor, on play as the prototype of true freedom. Such is the main thesis of the "counterculture." According one of its prophets, the American ideologue Th. Roszak, sobriety and seriousness must be replaced by the childish concepts of "charm and playful joy," "rhapsodizing intellect," and the "visionary imagination" of shamans and artists. The establishment of the "new" life-style is also helped by the "psychedelic revolution"--an imaginary change, through the absorbtion of drugs and alcohol, of the human mentality, suppressed by technocratic discipline (see Th. Roszak, "The Making of a Counterculture," New York, 1969).

Th. Roszak finds the features of the "play" awareness in the spiritualists, occultists, and Buddhists, as well as in the "new artistic creativity" represented, for example, by the American beatnik poet Alexander Ginsberg, and the "action painter" D. Pollock. The left-wing student political organizations who call for changes in the class structure of modern capitalism are, in his view, excessively enslaved by a spirit of seriousness. They are far removed from the "total imagination of the bohemian beatniks and hippies." The revolution is not serious and difficult organizational work, but a carnival, a surrealistic holiday of "absolute freedom." Squares and streets must be turned into "revolutionary playgrounds" for the worshipers of Krishna and drug users in a state of ecstacy.

It cannot be denied that the concepts of Th. Roszak and of other theoreticians of the "counterculture" do not include a protest against bourgeois

civilization. However, like religion, this protest is a characteristic supplement and extension of the imperfect bourgeois way of life, rather than its revolutionary rejection.

Attempts to identify the "counterculture" with a variety of the political struggle against capitalism are particularly dangerous. Thus, H. Marcuse claimed not to reject the importance of the political alliance between the proletariat and the students. He believed, however, that a successful revolutionary action is secured only when the "rebels" reject the "dictate of practical reason" and grant full freedom to realistic imagination. The true meaning of the ideas of the petit bourgeois prophets of the "new global revolution" lies in the fact that, regardless of their subjective intentions, like the right-wing authors, they "fail to notice" the democratic principle in the student protest. The twisted ways in which this protest has been frequently manifested was considered by them as its meaning. Whereas the right wing depicted the entire movement as a non-serious, but dangerous game of unruly children, naming it a "political happening,"* the "leftists" tried to convince the students that the "revolutionary-game" alone, i.e., the happening, is the "great rejection" of the bourgeois way of life and of "repressive culture."

As early as the 1960's the most soberly thinking students, such as, for example, the members of the Dubois Club, in the United States, had rejected the reactionary utopias offered to them as a universal means for fighting the vices of Western civilization. Many members of the "New Left" not only criticized from positions close to Marxism the false views expressed by H. Marcuse or J. Habermas, but took practical steps to surmount left-wing extremism. Thus, some "communes" were expelled from the "Socialist German Students Alliance" because of their bohemian "happening policy."

The current situation in the student movement is characterized by increased seriousness and realism and desire to surmount the "myth crisis." The lessons offered by failures and defeats truly forced the democratic strata of Western youth to turn to the serious study of Marxist-Leninist theory and to joint action with the working class. For example, one of the biggest student organizations in the FRG, the "Alliance of German Student Associations," and, particularly, the "Spartacist" association of Marxist students, is sharply critical of revanchism and anti-communism, demanding the democratization of universities and the inclusion in their program of the study of the works of Marxist-Leninist classics. Today the students in the capitalist countries are most actively participating in the democratic movement of the so-called "civic initiative," protests against the manufacturing of the neutron bomb, and so on.

*Happening is a Western widespread new type of pseudo "art." Operating under the slogan of turning life into play, the participants in happenings engage in senseless and frequently unseemly actions to show a rejection of universally accepted behavioral norms.

Naturally, the petit bourgeois theoreticians of the "counterculture" were "disappointed" by the fact that the students were coming closer to the true ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Alas, one them sighed, "Today the class struggle is no longer an aesthetic game whose purpose is the self-finding of the individual, but rather the result of a dry course in party training and its happy end marks not an increased ability for self-awareness and a greater measure of internal and external freedom, but of proletarian dictatorship" (B. Guggenberger, "Wohin treibt die Protestbewegung?" [Where Is the Protest Movement Going?], Frieburg, 1975, p 14).

Even though the reactionary line of such statements is obvious, as their objective is to undermine the noted unification between the student protest and the labor movement, the accusation, nevertheless, is quite serious. It cannot be rejected as stupid imagination. In order to answer it, it is necessary to explain how it could happen that the idea of freedom has become in contemporary Western ideology the most refined means for preaching enslavement. It is also necessary to prove that the class struggle of the proletariat, which carries the spiritual renovation of mankind, is inseparably linked with the development of the realistic traditions of the humanistic culture of the past, and that the alliance between the student and labor movements is possible only on the basis of surmounting the disease of the "counterculture." The problem of cultural traditions assumes direct political urgency.

The idea of freedom has attracted humanity from the very dawn of its history. The class antagonistic society, the society of coercion and oppression, did not offer any scope for the free development of human forces and capabilities. Labor activities, to the extent to which they were alienated, were rather conceived as a curse than as a means for creative satisfaction. The alternative, even though largely utopian, of the philosophers of the past (F. Schiller, Ch. Fourier) considered playing as the opposite of working. However, Schiller himself, regardless of all the shortcomings of his concept on the aesthetic education of mankind, realized that the play of forces could be a truly free activity if it is creative, rather than destructive, if it is the product of humanistic culture, rather than its denial.

K. Marx wrote that "the kingdom of freedom begins in reality only where work dictated by need and external expediency ends. Consequently, by the nature of things, it is on this side of the realm of strictly material production" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 25, pt II, pp 386-387). With the development of freedom, however, "this kingdom of natural necessity broadens," i.e., the social production under the control of the associated producers expands. Without expanding and improving the production of material goods man would fall into a most slavish dependence on nature and "absolute freedom" would become absolute non-freedom. "The real kingdom of freedom . . . can blossom only on the basis of this kingdom of necessity as its base" (ibid, p 387).

Marxism-Leninism considers the socialist revolution the first action in the achievement of true human freedom. However, this holiday of the oppressed presumes an extremely serious attitude toward reality. It calls for a maximum consideration of objective circumstances. Lenin emphasized that success in the revolution depends on combining the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses with difficult daily practical organizational work. Without the maximum seriousness, the holiday of the people turns into their defeat.

The "gayness" of the revolution which H. Marcuse dreamed he saw and which is praised by his fellow workers comes from an entirely different source. They do not accept the Marxist dialectics of freedom and necessity. However philosophically refined their arguments may be, favoring anarchic rejection, this rejection remains meaningless and "purposeless." All that is new is the idea of turning the revolution into a "happy game," i.e., a "happening." In order for the rebellious students to accept the "happening" as a revolution, the idea of anarchic rejection had to be surrounded by the halo of a most radical and uncompromising protest. Whereas previously anarchic arbitrariness was the false form of a natural human aspiration to freedom, in modern bourgeois ideology it began to play exactly the opposite role. It is used to poeticize evil, thus losing all historical justification. The "rejoicing" and "play" contained within the concept of "total" negation are as unlike a game as the free manifestation of human forces and capabilities and joy of creation are distinct from the hysteria of senseless destruction.

In terms of its real, even though sometimes misunderstood content by many of its participants, the anti-bourgeois youth movement has nothing in common with the philosophy of F. Nietzsche, which was one of the sources of fascist ideology. However, the play "counterculture" and its philosophical apologia show unquestionable signs of similarity to the Nietzschean rebellion against civilization--anarchically gay and a hostile rejection of reality and of the true joy of revolutionary creativity.

It was precisely Nietzsche who brought forth the sinister idea of destroying a fraudulent form with a mercilessly daring rebellion. Naturally, such pathos was needed by the bourgeoisie to attract the intelligentsia which felt the danger of creative sterility, inevitably affecting the defenders of the reactionary classes. In the course of a painful search for a solution, as early as the end of the 19th century the bourgeois intelligentsia began to be inclined to preach the "flowers of evil" under the guise of a daring arbitrariness. This marked the appearance of the sickness of the social awareness described as decadence. The tragic situation of the decadents was that their sincere rejection of bourgeois culture turned out, in fact, to be liberation from the "yoke" of reality and an illusory "playful" rising above it.

Undergoing the stage of cubism, dadaism, surrealism, and other types of "new art" in the 20th century, this daring freedom of irrational imagination found its logical end in the sinister-serious thoughtlessness of

abstractionism, pop art, and so-called "photographic realism." The stupidly playful Marcusean meaning of the nature of modernistic art did not remain a secret to contemporary bourgeois aesthetics. Naturally, such a "game" is proclaimed the highest achievement of world art. According to Heisingi's culturological concept, popular in the West, all human culture has a "game" as it origin. As he understands it, "the game" reflects no objective processes whatever. It represents absolute freedom which, let us add, turns the artist into the slave of an unknown reality.

The "principle of games" shows up most clearly in modern philosophical vanguardism, including the social philosophy of the Frankfurt school whose theory of the repressive nature of labor became the base of the "counterculture." The representatives of the Frankfurt school were able to identify some new forms of capitalist contradictions, such as, for example, the contradiction between the growth of consumption and external prosperity and the growth of the inner catastrophic nature of the Western society of "universal prosperity." However, where the study of reality, the search for objective possibilities and means for a socialist revolution begin for the true Marxist, the bourgeois intellectual becomes bored. Concrete work aimed at the transformation of the world and at surmounting, as Hegel would have said, the pain of contradiction, is replaced in him by "revolutionary" phraseology, the pose of total rejection, and play at revolution.

The student movement with its dramatic events and casualties proved the entire seriousness of such unserious play. Like many of their young followers, the ideologues of the "counterculture" were convinced of the anti-bourgeois nature of their prescriptions for changing the world. The conditions of the "game" are such that only he who believes that it is serious may participate. However, woe to the person who has believed this dream! He risks being involved in a mad dance which deprives him of the final vestiges of his judgment.

In fact, rejoicing is something beautiful. The faces of the Greek gods show careless joy. Seriousness is sinister. However, the "humor" of the intellectual who calls for a universal sexual happening to make happiness full is a poor occasion for rejoicing.

The best works of world culture are imbued with the ideas of freedom. The artist is given the opportunity to rise above the limited concepts of his time and to reflect the universal-historical meaning of life only through the reproduction of reality, rather than through its anarchic rejection. Speaking of the victory of realism in Balzac's work, Engels bore in mind the dialectics of the free attitude toward reality stemming from the true depiction of the social relations of the age.

Deprived of the prosaic nature of bourgeois science, Marx' criticism of political economy exudes revolutionary pathos precisely because it is realistic, because it continued and developed the traditions of humanistic culture, representing the true triumph of human reason. The study of

factual social relations, rather than their abstract rejection, enable Marx to provide a profound critique of the bourgeois world and reveal the material foundations of its vicissitudes. The contemporary irrationalistic concepts, parasitically drawing on Marxism, have failed to note its main feature--the ability to resolve the contradictions of reality by proceeding from reality itself. For this reason, despite all literary colorings and manipulations with contradictions, the depiction of capitalist reality lacks in them a true critical power and the suggested solution is merely a gesture of despair, a powerless and harmful utopia.

The revolutionary rejection of the bourgeois production method on the part of the proletariat opens the way to surmounting the defacing, the materialization of all human relations. These views supported by Marxist theory do not idealize the workers in the least. Marx, Engels, and Lenin perfectly realized that individual detachments of the proletariat may, under certain circumstances, remain in the power of a philistine awareness. As we know, however, the proletariat is the only class in history which has no way of liberation other than the rejection of the private ownership world and the creation of a classless society. The solution of this problem faces it with the absolute necessity to master humanistic culture.

In its attempts if not to surmount, at least to reduce its contradictions, contemporary capitalism has intensified the alienated nature of human existence, inherent in it. It proved its hostility to culture and to the creative nature of man. By this token it has turned against itself the broad masses of the students and the progressive intelligentsia. This process creates a new base for the solution of one of the most serious problems within the revolutionary movement--the shaping of a revolutionary awareness based on the critical acceptance of all culture created by mankind and eliminating the alienation from it of the toiling majority.

Conversely, the energizing of the traditions of a pseudo-rebellious decadent ideology contains a double danger: the danger of introducing within the labor movement a bourgeois and petit bourgeois awareness, and the degeneration of the students' protest into a sectarian "counter-culture." The representatives of the leftist intelligentsia, those who sincerely sympathize with socialism, are beginning to realize that the nutritive medium (as was acknowledged in an editorial carried by the journal DAS ARGUMENT, No 5, 1977, p 625), in which the madness of extremism is nurtured, is the art of absurd which contributes to the creation of an atmosphere of fear, senselessness, and total allogism of human existence. However, the call for a decisive break with the leftism and the vanguardism of this democratic movement "within itself," has not as yet become organic.

The practice of the revolutionary struggle and the drawing of the broad masses of the intelligentsia and the students closer to the workers movement are helped by the growth of an attentive attitude toward objective laws and trust in reality. The attempts at bourgeois activism to use the famous Marxian 11th thesis on Feuerbach in a spirit of irrationalism,

according to which knowledge is not required and long live the triumph of the irrational subject!--are hostile to the most serious task which has ever faced mankind: the task of the revolutionary transition from a world of violence and socio-moral degeneracy to a world of freedom and beauty.

On the other hand, the realism of revolutionary thinking is directly the opposite, as Lenin emphasized, to the narrow practicalism of the bourgeoisie and to opportunism which considers as "realistic" policy a political behavior "reduced to baseness." The only theory which could be described as Marxist is the one which, not in words, but in deeds corresponds to the true requirements of social development and which could lead to a reorganization of the world in accordance with them, and on the basis of real possibilities. This precisely is realism in the broadest possible meaning of the term: the realism of revolutionary proletarian practice and the related realism of the highest achievements of the spiritual culture of mankind.

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CITY AND ENVIRONMENT

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[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor L. Zaykov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet]

[Text] From the very first days of the Soviet system, leading our people along the path earmarked by Marxism-Leninism, the communist party has been guided by the Leninist idea that the protection of the environment must be closely linked with the tasks of the building of socialism. Under socialist conditions and with the planned managment of the national economy, for the first time in history the objective opportunity arises to overcome the capitalist "system of universal exploitation of natural and human characteristics" (K. Marx), and the use of the achievements of science and technology for the organization of rational relations between society and nature and for the preservation and reproduction of natural resources.

At the present stage of social development the protection of the environment, as we know, has been raised among the global problems of our time whose solution requires the combined efforts of all mankind. The CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress noted that "as of now global problems such as raw materials or energy, the elimination of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, environmental protection, the mastering of outer space and the utilization of the resources of the world's oceans, have become quite important and topical. In the future they will have an ever more noticeable influence on the life of each nation and on the entire system of international relations. Like the other socialist countries, our country cannot stand aside from the solution of such problems affecting the interests of all mankind." The advantages of socialism as a social system and its humane nature are revealed to the fullest extent in the current practical solution of such problems of vital importance to the present and future generations.

The growth of the economic and scientific and technical potential of our country makes it possible by upgrading social production effectiveness to allocate, with every passing year, ever more substantial funds for

environmental protection. In the 10th Five-Year Plan alone 10 billion rubles will have been allocated for such purposes. This exceeds the overall amount of capital investments in all national economic sectors in the First Five-Year Plan. Today environmental protection measures are a structural component of our state plans for economic and social development, and an important nationwide project.

Perfecting the use of nature steadily upgrades the prosperity and cultural standard of the Soviet people and the development of the socialist way of life. This basic course was codified in the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the USSR Constitution, the Central Committee documents, and the speeches and works of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. The recently passed CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Construction of Installations for the Protection of Leningrad from Floods" is an outstanding example of a truly socialist comprehensive solution of the ripe problems of interaction between nature and society under the complex ecological conditions of Leningrad, and a new vivid manifestation of the constant concern shown by the CC CPSU and Soviet Government and, personally, by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, for the city which is the cradle of the revolution.

I

Implementing the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress, the CC CPSU and Soviet Government earmarked an effective and scientifically substantiated course for environmental protection. Within the framework of this ecological policy particular significance is ascribed to improving the living conditions of the population of cities which are in the vanguard of the political, economic, and sociocultural progress of the developed socialist society. Today the country's urban territories account for most of the productive capital and over 60% of the country's population. The cities are the most important links within the single national economic complex of the USSR, insuring high growth rates of labor productivity and creating prerequisites for the further perfecting of production relations. The role of the cities in the spiritual life of the socialist society and in the development of science, culture, and education, is increasing further and further.

The major changes which have taken place in the appearance of our cities in the course of the building of socialism are clearly visible in the example of Leningrad--the second most significant industrial, scientific, and cultural center of the country. Today Leningrad's industrial output almost equals the industrial output of our entire homeland in the mid-1930's. The city's economy, based on over 500 industrial enterprises, including about 116 production and scientific-production associations, includes virtually all sectors of the national economy. Machine building (including machine-tool building and ship building) and radio electronics are developing at a particularly fast pace. In the past 10 years alone productive capital here

has nearly doubled. The orientation toward upgrading the effectiveness of scientific research, the ever fuller utilization of scientific achievements and the establishment of direct ties with the production process was adopted by 35 institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences located in Leningrad, by hundreds of scientific research, and planning and design organizations, and over 40 Leningrad VUZ's.

Under the Soviet system Leningrad's housing facilities nearly tripled. The size of the population, which according to the all-union census currently totals 4.6 million people, approximately doubled. Within that period the city budget rose by a factor of more than 20, exceeding 1 billion rubles, not counting allocations from union and republic funds. As a whole, every year about 1.6 billion rubles of capital investments are appropriated to meet the city's needs.

However, Leningrad's economic future is related to changes in the basic growth factors. Whereas in the first five-year plans production intensification relied on a considerable manpower reserve and territorial and water resources, and was not limited by the condition of the air basin, the current stage in the building of communism requires another approach, a different economic strategy. "It is important to insure the rational utilization of everything available to the national economy, relying mainly on intensive growth factors, and applying more extensively in industry scientific and technical achievements and progressive experience," emphasizes the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs."

Under the guidance of the Leningrad party organization, the soviet and economic organs are struggling to insure a combination of intensive development of industry with an economical attitude toward natural resources, and to improve the condition of the urban environment. As a whole in the 10th Five-Year Plan nearly twice the amount of capital investments compared with the previous five-year plan will be assigned for environmental protection. Furthermore, the amount of state funds used to improve technological processes in urban enterprises, with a view to considerably reducing environmental pollution, is rising.

The example of our city, consequently, confirms Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's conclusion that "the advantages of socialism enable us to control the natural process of urban expansion in such a way that the urban population may enjoy ever healthier and more comfortable living conditions."

Our work on environmental protection is also determined by the specific ecological situation of the city. Despite the harshness of the northern climate, the natural conditions of Leningrad and its suburbs are richly landscaped. The city is located in the forest zone of the RSFSR on a territory covering over 1,300 square kilometers. Its planted areas, together with the suburbs, cover 26,200 hectares. The forest park area has been expanded to 150,000 hectares and surrounds the city with a circle

whose radius is 50 kilometers. Leningrad is one of the most landscaped industrial centers in the country. The city has 835 parks, gardens, and squares and 175 boulevards; greenery has been planted along over 900 streets and avenues. Currently, within the city territory, there are 48 square meters of greenery per Leningrad resident. The famous palace-park ensembles of Petrodvorets, Pavlovsk, Pushkino, Lomonosovo, and other suburbs which form a green necklace around the city, offer splendid examples of the natural greatness of the Russian land blending with the beauty of famous architectural creations.

The city is built on the islands of the delta of the Neva. The deep Neva River is one of the most important water arteries of the country. It is dominant in the architectural-planning development of the city. Since the time of its foundation, Leningrad's proximity to the sea has predetermined its importance as the most important gate to the Baltic. From the shore of the Gulf of Finland, 30 km of which are within the city limits, follow the open spaces of the Baltic Sea.

Natural conditions noticeably influence all realms of activity of the population, providing a priceless resource. Leningrad is a unique socio-natural complex in which natural resources and human creativity are inseparably blended. In the socialist city the natural environment is an inexhaustible source of health, joy, and creative strength for every person.

The fate of our city also proves that the relationship between nature and society is historical and cannot be eliminated by the logic of the bourgeois concepts of "urban civilization," which allegedly inevitably leads to the degradation of nature.

In the age of czarism and the development of capitalism, the city, land, water, parks, and forests were indeed subjected to predatory exploitation. The ukases passed by its founder, Peter the First, on preserving the purity of the Neva and the forests, were ignored. Along with outstanding architectural ensembles, industrial and warehouse buildings were erected between the city and the banks of the Neva and the Gulf of Finland. Factory smoke stacks poured toxic smoke on residential districts. The Neva, the canals, and the rivers were rapidly turning into open sewers. As a rule, drinking water was not treated, which led to outbreaks of epidemics.

Virtually no sewers were being built. Today it would be difficult to conceive that Russia's pre-revolutionary capital had about 40,000 so-called cesspools, which were sources of merciless pollution of the air and city land. Life in the labor suburbs where workers huddled in constant need and privation was particularly pitiful. All requests for the allocation of funds for landscaping were categorically rejected by the city duma. The parks established as early as under Peter the First were sold out as construction sites and the famous gardens along Sadovaya Street were destroyed.

The necessary measures to improve the living conditons of the working people and to fight urban pollution were adopted from the very first days of the Soviet system. As V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich writes in his recollections of Lenin, "Vladimir Il'ich frequently said that 'our Moscow,' and 'our Peter,' as liked to refer to these cities, should be embellished, landscaped, and have as many squares and parks as possible where the huge popular masses could stroll and relax . . ." (V. Bonch-Bruyevich, "V. I. Lenin v Petrograde i v Moskve (1917-1920 gg.)" [V. I. Lenin in Petrograd and Moscow (1917-1920)], Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1956, p 29). Lenin's works and the republic's Sovnarkom decrees formulated the most important principles of the socialist use of nature, which provided for many years ahead a solution to problems of environmental protection both throughout the country and in our city.

A great deal was accomplished to the protect the environment in the course of the first five-year plans. Large-scale social, health, and sanitation measures made it possible to improve the living conditions of the people of Leningrad and to raise the level of urbanization of the city. Obsolete buildings were brought down. Gradually stove heating was eliminated. A basic reconstruction and improvement of workers' suburbs were in full swing--the Narvskaya, Moskovskaya, and Nevskaya gates and Vyborgskiy Rayon. Extensive laying of water and sewage mains was carried out.

Leningrad's exploit in the Great Patriotic War is famous the world over as one of the most heroic pages in history. The damage caused the city by the German-fascist aggressors totaled about four billion rubles. Over 3,000 buildings were destroyed, the water main, and the gas and sewer systems were hit as a result of the shelling and bombing.

Despite the incredible hardship imposed by the blockade, the people of Leningrad carefully protected the greenery. No single tree was cut for fuel even in the most harsh winter of 1941-1942. This page in the military epic of the city became a symbol of the courage and endurance of the Soviet person.

From the very first days of peaceful life restoration work was developed on a broad front. In the first postwar five-year plan new clearing systems were provided. Major projects in the water-main network were carried out. The radical reconstruction of the communal economy was continued. In 1945 thousands of people of Leningrad participated in establishing victory parks in which over 40,000 trees and shrubs were planted. The Mikhaylovskiy, Tavricheskiy, and Letniy gardens were rebuilt at a fast pace. The Marsovo Pole, the Park imeni Lenin, and the Neva quays were landscaped. Petrodvorets, Pavlovsk, and Pushkin were rebuilt.

The Slava Greenbelt, planted by the people of Leningrad in the 1960's, became a noteworthy monument to the courage and heroism of the defenders of the city. About 60,000 trees and shrubs were planted on the battlefields surrounding Leningrad. Great memorial structures and plates were erected.

As a whole, in the postwar period, at high construction rates, important measures were implemented such as the radical reconstruction of industry aimed at reducing environmental pollution on the basis of the improvement of technological processes and moving some brancnes and production facilities of enterprises beyond city limits. Leningrad scientists conducted extensive studies of ecological problems.

Comprehensive gasification and central heating of residential facilities were provided. Powerful treatment facilities were installed. The water main, gas, and sewer facilities were developed. A widespread network was set up to control the condition of the water and air basins. Following the Great Patriotic War 50 new parks and gardens, about 400 squares, and over 120 boulevards were laid out in Leningrad and its suburbs.

The entire history of development of our city under the Soviet system clearly proves that it is only under socialist conditions that a truly humanistic attitude toward nature is developed and that the life and health of the people is the greatest value of the mature socialist society, as well as the fact that not natural, but social factors are of determining significance in the solution of contemporary ecological problems.

The systematic and scientifically substantiated policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and of the fraternal socialist countries in the field of environmental protection are enjoying the growing support of the progressive world public. The practice of real socialism and, particularly, the solution of global problems facing mankind are today a substantial argument in favor of socialism and communism.

The delegation of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce who visited our country in the spring of 1979 were forced to acknowledge this. In a PRAVDA interview Charles Vanick, an Ohio congressman, stressed that "in Georgia, Leningrad, and Moscow, everywhere, I saw great changes for the better. I was quite touched by concern for the protection of the environment. The Soviet Union could give many countries an example of how to protect the earth for the people" (PRAVDA, 24 April 1979).

Members of delegations of leading workers of soviet organs of republics and oblasts in the USSR encountered entirely different realities in the United States in the course of their visit to American cities in November 1977. New York left them with a particularly bad impression. Like other big cities in that country it has long been bankrupt and has virtually no funds with which to resolve even its most urgent problems.

The pollution and dirt of the city, particularly in its approaches, slum housing side by side with skyscrapers, the merciless extraction of profit from each meter of urban territory, regardless of the consequences of the unrestrained exploitation of the land, and the transformation of the atmosphere into a repository of toxic gasses are all clearly visible in New York where the waste of technical civilization is advancing on nature.

Under such difficult circumstances, as we saw in other American states, neither governors nor mayors have real possibilities to resolve basic problems, including environmental protection. The monopolies and financial capitalism dictate the policy of urban development on the basis of their selfish interests, concerned only with increasing their profits. These are the sources of the so-called urban crisis for which there is no solution under capitalist conditions.

Our socialist state, successfully resolving problems insoluble to capitalism, is following directly the opposite course. "In the interest of the present and future generations," reads article 18 of the Soviet Constitution, "the USSR is taking the necessary measures for the protection and the scientifically substantiated and rational utilization of the land and its subsoil, water resources, and the vegetal and animal world, the protection of the purity of the air and the water, the reproduction of natural resources, and the improvement of the human environment."

II

The scale of the environmental protection problems we must resolve expands with the development of socialist production and the intensification of the scientific and technical revolution. The economic and technical potential which has risen immeasurably under the Soviet system has made it possible at the present time to launch substantial measures for the protection of the urban natural environment.

Unquestionably, important among them will be the implementation of the environmental protection section of the decree "On the Construction of Systems for the Protection of Leningrad from Floods," which calls upon the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the Leningrad City Executive Committee, and a number of ministries and departments to insure between 1979 and 1990 the construction and commissioning of a one-of-a-kind hydro-engineering complex, 25.4 km long, and conduct a large amount of hydrological and ecological studies with a view to the elaboration of measures for the protection and improvement of the water environment.

Members of the aktiv of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, together with representatives of the working people, who met following the promulgation of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, noted that, under the leadership of the oblast party organization, using the experience in the building of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the application of progressive construction organization methods, and the extensive development of the socialist competition and joint work, resolved that they will do everything possible to considerably advance the time when a powerful system of installations will be built reliably protecting Leningrad from the water elements.

The implementation of the comprehensive program for improving the urban environment, an inseparable part of the plan for the comprehensive economic

and social development of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast in 1976-1980, became the scientific base for all environmental protection measures. This important document, drafted and implemented under the guidance of the Leningrad party organization, calls for the solution of environmental protection problems on a balanced basis, involving the sum total of economic and social problems.

This makes it possible, with the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress, to implement effective environmental protection measures. In the 10th Five-Year Plan about 270 million rubles have been allocated for such purposes. The local soviets are making an important contribution to this work. Their responsibility for the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems has now been raised to the level of a constitutional requirement. The Executive Committee of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies ascribes great importance to the practical implementation of environmental protection measures. The Leningrad City Soviet session, held at the end of last year, thoroughly discussed this range of problems and formulated the main directions of work to be followed in the current five-year plan and the main future tasks.

In accordance with the decisions of the oblast and city party committees, the Leningrad City Executive Committee is implementing a broad program for improving the condition of the water and air basins and the urban territories, and for upgrading the level of urbanization. Some experience has been acquired in the designing and implementation of general plans for water and electric power supplies, improvements of the air basin, city cleaning, utilization of underground areas, and general plans for industrial water supplies and sewers, and for heat and gas supplies.

The planning commission of the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee set up an environmental protection department in charge of the fast and full implementation of the measures. The rights and obligations of our planning organs have been considerably broadened. It has been entrusted, together with USSR and RSFSR ministries and departments, to develop plans for long-term and annual comprehensive plans which would include special sections on environmental protection and control over the implementation of state assignments. The basic plan indicators for environmental improvements are set on an annual basis, not only on the city, but the rayon level. They are submitted to each enterprise and are a structural part of the comprehensive plan for the development of labor collectives.

In turn, this has made it possible to intensify the interaction with ministries and departments in the field of environmental protection measures and to use their forces and funds more effectively for the solution of social problems, and coordinate the activities of scientific, scientific-research, and design organizations and construction enterprises, and, in the final account, systematically to implement a comprehensive approach to the solution of this important problem based on the unified program for action followed by all soviet and economic organs. These

measures are contributing to the implementation of the law "On the Protection of Nature in the RSFSR," and the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Intensifying Environmental Protection and Improving the Utilization of Natural Resources."

At the same time, the work of tens of Leningrad organizations, institutions, and services, directly responsible for the condition of the urban environment, is becoming ever more comprehensive and purposeful. The Leningrad City Executive Committee is working to insure close interaction among the activities of the various departmental units.

Yet as practical experience indicates, the need to intensify control over the implementation of environmental protection measures and to coordinate more effectively the actions of all state organs and inspectorates requires the creation of a single leading center in this area. Since on a country-wide scale such functions have been entrusted to the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, our suggestion is that the guidance of all control activities on Leningrad territory be assumed by the Northwestern Territorial Hydrometeorological and Environmental Control Administration.

In the light of the CC CPSU requirements to intensify environmental protection, great attention must be paid to the work of the numerous Leningrad institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the scientific and scientific research and design institutes of ministries and departments. Practical experience has indicated that their activities include unjustified duplication of work on individual problems related to environmental protection. Meanwhile, slow progress is being made in the study of topical subjects such as progressive methods and installations for the purification of the air and water basins, long-term forecasting of environmental conditions, etc. A number of complex theoretical and practical problems related to the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on nature, upgrading the effectiveness of the struggle against environmental pollution, and rational utilization of natural resources, which could be carried out by our highly skilled scientific cadres, are ignored by them.

Obviously, the need is ripe for a programmed correlation of ecological studies and the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive program and coordination of a plan for scientific developments in the field of protecting and improving natural living conditions in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast. In our view, such functions can be assumed by the recently created USSR Academy of Sciences Interdepartmental Coordination Council, in Leningrad. The positive solution of this problem would contribute to the fastest possible achievement of specific results from the studies of problems vitally important to the city and the coordination of activities of scientific institutions for the implementation of the comprehensive plan for the development of the city and its oblast, and for upgrading the interest and responsibility of scientists in the field of environmental protection.

All this becomes even more important now, when the basic directions for the comprehensive economic and social development of the city for the 11th Five-Year Plan and through 1990 are being formulated. In this important period the Leningrad City Executive Committee is engaged in profound preplanning development of indicators related to environmental protection.

III

The party and soviet organs pay particular attention to improving the condition of the vast water basin of Leningrad, which accounts for one-tenth of the city's area, and the total elimination of pollution of the Baltic Sea--a problem of great international significance.

To this effect measures have been taken to insure the comprehensive and efficient utilization of water resources. In accordance with an international convention the dumping of petroleum-containing waters in the area of the Baltic Sea has been forbidden. Major treatment installations are under construction. The first section of one-of-a-kind projects of biological treatment of sewage waters has been completed at Beliy Island. A set of Northern Treatment installations is under construction. Such projects are planned for the southwestern part of the city. The overall output of the three complexes will be about four million cubic meters of treated waste water per day.

The Leningrad City Executive Committee and its rayon executive committees are steadily supervising the construction of environmental protection projects. Deputy posts have been set up at the most important construction sites and the course of the construction and the quality of the work are regularly discussed on the spot in the course of operative conferences held in situ. The permanent commissions of the city soviet have repeatedly considered problems of the implementation of state assignments with a view to coordinating the actions of all enterprises and organizations, which as a rule are the first to gain experience in the building of such unique and complex engineering projects.

The commissioning of treatment facilities in Leningrad's suburban area was a major step in the improvement of the water basin. Currently such systems are in operation in Sestroretsk, Repin, Pushkin, Petrodvorets, Kolpin, and Metallostroy. Ten more sets will be built in the suburban area. Thus, following their construction, Leningrad will be surrounded by a ring of highly effective facilities which will protect the water environment from residential pollution.

Industry is ascribing great importance to water-protection measures. Since the beginning of the five-year plan 50 enterprises have built local treatment systems. Currently there are nearly 700 such complexes. A wide range of measures specially developed by the Leningrad City Executive Committee are improving the water basin, covering 500 enterprises. In all sectors a conversion to the utilization of recycled water is being developed. Considering the considerable increase in the volume of output, this will prevent a substantial increase in the amount of fresh water used.

we realize that the efficient utilization of a most precious natural resource such as water is a major economic problem. That is precisely why the Leningrad Soviet Executive Committee is seeing to it that each rayon and enterprise pay great attention to economizing on water resources, applying waterless technological processes, and strictly including in their long-range plans the construction of treatment installations.

State control is of exceptional importance in the protection of water resources. The Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee and the state supervision services have acquired a certain amount of practical experience in this area. The city sanitary-epidemiological station, the Northwestern Basin Territorial Administration in charge of controlling the utilization and protection of water, the Sevzaprybvod Administration, the Northwestern Territorial Hydrometeorological and Environmental Control Administration, and the Water Main and Sewer Facilities Administration are constantly controlling the quality of the water of the Neva, the city water reservoirs and the Neva Baltic Sea inlet, using the latest technical facilities.

The city's outlet on the sea is a most important problem of Leningrad's development. The old drawings and plans show that this is an old dream of our countrymen. However, its implementation was initiated only in our day. The coastal panorama of the city, reflecting the new stage of development of Leningrad, now developing, is a system of contemporary architectural ensembles, organically coordinated with the maritime landscape. It will cover the entire strip of the Gulf of Finland.

Air treatment measures play a great role in the program for further improvements of environmental conditions. Their practical implementation was particularly energized following the decision passed by the Leningrad City Executive Committee "On the Approval of a General Plan for the Improvement of Leningrad's Air Basin and a Plan of Measures for 1977-1980." This document defines the main directions to be followed in the activities of soviet and economic organs and state supervision services aimed at the elimination of the existing and the prevention of possible atmospheric pollution.

A particular role has been assigned to the further development of a network of supervision over atmospheric conditions, organized by the Northwestern Hydrometeorological and Environmental Control Administration, and the city sanitary-epidemiological station. The city has 60 stationary observation points and a regional state inspectorate in charge of controlling the work of treatment systems of industrial enterprises. Every month the results of its investigations are published in special bulletins.

Since the beginning of the five-year plan over 750 systems for cleaning the air from dust and pollutants have been buil or reconstructed. Measures are being taken to close down underpowered boiler and other small pollution sources. Between 1976 and 1978 alone, 175 such projects were closed down. Some enterprises which worsen atmospheric conditions were transfered outside city limits.

A great deal has been accomplished to improve industrial technology with a view to reducing air pollution. Wherever by virtue of objective reasons enterprises have found it impossible to do this, individual production facilities and shops changed their activities. This as well made it possible to reduce the size of sanitary-protective zones of many major associations and plants.

Thanks to the implementation of the general plan for the improvement of Leningrad's air basin, considerable changes have taken place in the city's fuel balance. The percentage of coal and other solid-fuel content has been reduced.

The rayon executive committees and labor collectives of industrial enterprises play a major role in the prevention of air pollution. Certain positive experience has been acquired in the organization of such work by Vyborgskiy, Vasileostrovskiy, and Dzerzhinskiy rayons, the Svetlana and Soyuz associations, the Instruments Plant imeni Voskov, etc.

The practically proven methods for trapping production waste polluting the water and the air, and its subsequent utilization are becoming ever more widespread in Leningrad industry. Such experience has been acquired, in particular, at the Railroad Cars Manufacturing Plant imeni Yegorov. At this enterprise wood dust and shavings are trapped by special systems and subsequently briquetted. Every year the plant utilizes up to 2,000 tons of sawdust.

At the same time, the repeated specific consideration by the oblast and city party committees and the Leningrad City Executive Committee of matters related to the construction of treatment systems and the installation of special facilities in industry, clearly proved that the possibilities of our economy are still far from being used to the maximum everywhere for such purposes. Unfortunately, as in the past, we come across cases in which some enterprise managers consider somewhat secondary the adoption of environmental protection measures, referring to the limited nature of capital investments and capacities. In our view, one of the reasons for this is that the enterprise plans include only the directival assignments of the corresponding union and union-republic ministries, and do not reflect environmental protection measures, which could be included in the state plan on the initiative of the enterprises, on the basis of necessity and available internal resources.

Frequently the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee and its planning commission must address themselves to ministries for funds for the construction of treatment projects and for including in the capital construction plans of enterprises the corresponding amount of work. Obviously, in the future we must be oriented not only toward the issuing of indicators "from above," but to a no lesser extent include in the assignments proposals on environmental protection coming directly from associations, plants, and factories. This will make it possible to increase the responsibility

of industrial sectors for polluting the environment by their subordinate enterprises and, consequently, insuring the adoption of environmental protection measures through state capital investments. On the other hand, in our view, the practice of the planned allocation of state capital investments for "Environmental Protection" must be improved. Funds for the implementation of citywide environmental improvement programs and pollution prevention could be allocated directly to the local soviets, bypassing ministries and departments. With such an approach, capital investments may be used more effectively and focused on major intersectorial projects whose construction is beyond the possibilities of individual enterprises. In turn, the local soviets would increase their control over the prompt completion of treatment installations and will insure their reliable operation.

The local soviet organs and local state supervision services are keeping under their constant supervision problems of the effective operation of treatment projects and systems, seeing to it that each enterprise would insure the reliable work of environmental protection systems and adamantly struggle against environmental pollution. Along with regular analyses of the air and water on the territories of associations, plants, factories, and their production facilities, comprehensive investigations are made of the technical condition of the equipment and the effectiveness of its use. Some enterprise and organization managers who allow a careless attitude toward such projects and systems are held strictly liable.

We know that in this area our work still suffers from major shortcomings. Frequently the equipment is used ineffectively and systems remain idle due to the lack of skilled operating cadres. There is also a shortage of specialists in reconstruction and repairs of gas and water treatment installations.

In our view the time has come for the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education to consider further the question of training cadres in areas related to the installation, operation, and repair of environmental protection systems, increase the number of graduating specialists and, in big industrial cities such as Leningrad, organize centers for retraining and upgrading the skills of the engineering and technical personnel of the specialized services of industrial enterprises, using the facilities of a higher educational institution.

Another timely measure in this plan would be the creation of a self-financing scientific-production association under the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building which would organize, on the basis of direct contracts, launching and repair operations for all purification systems regardless of departmental affiliation. This would make it possible to focus specialist cadres, upgrade the level of operation of environmental protection facilities, commission more rapidly production capacities, and thus contribute to improving the condition of the environment.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Additional Measures to Increase Environmental Protection and Improve the Utilization of Natural Resources" mandates the USSR Gosplan and a number of sectorial ministries to elaborate and implement measures to increase the production of gas- and dust-trapping equipment and apparatus so that the requirements of the national economy may be met in full.

At the same time, industry is continuing to experience shortages of a number of instruments and apparatus. New equipment, consistent with contemporary scientific and technological achievements, is being produced at a slow pace. Thus, so far the mass production of the practically well-proven instruments for measuring the amount of dust released by energy-producing equipment, developed by Leningrad instrument manufacturers, has still not been organized. The central planning organs could help to resolve this problem by including in the plans of ministries a specific list of scientifically and technically progressive systems, apparatus, and instruments.

The general plan for the improvement of the air basin also includes measures to reduce the pollution of the air by transportation facilities. This document provides a solution to a number of urban construction problems in the area of directing truck traffic away from the central districts, and the rational organization of transportation flows within the city. New underground pedestrian tunnels and transport passageways are under construction. With the help special diagnostic facilities the State Automotive Vehicles Inspectorate organs are regularly supervising the technical condition of moter vehicles.

In recent years we have developed a system for fighting environmental pollution in the city's housing. A course has been charted toward the mechanized processing of residential waste and the use of progressive systems for its collection and removal. Our task is to convert from the shift-container system to vacuum systems for garbage removal and compressed air haulage.

A definite step has already been made in this direction. The first plant for the processing of household waste is already in operation. Entirely mechanized and automated, it is a complex engineering project which annually processes over 400,000 cubic meters of household waste. Its modern technology is based on the utilization of processes of biothermal degradation. The commissioning of this enterprise has successfully resolved not only problems of waste utilization, but of obtaining valuable agricultural raw materials. The oblast's agriculture receives annually an average of 80,000 tons of compost, which is used as fertilizer and as biological fuel for the growing of early vegetables. The construction of another three such plants is planned for the future, along with a vacuum garbage removal system. Thanks to the implementation of the entire set of organizational-technical measures, the city's housing authorities will be able to insure the sanitary upkeep of residential facilities and adjacent territories on the necessary level.

The comprehensive approach to resolving problems of environmental protection includes not only concern for improving the water and air environment, but an expanded program of measures to maintain a proper health condition in the city, urban improvements, and landscaping. This important direction of our activity has developed into a citywide movement. It has contributed to reducing environmental pollution, upgrading the effectiveness of the influence of sanitary-protective zones around industrial enterprises, and the creation of more favorable living conditions for the population in the actively developing mass residential districts. In the 10th Five-Year Plan alone the size of the planted area has been expanded by 2,200 hectares. According to the 1978-1979 plan about 300 million rubles will be used for urban improvements and communal construction projects.

The labor collectives of enterprises, organizations, and associations, and the higher and secondary specialized schools, and the vocational-technical and other schools play a major role in the implementation of this responsible assignment. The experience of Petrogradskiy Rayon has become widespread. For the past two years its entire territory has been divided into sectors assigned to specific labor collectives which are responsible not only for the improvement and sanitary condition of the streets and avenues, but yards, children's and sports grounds, squares, and parks. As the seminar sponsored by the Leningrad City Executive Committee for chairmen of rayon executive committees showed, this work method is yielding good results. It is energizing the population's initiative and increasing the responsibility of labor collectives.

The initiative of the personnel of the Svetlana Association is becoming ever more widespread in the city. Several years ago the Svetlana personnel called upon the Leningrad enterprises to follow their example in engaging in the comprehensive improvement of the territories around associations, plants, factories, and adjacent residential micro-rayons. Showing their concern for their city, hundreds of labor collectives supported this initiative which has developed now into a widespread citywide movement for model order and cleanliness.

This proves that a great deal is being done in our city to protect the environment. Yet, the Leningrad City Executive Committee can see existing shortcomings as well. We have not as yet achieved the timely installation of all treatment systems. A number of enterprises are still failing to pay the necessary attention to lowering water and air pollution. In some industrial sectors rayon executive committees and state control organs are poorly supervising the enterprise activities. Measures must be taken to reduce noise levels on main city streets and air pollution by motor transport, and the directing of truck traffic outside the city. The Leningrad City Executive Committee is working the elimination of such shortcomings.

Answering through action the new and even more responsible assignments set by the party, the Leningrad City Executive Committee is steadily upgrading the level of its entire state and economic work, guided by Leonid Il'ich

Brezhnev's instruction that "the thrifty utilization of natural resources, concern for the land, the forests, the rivers, and the clean air and the vegetal and animal world is our personal communist cause."

Adopting as a firm guideline and for implementation the decisions of the CC CPSU Plenum and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th convocation, and the stipulations and instructions contained in L. I. Brezhnev's addresses, under the guidance of the oblast party organization, the Leningrad soviet organs will dedicate all their forces to the practical implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan and the historical stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress.

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ECOLOGY AS A SPHERE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

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[Article by Prof B. Miroshnichenko]

[Text] The problem of the profound change in the environment as a result of social development and of the possible adverse consequences created by this change affecting nature itself is not new. It was first raised by the Marxist classics. "Even an entire society, a nation, and even all existing societies put together," K. Marx wrote, "are not the owners of the land. They are merely its users and, as boni patris familias (good family fathers--the editor) they must leave it improved to subsequent generations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, pt II, p 337).

In the last quarter of our century the influence of man on individual ecosystems and the biosphere as a whole reached an unparalleled scale and is continuing to grow. Even though this process is manifested differently in the economically developed and the developing countries with their extensive management of the economy, and even though within such groups it develops according to the dominating production method, the world as a whole has found itself on the threshold of a situation in which the quantitative changes introduced by man into the environment are growing into qualitative changes.

Problems of the human environment have always been in the focal point of attention in the Soviet state from the very first days of its existence. Their solution is considered in our country one of the most important directions in upgrading the prosperity of the Soviet people.

The need for environmental protection was proclaimed as early as the second party program, adopted in 1919, at the Eighth Congress of the RKP(b). Article 18 of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted in 1977, reads as follows: "In the interests of the present and future generations the necessary measures are being taken in the USSR for the protection and the scientifically substantiated and rational utilization of the land and its subsoil, water resources, and vegetal and animal worlds, for the protection of the purity of the air and water, insuring the reproduction of natural resources, and improving the human environment."

In the Soviet Union enterprises and organizations insuring the implementation of tasks related to economic growth are also responsible for the protection and rational utilization of the natural resources they exploit. Regardless of their departmental affiliation, enterprises exploiting natural resources are under the supervision of the corresponding specialized services. Thus, for example, subsoil control is provided by the USSR Gosgortekhnidzor. Control over the utilization of the water is provided by the union and republic ministries of reclamation and water resources, and over the utilization of timber resources, state committees and ministries. Control over environmental protection is also provided by the sanitary-epidemiological service of the country. The USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control plays a central role in controlling the condition of the environment.

Forecasting, planning, and norming in the field of nature utilization are of exceptional importance under the conditions of a planned socialist economy. The formulation of norms for maximally admissible concentrations (PDK) of harmful substances in the habitat has been practiced in our country since the 1930's. These norms became an important means for nationwide control over environmental conditions.

The fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, eighth convocation, which was a major landmark in the shaping of a nationwide policy concerning the environment, noted that the "thrifty attitude toward the resources of the land and its subsoil and the environment, and the protection and rational and comprehensive utilization of such resources in the interests of the entire people, are the inviolable law of the socialist society."

A qualitatively new stage in the development of the planned management of the use of nature began following the adoption of the decrees of the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CC CPSU Council of Ministers decree "On Strengthening the Protection of Nature and Improving the Utilization of Natural Resources" (1972). These most important documents stipulate that plans for environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources must be a structural component of the long-term and annual economic development plans.

Long-term forecasting of environmental conditions and of the resource potential, combined with forecasting the main parameters of socieconomic development, are a fundamental scientific problem in whose solution the collectives of a number of institutes of the academies of sciences and other scientific organizations in the country have been involved. Such activities are coordinated by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

In his report on the occasion of the 61st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Comrade A. N. Kosygin, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, emphasized that we are developing and will continue to develop the national economy on the basis of the highest

possible ecological requirements consistent with the nature of socialism, and that the main direction in improving the material and technical base of the economy is the technical retooling which will make it possible to radically improve the utilization of all national economic resources and develop a production apparatus with technological processes which do not pollute the environment.

The party and the government pay great attention to investigating the implementation of decisions related to environmental protection. Thus, on 31 October 1978 the matter was discussed at a joint session of the commissions for health care and social insurance of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The decree passed by the commissions of the chambers recommends increased control over the observance by all enterprises and organizations of the legal stipulations in this area. In the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the USSR Constitution, it was recommended to ministries and departments to implement a number of additional measures to protect the health of the Soviet people.

Paying constant attention to this important area of major national economic significance, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers passed in December 1978 the decree "On Additional Measures to Increase Environmental Protection and Improve the Utilization of Natural Resources." The decree emphasizes that the protection of the environment and the efficient utilization of natural resources under the conditions of a fast development of the national economy and the exploitation of an ever greater amount of natural resources, is one of the most important economic and social tasks of the Soviet state. Consequently, and in the interest of the fullest possible implementation of the objectives earmarked by the 25th CPSU Congress and the USSR Constitution, the further development and implementation of the necessary measures will be required.

International cooperation plays a most important role in coordinating the further economic growth of the USSR with the need for the protection of the environment. Such cooperation has played an important role in the past as well. However, it has become particularly topical over the past 20 years, when the problem of environmental pollution assumed particular urgency and universal importance.

Deforestation, desertification, erosion, salinization, and exhaustion of the soils have spread throughout almost all major areas of the world. Man's negative influence on the environment as a result of the powerful development of industrial and agricultural production on a private capitalist basis, the ever more extensive utilization of natural resources with the steady acceleration of the pace of scientific and technical progress, and the population expansion are already comparable in strength to global natural processes. It threatens the following:

Exhaustion of non-recoverable natural resources;

Disturbance of natural bio-geo-chemical cycles and the adaptation of living organisms, including man, to natural environmental conditions;

Degradation (desiccation, salinization, and erosion) of the soil blanket;

Dangerous increase in the content of harmful chemicals in the water and food.

Two basic characteristics which determine the objective need for and urgency of measures to be implemented for the protection of the environment, coordinated among all countries on earth, regardless of their socioeconomic systems, are characteristic of nearly all such trends of influence by contemporary human society on the environment.

The first is that the scale of the main processes leading to changes in nature, triggered by human activities, have reached today such wide dimensions that they simultaneously encompass the entire world, or at least several major areas on earth.

The second feature which characterizes the interrelationship between man and nature today is related to the universally known advantage of cooperating in the implementation of large-scale measures requiring considerable capital investments. A number of studies have confirmed that the required ecological measures, carried out by a single country, are far more expensive (in terms of financial and labor outlays) than implemented jointly with other interested countries (above all as the result of the utilization of scientific research and experience gained by several countries).

Let us note that the socialist economic management system is more effective compared with that of private enterprise in the environmental protection field as well. Thus, despite the fact that the Soviet volume of industrial output is coming closer to U.S. industrial output (having surpassed 80% of it), the atmosphere, water, and air in the industrial areas of our country are approximately twice as clean as in similar industrial areas in the United States. However, in the socialist countries as well the problems of optimizing the interrelationship between man and nature are becoming ever more topical, for changes in the environment are assuming, to an ever greater extent, a global nature. This leads to the appearance of a number of complex international problems which objectively require the combined coordinated activities of a number of countries.

The need to combine the efforts of a number of nations, regardless of different socioeconomic systems, in the search for ways and means for the protection of the unique biosphere of the earth, and for surmounting the difficulties created by the spreading of pollutants across borders, as well as the desire to help the developing countries and share experience in the preservation and transformation of nature, the achievements in the rational utilization of natural resources, the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state and, finally, concern for the bright communist future of the planet,

inspire our country to active participation in international measures aimed at the protection and improvement of the environment. Addressing the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the readiness of the USSR and the other socialist countries to cooperate in the field of environmental protection.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries our country has initiated major collective measures aimed at the solution of important ecological problems. Such problems have become particularly grave and complex in densely populated Europe whose high level of industrial development has put strong pressure on all environmental components. The acknowledgment of this fact was manifested in the special part of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. The successful completion of the conference provided a powerful impetus to the development of comprehensive international cooperation. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's proposal, contained in his speech to the seventh congress of the PZPR on holding European congresses or intergovernmental conferences on cooperation in the field of environmental protection and the development of transportation and the power industry, was a new step in broadening the interaction among countries in the area of ecology.

The agenda for the European conference on the environment was drafted with the participation of virtually European countries, the United States, and Canada. Draft documents were prepared on both problems which, by general recognition, are of particular importance to the European area--the movement of air pollutants across borders and wasteless technology. All countries acknowledged that in the interest of good-neighborly relations they must struggle not only for the purity of their own air basin, but if possible to prevent the shifting of pollutants to the territories of other countries. Waste-free technology is the means through which the most effective struggle could be waged against environmental pollution and, particularly, for resolving the problem of reducing the movement of air pollutants across borders.

The 34th United Nations session of the European Economic Commission (EEC) resolved to convene in November a European summit conference on the environment. It also decided to continue the study of the matter of holding European congresses in the areas of energy and transportation.

A broad exchange of views on the state of the environment in Europe will take place at the forthcoming European conference on the environment. The participants will share their experience in environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources and earmark ways for further cooperation in such directions.

The conference will adopt international documents--a convention and a resolution on air pollution across borders covering great distances, and a declaration on low-waste and waste-free technology and waste utilization. The immediate purpose of the convention will be to insure the elimination

of the shifting of air pollutants across national borders. At the same time, it will be a good base for the development of extensive cooperation on the entire comprehensive problems of the struggle against atmospheric pollution. Even though the stipulations in the declaration and the convention will not be mandatory, the document will be of great practical interest not only to the European countries on earth, including the developing ones, for it contains recommendations on the creation and application of waste-free technology which will make it possible to prevent causing harm to the environment and insure the rational utilization of natural resources, energy in particular.

The conference will also discuss means for the development of cooperation on major problems of the environment, specific to Europe, such as the protection and rational utilization of water resources, protection of the fauna and flora, and toxic substances and compounds.

The European conference will mark the completion of a specific stage in the development of international cooperation on environmental protection, initiated with the Prague EEC 1971 symposium. It will mark the beginning of a new period which will raise the entire work of the commission to a higher level. That is why the Soviet initiative to convene this conference, made in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, is considered throughout the world as an action contributing to the further scientific and technical and economic cooperation between East and West.

The holding of a European environmental conference and the readiness of its participants to approach the solution of the problems in a form exceeding current cooperation within the EEC should be considered a manifestation of the political will of the European countries, the United States, and Canada to further the intensification of the comprehensive positive process initiated in Helsinki and to make it concrete.

Addressing the 24th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the readiness of the Soviet Union to participate, together with other interested countries, in resolving the problem of environmental protection. The elements of international cooperation on some of its specific aspects have been relatively long in existence. The urgent need for wider and more purposeful global cooperation in the field of environmental protection and resources led to the holding of a special international conference sponsored by the United Nations organization to deal with environmental problems. Following the recommendations of the conference (Stockholm 1972) the 27th United Nations General Assembly session passed the decision to create within the United Nations a special organ for international cooperation on environmental problems, known as the "United Nations Environmental Program" (UNEP). The UNEP was assigned to coordinate and promote initiative in the formulation of new problems in the field of international cooperation related to environmental protection. In particular, the UNEP was instructed to combine and utilize available experience and involve in the elaboration of the various aspects of the problem all organizations

within the United Nations and the scientific forces of the world's community. In the very first period of UNEP activities, its administrative council (the UNEP operative organ consisting of members of many countries) defined the main directions of its work. They included ecological problems of settlements (big cities above all), and human health and well-being; problems of protecting soil ecosystems and the struggle against desertification; activities related the ecological training and professional training and information in the field of the environment; trade, economic, and technological aspects of measures related to environmental protection; protection of the world's oceans from the effect of the growing quantities of all kinds of pollutants; protection of vegetation and wild animals and of the genetic stock; and problems of energy.

Taking into consideration the importance of the preservation of ecological conditions in settlements, the United Nations General Assembly resolved to create a special United Nations center for settlements (HABITAT) and drew particular attention to the need for cooperation between HABITAT and UNEP.

In 1977 the UNEP singled out among the wide range of problems the most topical ones and presented them as specific targets to be reached by 1982.

The first group of targets deals with assessing the changes in the environment, its outer limits and basic human needs. Here the leading role was assigned to the elaboration of a global system for comprehensive monitoring, i.e., regular observation of the condition of the environment and the assessment of its changes by base stations.

The second group includes objectives related to controlling the quality of the environment, including the development of ecologically justified technologies. Particularly noteworthy in this group is the problem of "environment and progress," which is of major socioeconomic significance. It is a question of elaborating the type of principles governing relations between society and the environment which would insure the growth of output, prosperity, and technical progress without harming the environment.

What has the UNEP accomplished on a global scale in recent years to implement such targets? Let us, above all, note successes in the creation of a global system of observation of the environment, which includes a data-gathering and exchange system, scientific studies, situation assessments, and surveys. It is becoming ever more universal and significant.

Exchange of data insures broad access to raw data and their summation as contained in the surveys. This facilitates the countries in formulating a proper policy in the field of the environment. The observations are conducted with the help of a number of United Nations organizations. Thus, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) is the main institution cooperating with the UNEP, engaged in monitoring the climate. In the area of health care observations are conducted in cooperation with the World Health Organization (WHO) with 180 stations in 60 different cities. As of this year the quality of the water is being monitored. In the course of time this will be done by over 300 stations.

The condition of recoverable natural resources is studied by the UNEP in cooperation with the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). The UNEP surveys wild fauna resources jointly with the International Alliance for the Protection of Nature and Natural Resources, while data exchanges are carried out with the help of the International Information System (INFOTERRA), one of whose basic objectives is to assist in the creation and development of national ecological information systems. By 1982 INFOTERRA will include 100 countries which will be submitting information and answering queries.

One of the basic means through which the UNEP informs state and public organizations on key ecological problems is the submission of annual "Reports on Environmental Conditions."

The UNEP pays great attention to the problem of environmental control. This means controlling human activities directly related to natural resources and exerting beneficial or harmful influences on nature. Broadly interpreted, this is an attempt to determine the significance of the ecological aspect in social and economic development.

Environmental protection law is a structural part of the efficient management of the use of nature. This includes regulations aimed at preventing environmental pollution and other violations in this area. Its purpose is to organize control over the inevitable influence of human activities on the natural environment.

Here we must bear in mind, naturally, that it is not a question of encroaching on the sovereignty of one or another country. The establishment of a system of environmental protection within each country is the function of the state and is under its inviolable jurisdiction. However, the international-legal control of the protection and utilization of natural resources which are either beyond the range of national jurisdictions or are shared by two or more countries is of essential significance.

Environmental protection law includes the practice of land use, preservation of the flora and fauna, protection of planted areas in settlements, and control of excessive noise and discharge of waste waters. In terms of living resources some long-term agreements have been reached exceeding the limits of national jurisdictions and aimed at the protection of migrating animal species, sea mammals, and ocean fish. The role of the UNEP in this respect consists, essentially, of insuring the coordination of activities. A number of global and regional conventions on the protection of the marine environment have been concluded.

The auxiliary measures adopted by the UNEP include environmental protection training, information, and technical assistance. It set up four regional groups of consultants for the developing countries who provide assistance and advice to regional organizations on environmental protection problems.

The spreading of ecological information, which influences the attitude of the people toward natural resources, is an important element in drawing the attention of the broad public to environmental protection problems. To this effect the UNEP extensively cooperates with the press. It organizes the making and showing of motion pictures on environmental protection, radio interviews, and contests. It uses posters and other means for influencing public opinion.

Unquestionably, UNEP activities have contributed to the achievement of certain results in the protection of the marine space from pollution, the protection of the genetic stock, the struggle against desertification, the location of industrial enterprises consistent with environmental protection, the improved utilization of water resources, the protection of ecological conditions in settlements, and health protection. Efforts to improve the condition of the most polluted areas of the world's oceans, such as the coastal regional seas of some countries are an example. The program for the Mediterranean has been developed the fartherest. Its proper condition is of interest to a number of countries. Data are being gathered with the help of the UNEP on the level of pollution of individual water areas and a data bank is being set up at the International Computer Center in Geneva.

The practical activities of the UNEP in resolving problems of the efficient location of industrial projects consists of insuring the exchange of information on the influence of individual sectors on the environment. In particular, seminars were held on industrial sectors such aluminum, cellulose-paper, automotive, and petroleum industries. Work groups and consultative committees have been set up for the chemical, steel, and cellulose-paper industries. A methodology is being developed for a consideration of environmental factors in the designing, location, construction, and operation of industrial enterprises, as well as of principles, including laws, which will be recommended to the governments in assessing the influence of industry on the environment.

The Soviet organizations actively cooperate with the UNEP. Such activities are coordinated by the USSR Commission on UNEP Affairs, established in 1978 under the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. Plans for cooperation, currently drafted, include the holding of international conferences in the USSR; practical training seminars on river-basin control, struggle with desertification based on comprehensive development, problems of health care and the environment, and others are being organized for specialists from the developing countries. Seminars are being given in Moscow, in the training and scientific centers of the RSFSR, and in the Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics of the USSR. In October the second conference of the international reference service of the UNEP was held in Moscow with representatives from over 80 countries, United Nations regional organizations, and non-governmental organizations.

Some problems encountered by the UNEP require additional studies. This applies, above all, to the economic effectiveness of outlays for

environmental protection measures, alternative approaches to the development of the economy and way of life, the exhaustion of some resources, and international strategy and politics in the field of oceanic protection. The UNEP has gathered and is sharing with interested countries its considerable experience in resolving international problems related to the environment, along with extensive factual data, the acquisition of which would have been very expensive to the individual countries. This is particularly important to those among them which are very limited in their outlays for ecological measures. In 1977 an intergovernmental conference on education in the field of the environment was held in Tbilisi. This was the culminating point in the implementation of the first stage of the joint program for cooperation between the UNEP and UNESCO. Specific stipulations were formulated on the conference on the basis of which the guiding principles and recommendations needed by the governments for decision making related to the teaching, information, and training in the area of the ecology are supplied.

The UNEP's coordinating and catalytic role was clearly revealed in its mobilization of the efforts of the world community in the struggle against desertification. Coordinating all activities within the United Nations in this direction, the UNEP is using the mechanism of joint topic programming and work groups on desertification set up under UNEP sponsorship and consisting of representatives of interested United Nations organizations. On the initiative and by presentation of the UNEP the work group provided expert evaluations of all documents drafted in accordance with the holding of the United Nations Ashkhabad conference on the struggle against desertification, as well as surveys, maps, and a draft global plan for action on this problem. It organized specific studies of desertification in a number of countries.

The UNEP engages in comprehensive activities in resolving problems of the stratospheric ozone. In March 1977, with UNEP's support, representatives of a number of countries, including the USSR, and with the participation of international organizations, drafted and adopted a global plan for action related to the ozone stratum. The plan contains 21 recommendations made by scientists, institutes, and organizations, related to assessing the weather, medical-sanitary, ecological, and socioeconomic consequences of a possible reduction in the amount of ozone in the stratosphere as a result of the uncontrolled emission of substances containing chlorine, fluorine, and nitrogen. It should be pointed out that according to the existing regulation the UNEP can only initiate and promote recommended activities and support them at their initial stages, after which it must withdraw and allow other international and national organizations to further the projects. Nevertheless, frequently the UNEP invests its funds over long periods of time (sometimes quite substantial, accounting for up to 80% of the cost of the project) and directly participates in the implementation of certain measures. Occasionally this distracts it from other bigger and more important problems.

The seventh session of the UNEP administrative council, held in Nairobi in April-May, proved that a certain number of practical successes have been achieved in a number of areas covered by its program. The International Reference System we mentioned was created and is operative. The International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals is being very useful; a reference on the condition of tropical forests was published and other useful materials were produced.

However, the UNEP is falling behind in the solution of vitally important problems in the development of the program, such as the creation of a system of global comprehensive monitoring (observation) and a method for assessing the condition of the environment, the elaboration of the principles of interaction between it and developing protection facilities, study of methods for assessing the socioeconomic advantages and benefits of outlays for environmental protection and control, and the formulation of foundations for a long-term policy for the protection of the soil and the ocean.

The UNEP faces certain difficulties in the course of its activities, related not only to the complexity of coordinating the activities of numerous organizations within the United Nations system, but the disparities in the tasks and objectives of countries with different social systems and levels of economic development. In particular, the elaboration and interpretation of problems such as environment and social development invariably raises the important question of what socioeconomic structures insure the rapid development of production forces and are most fully consistent with the tasks of preserving and improving the natural environment and its resources. A sharp debate on this subject is taking place not only between representatives of socialist and developed capitalist countries. Frequently delegates from developing countries openly accuse the developed capitalist countries which are responsible for the economic backwardness of the former colonies of the fact that, to this day, they are trying to keep the young national countries in a state of financial-economic dependence on international corporations.

Our country is actively participating in the collective efforts aimed at environmental protection on practically all levels: global (the United Nations and its specialized institutions), regional (European Economic Commission, and the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific Ocean), and bilateral. An example of fruitful cooperation in the field of environmental protection is the activities of CEMA-member countries.

With a view to broadening cooperation intergovernmental relations in this area are being developed not only on the governmental level, but on the level of individual state agencies, scientific institutions, economic associations, and public organizations. At the present time there are objective possibilities for the further expansion and energizing of international cooperation between Soviet ministries and departments within the

framework of the UNEP program. Our republics as well are participating in UNEP activities; some of them have sponsored various international meetings on environmental problems. The agreement reached between the USSR and the United States at the meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and President J. Carter, in June 1979, reinforcing the 1972 bilateral accords on this matter, is of tremendous importance to the broadening of international cooperation in the field of environmental protection. Positive results were achieved in developing cooperation in the field of environmental protection between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and France, Britain, Finland, and other developed capitalist countries.

Within CEMA cooperation has long existed between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in resolving ecological problems. They have acquired substantial experience and achieved major successes in this matter. Using the advantages of the public ownership of productive capital and natural resources, and based on the principles of socialist national economic planning and the possibility to coordinate national economic plans and on consultations on a variety of problems of mutual interest, the CEMA-member countries are implementing a broad set of joint measures related to the protectior and improvement of the environment.

In this area the scientific and technical interaction among CEMA-member countries is based on multilateral and bilateral agreements and on interaction within the organs of CEMA. The CEMA Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation developed for the period through 1980 a general expanded program for cooperation between CEMA-members and Yugoslavia in the field of protection and improvement of the environment and the related rational utilization of natural resources, covering a number of comprehensive problems. This program covers both general theoretical research, including socioeconomic and legal aspects of environmental protection, as well as most important applied developments, particularly on problems of improving existing and creating new technological processes which would exclude or considerably lower the emission of harmful substances in the water, the air, and the soil, insuring the protection of the atmosphere over the cities and big settlements from emission gasses released by motor vehicles, the struggle against noise and vibrations, radiation safety, rendering harmless and utilizing household, industrial, agricultural, and other waste, and elaborating basic directions for the planning of cities and their suburbs, and of the entire settlement system based on contemporary ecological requirements.

Implementing the principles and agreements adopted at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, CEMA is systematically making its contribution to the implementation of the tasks listed in the section "Cooperation in the Fields of Economics, Science and Technology, and the Environment," of the Final Act of the conference, developing and intensifying cooperation with the UNEP, UNESCO, the United Nations EEC, and other international organizations.

The solution of problems related to the rational utilization of nature under contemporary conditions requires, above all, raising the level of ecological thinking, not only on the part of workers in that area, but of specialists engaged in a great variety of activities. In particular, this must be expressed in scientific and practical predictions of immediate and long-range consequences of all actions undertaken in changing nature and, above all, in the development of contemporary industrial output. In this connection the ecological-economic aspect of assessments of social production activities assumes prime importance. The problem of the protection and reorganization of the environment poses a number of new problems not only to the natural, technical, and socioeconomic sciences, but to pedagogy, ethics, and aesthetics. More than ever before, today the time is ripe for the elaboration of a code of moral norms which would govern the attitude of the people toward nature and which should be mastered from a very early age; increased attention to the dissemination of nature protection knowledge among broad population masses, such as, for example, by including corresponding topics in curriculums covering not only all levels and kinds of schools, but preschool education as well.

The prevention of the pollution of the atmosphere, the soil, the internal reservoirs, and the world's oceans, the mass manufacturing of a variety of effective treatment systems, the development and installation of low-waste or waste-free technology, and other measures require substantial outlays, estimated, on the global level, at tens of billions of dollars annually. This is a major hindrance to their implementation. However, such outlays cannot even be compared with the huge outlays of modern mankind related to the arms race. Nor should we forget that environmental pollution in peacetime as well is largely related to preparations made by reactionary imperialist circles for war. The testing of nuclear weapons, loss of nuclear bombs, leaks of poison gasses, stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons, pollution developing in the course of the production of various armaments and the processing of the required raw material, are inevitable satellites of imperialist aggressive policy. For this reason, the most important prerequisite for fruitful cooperation in the protection and improvement of the environment is the intensification of detente, the limitation and reduction of military expenditures, and universal and total disarmament. This would provide adequate funds for a broad range of environmental protection measures, the elaboration of foundations for a waste-free technology, and the gradual conversion of the production process to a closed cycle, without reducing its volume or lowering population living standards.

Practical experience indicates that the solution of domestic problems related to the protection and transformation of the environment in any given country is closely linked with the solution of such problems on an international scale. In this respect the United Nations environmental program plays a great role in rallying international efforts. The study and summation of the practice of international cooperation in protecting and improving the environment, and the further increased understanding of the numerous and varied international aspects of problems of interaction between society and nature at the present stage are among the topical problems not only of the specialized organizations but the broadest possible social strata.

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IMPORTANT SECTOR OF THE ANTI-MONOPOLY STRUGGLE

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[Text] The environmental crisis in the capitalist countries, its nature and reasons, and its means and methods for elimination, are becoming, to an ever greater extent, the subject of a sharp ideological, socioeconomic, and political struggle.

Despite all differences in their approach to this matter, the bourgeois publicists, ideologues and politicians are united through their common feature of the desire to present this crisis as the "natural" result of the development of modern civilization and conceal its close links with the nature of the social system ruling the capitalist world.

Conversely, the communist parties in the Western countries are proving that the profound sources of the environmental crisis in such countries are found in capitalist production relations and the anti-national policy of the monopolies. They are explaining to the masses that the adoption of urgent measures for environmental protection as well as for the future maintaining of a balance in relations between nature and society at large are possible only through the struggle for changing the social conditions which are triggering this crisis.

The Anti-Monopoly Nature of the Struggle for Environmental Protection

Revolutionary social theory has long reached the conclusion that under capitalist conditions an irreconcilable contradiction exists between the production method and nature, inevitably resulting in the predatory attitude of the bourgeois class toward the environment. Under capitalism, K. Marx wrote, inherent in the social production process is "not the unity between living and acting people and the natural inorganic conditions for exchanging substances with nature and, by virtue of this fact, their merging with nature, but a break between such inorganic conditions of human existence and active existence itself . . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, pt I, p 478). Marx pointed out that culture,

bearing in mind bourgeois culture, "If it develops spontaneously rather than is consciously guided . . . leaves after it a desert . . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 32, p 45).

These scientific concepts were further developed in V. I. Lenin's works. The predatory and consuming nature of the attitude of capitalists toward nature was exposed in his works, such as, for example, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia." In this work Lenin drew attention, in particular, to the increased use of forests "not by people but by capital," and to the "tremendous speed" with which the process of the elimination of "forests with the predatory management of timber industries" was taking place ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 3, pp 526, 529).

The environmental crisis faced today by the capitalist countries is the result of many decades of chaotic utilization of natural resources. It is closely linked with the contemporary stage of the general crisis of the capitalist system and, along with the monetary and energy crises and other similar phenomena, proves the constant and ever deepening decay of capitalism.

As the basic productive force of society, concern for the preservation of nature is inseparable in the case of the working class from the struggle for improving living and working conditions and for eliminating exploitation. Conversely, by their very nature, inherent in the monopolies is a predatory attitude not only toward labor resources but natural resources and nature as a whole. By its very nature capital is an anti-national force. Furthermore, the fierce competitive struggle leads big capital to save on production costs, in which it includes environmental protection measures.

Monopoly rule is incompatible with maintaining the natural balance and does not allow the establishment of harmonious relations between man as a social being and nature. In his book "Ecology: Could We Survive under Capitalism?" Gus Hall, secretary general of the U.S. Communist Party, notes that, "We are dealing with the problem of the environment under the conditions of an obsolete socioeconomic system: it is controlled by a clan whose purpose is to extract maximum private profit regardless of the cost to society." Under capitalism the environment becomes the object of shameless capitalist exploitation, the Danish Communist Party emphasized in its program (1976). The 23d Congress of the French Communist Party, held in May 1979, links in its final resolution the struggle for environmental protection with "the struggle for the demands and expectations of the popular masses," considering it a structural component of the struggle for socialism.

The communists struggling in the capitalist countries note the existence of common grounds between the problem of the environment and of the industrial and social environments. Essentially, these are two aspects of the same social phenomenon.

We know the great importance which Lenin himself ascribed to the struggle for "hygienic working conditions" in capitalist production ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 3, p 548). Worsened working conditions in the capitalist enterprise--air pollution, noise, monotony of production processes, lowered resistance of the body to different diseases, appearance of previously non-existent professional diseases, increased amount of time needed for the restoration of forces spent in the course of the working day, and so on, are some of the manifestations the environmental problem in industry.

The increased rate of accidents among workers, and their increased share of expenditures for treatment, faster exhaustion of the human organism, etc, are among the inevitable consequences of the neglectful attitude displayed by the monopolies toward the problems of enterprise environment.

Tracing here in the indirect and more complex connection between the condition of the production environment and the situation of the working people, we could note that the aggravation of the environmental problems at enterprises also influences the processes related to the lowering of living standards, the appearance of employment difficulties, and a number of other adverse social phenomena.

It cannot be said that the monopolies are simply ignoring the threat to the environment. Occasionally, voices in its defense are heard in the big business camp. However, these are merely words. When it comes to considerable financial outlays, they try to shift the burden of such expenses to the state, i.e., in the final account, to the taxpayer--the victim of their predatory policy. The bourgeois governments use a variety of traps. In particular, they engage in the direct and indirect financing of the monopolies (from 50 to 80% of the cost of treatment systems), or else assign concern for the environment to the local administrative authorities, i.e., once again, the taxpayer.

The mechanism for the redistribution of the national income in the capitalist state secures the interest of the monopolies in the exploitation of nature and, in fact, reduces to a minimum their outlays for repairing the damage they have caused.

In this connection one of the demands of the communist parties is for the monopolies to assume all environmental protection costs. As stipulated in the Mannheim program of the German Communist Party (1978), the communists demand the strict observance of the principle of financing by the concerns themselve of measures for the prevention and elimination of harm done to the environment.

Yet, the scale of disasters is rising steadily with the intensification of the process of concentration and internationalization of monopoly capital. Powerful corporations are organizing production in the developing countries where environmental problems are still not so grave, as for example in the United States, the FRG, and other developed capitalist countries, and

where, which, to them, is also important, one does not as yet find everywhere sufficiently effective legislation on environmental protection. That is how ever new geographic areas are becoming affected by the ecology crisis.

Big capital is using one-sidedly the considerable successes achieved in a number of scientific and technical areas, exclusively for its selfish interests. The resolution passed at the 33d Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain spoke of the calamities threatening the toiling masses in connection with the capitalist utilization of the scientific and technical revolution. "With the acceleration of technical progress," the resolution notes, "the population will experience to an ever greater extent the consequences of environmental pollution."

The energy crisis which has become aggravated of late in the capitalist countries has intensified its ecological aspects as well. The crisis in the field of energy itself is, on the ecological level, a disturbance of the "nature-society" ties as a result of monopoly policy. The monopolies are trying to use in their own interest the current reorganization of the structure of the fuel balance. This entails even greater threats to the environment.

Under such circumstances the position of the communist party is the defense of a national, democratic, and anti-monopoly policy in the field of energy; and controlling all activities of energy monopolies. "The oil companies must be placed under people's democratic control," states, in particular, the American communists (DAILY WORLD, 3 July 1979).

The working people in the capitalist countries are interested in the development of national sources of energy and national natural resources. This requirement has a serious scientific base. Specialists have estimated that the subsoil of the industrially developed capitalist countries contains proven reserves of various types of fuel totalling 420 billion tons (in terms of heat released by petroleum), i.e., more than 100-fold the annual amount of energy consumed by these countries. As a whole, the proven fuel resources of the West are greater by a factor of six or seven compared with the proven petroleum reserves of the liberated countries.

The French and West German communists call for the development of the national sources of energy, coal in particular, linking this demand with the opening of tens of thousands of new jobs.

In capitalist countries where nuclear energy is most developed, the problems it has created, further complicated by its private ownership use, have assumed particular gravity. The German Communist Party favors the nationalization of the atomic energy industry with effective democratic control. The Danish Communist Party as well demands such control over the construction and operation of nuclear power plants.

Supporting in principle the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy, as stipulated in its Mannheim program (1978), the German Communist Party opposes the present construction of new nuclear power plants and other nuclear-undustrial systems. It makes its support of the building of nuclear power plants and other nuclear-energy systems conditional upon a number of stipulations, including the extent to which the safety of the population and the workers in such projects will be guaranteed, the providing of adequate environmental protection, etc.

Since the main source of harm caused to the environment and the main obstacle in the way to the solution of ecology problems are the monopolies, the struggle for environmental protection becomes part o' the broad anti-monopoly movement, headed by the working class--the most progressive organized social force in bourgeois society. The communist parties--the real spokesmen of its desires and interests--try to give this struggle a broad scope and purposefulness. They sponsor mass campaigns, formulate constructive plans aimed at the improvement of the environment, submit draft laws to the corresponding authorities. Thus, the Danish Communist Party favors the introduction of consistent legislation against environmental pollution, stipulating that it should be consistent with the just demands of the toiling population and paid for by the entrepreneurs.

The communist parties invariably draw the attention of the broad public to the specific facts of damage caused to the environment as a result of the criminal activities of the monopolies, thus proving that it is precisely the communists who are the most consistent fighters for the protection of the life and health of millions of people. When the scandal triggered by the pollution of the Hessen territory with toxic waste broke out, the provincial board of the German Communist Party organized a public court hearing in Frankfurt am Main, which was approved by the population.

In the course of their practical activities in defense of the environment the communists are displaying a profound knowledge of the circumstances and an understanding of the requirements of man and nature. The French Communist Party federations in several departments brought forth an initiative by offering to the public a plan for the reorganization of the southeastern part of the Paris industrial area. "The development of the southeastern part of the Parisian industrial area must be accompanied by measures for the protection of the environment and for improving human living conditions," their declaration stated. L'HUMANITE noted that the forests in these departments were owned by businessmen, while highways were laid out in such a way as to harm the local population.

One of the distinguishing features of the program requirements of the communists on environmental matters is their specific nature, the consideration of the specific characteristics of their countries. Along with other stipulations, the program of the Greek Communist Party (1978) contains the requirement of protecting the marine environment and the sea

coast, the protection of islands from foreign purchasers, and the restoration to the people of all sold islands.

In recent years the communists have paid ever greater attention to the problems of the natural and social environment of big cities. The activities of municipal councils which have been headed by many years by communist mayors offer examples of the successful solution of urban problems (to the extent to which this is allowed by capitalist conditions). In Bologna (Italy) the situation of the transportation system was improved; in Saint-Denis (France) the construction of modern housing for the working people is being successfully combined with the restoration of the architectural monuments of the past. In recent years over one million saplings and shrubs have been planted. New parks are being created in a number of cities, and so on. The population is being involved in the formulation of urban development plans. Such was the case in Bologna where a similar plan was the result of ideas and suggestions not only of specialists, but of city residents themselves.

The communists support population initiatives, help in their creation, and guide their development. Nothing is unimportant to them whenever it is a question of the health of the working people. In Italy, for example, where a mass movement for pure air, health care, harmless production process and industrial goods, and so on has developed over the past 10 to 15 years at industrial enterprises, the communists included the demands formulated by the working people in parliamentary draft laws and are promoting their inclusion in governmental programs.

The communists sum up the practical experience in the struggle for the solution of environmental problems in documents passed at congresses, plenums, and conferences. National conferences on such topics were held by the Italian, German, and several other communist parties. The symposium held by 36 communist and workers parties, sponsored by the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, was an important event. Here a comprehensive discussion was held on the place which the environmental struggle held in their policy. In the final document of the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, held in Berlin in June 1976, environmental protection problems were considered in close interconnection with the struggle for the materialization of detente and the need for an end to the arms race.

New Possibilities for the Unification of All Anti-Monopoly Forces

The acute nature of the environmental crisis and the readiness of the democratic public to resolve it offer the working class new opportunities for mounting an offensive against the positions of big capital and involving in the anti-monopoly movement population strata which have remained so far outside the social struggle. "Many forces," wrote J. Berlinguer, member of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee, "are beginning to rally and create militant movements based on the struggle

for resolving environmental problems, or else including demands for environmental protection in mass actions demanding employment, reforms, and economic programs." The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark noted that "an understanding of the need for a new and effective policy of environmental protection is growing among ever broader population strata." It is indicative that the various detachments of the working people following different political and ideological lines occasionally find a common language on matters such as joint struggle against air, water, and soil pollution, against noise, for the solution of urban problems, and so on, are easier than in many other areas. Here again the communist movement tries to organize unity among the various ideological and political forces.

Discussions and actions based on a joint platform of environmental protection helped in the unification of trade unions of different political persuasions. The results of the European trade union conference on environmental problems, held in Geneva in 1975, are a confirmation of the noteworthy successes achieved along this way. Characteristically, the same topic was chosen by them for the 1977 and 1979 conferences. The communists are zealous fighters for such unity on the national and international scales. In its 5 July 1979 issue THE MORNING STAR, the newspaper of the British communists, approved the actions of the trade unions in Sheffield and south Yorkshire which called for increasing public transportation as more economical and suitable considering the worsening of the urban environment.

Naturally, the proletariat is not the only one interes ed in resolving the environmental problem. The march of the capitalist city on the country, and the poisoning of water sources, soil, and so on, with production waste are triggereing widespread peasant protests.

The urban middle classes, which are also suffering from the anti-national policy of the monopolies and related political forces, are also displaying a growing understanding of the vital importance of joint actions with the working class. Ever more frequently, hand in hand with the working class, the various detachments of the intelligentsia are acting in the field of environmental protection. The communist parties favor the extensive involvement of intellectual workers in the struggle for the solution of ecology problems. In general, as practical experience indicates, the middle classes are particularly sensitive to problems such as urban pollution, underdeveloped public transportation, urban noise, and so on. Some of them, Western sociologists have noted, have begun to realize the crisis of the bourgeois society precisely by coming across such phenomena. The progressive worsening of the habitat leaves in the minds of such population categories an ever smaller place for illusions regarding the possibility to find a solution in passive expectation or on an individual basis.

Young people and women who have created in a number of Western countries special organizations to help achieve a just solution to environmental protection problems are energetically intervening in this area.

Therefore, a rapprochement is taking place between the working class and the other detachments of the working people, such as peasants, urban middle classes, the intelligentsia, the youth, women, and so on, in the course of the struggle for resolving problems of the natural and industrial environment. Their cooperation in this area helps to broaden the alliance of fighters against capitalism in general and narrows the social base of monopoly power.

The struggle for the defense and improvement of the environment has become today one of the links combining the communist with the general democratic movement. The communists proceed from the fact that even under capitalist conditions the monopolies may be forced to take certain measures to protect the environment, consistent with the interests of the masses. By this token, the struggle of the working class for environmental protection is part of the struggle for democracy and for broadening the rights of the working people, and against the power of monopoly forces and the bourgeois state. It offers extensive opportunities for organizing cooperation with a number of "ecological" organizations and movements which have appeared in recent years. In the theses adopted at its 15th congress, held in March-April 1979, the Italian Communist Party indicated the promising nature of working within associations of various population groups which have either appeared recently or are continuing to appear and which are trying to influence the decision of the authorities on environmental matters, urbanization of life a big city, and other problems. In Great Britain the communist party called for comprehensively supporting organizations dealing with environmental problems. The 33d Communist Party of Great Britain Congress stated that, "We welcome the creation of local environmental protection groups and will do everything possible within our forces to assist them." The congress recommended the creation of such groups on a maximally broad base, involving associations of tenants and landlords, respresentatives of local authorities, and so on.

The same line is followed in the activities of the communists in West Germany. The party program points out that the environmental protection movement is a major success of the progressive forces in the FRG. The program stresses that the German Communist Party is trying to convince its partners of the need to broaden alliances created for specific claims into broader democratic alliances. It further notes that this is a possible means for cooperation among all progressive forces with a view to creating a broad programmatic platform for profound social changes.

The mobilization of the masses in the struggle for environmental protection is yielding its initial results. Under public pressure in a number of capitalist countries the state and the monopolies have been forced to take measures to clean up the environment and to prevent its pollution.

The struggle against environmental pollution and for the harmonious development of nature offers possibilities for expanding the worldwide front of the struggle for peace and materialization of detente. Thus,

supporters of a great variety of sociopolitical currents--Christians, liberals, radicals, etc--participated, together with the communists, in a discussion of environmental problems at the Brussels Meetings of Public Forces for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1972 and 1977). At the world peace congress held in Moscow, a large representative "environment" commission considered problems such as the rational utilization of natural resources,population growth, influence of man on nature and habitat pollution, and urbanization and environment. The discussion of these items was continued at the world conference on stopping the arms race, disarmament, and detente (Helsinki, 1976) and the World Forum of Peace-Loving Forces (Moscow, 1977).

The communists and all peace-loving forces consider problems of the ecological balance as closely linked with the struggle for disarmament and for peace among nations. This formulation of the problem stems from the possibilities which arise under the conditions of detente. On the one hand, possibilities arise for international cooperation and for the extensive unification of peace-loving forces; on the other, within each country funds are released which could be successfully used for environmental protection purposes and for improving the industrial environment. The main thing, however, is that the arms race is causing tremendous damage to the environment.

In the same way that the peace movement was able to rally around its slogans democratically leaning people expressing political, philosophical, and religious views, the struggle for improving the environment, with its great attractiveness, is involving in its orbit broad social strata opposing monopoly capital.

The Ideological-Theoretical Struggle on Environmental Problems

Ecology problems are one of the recently appearing trends in the ideological struggle between the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism, on the one hand, and imperialism, on the other.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which not only exposed the link between the general crisis of capitalism and the ecology crisis, but defined the social possibilities for surmounting it, is a reliable compass in the ideological struggle. Lenin's words are an answer the Western theoreticians who consider the ecology crisis an inevitable law in the development of relations between man and nature: "To explain the growing difficulty of the existence of the workers with the fact that nature is curtailing its gifts means to become a defender of the bourgeoisie." The problem does not lie in nature, Lenin explained, but in capitalism (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 5, p 104). Statements on the "above class," and "technical nature" of environmental problems, etc, are used by the monopolies and their ideological minions to conceal their responsibility for its current condition.

Noting the timeliness and accuracy of the tasks of doing further work on environmental problems, formulated, for example, by a prestigious

international organization such as the "Club of Rome," the Marxists also decisively reject calls for reducing the level of consumption by the masses, justifiably considering this an attempt to resolve ecological problems at the expense of the working people. Similar views on the subject may be quite frequently encountered among bourgeois researchers. The ecological theories of bourgeois ideologues reflect, one way or another, the aspiration of imperialism to preserve throughout the world a kind of socioeconomic status quo and to guarantee its own stability and inviolability. Some of them casually raise the question of the alleged possibility for "convergence" between capitalism and socialism, ignoring in this case the radical differences and historical competition between the capitalist and socialist systems. This shows the class content of the bourgeois theories reflecting the self-seeking interests of the upper crust of capitalist society.

Some ideologues in the reformist wing of the labor movement take the struggle against environmental pollution beyond the range of the anti-monopoly and class struggle, considering, like most bourgeois sociologists, it merely a technical problem, a problem of "improving the quality of life," regardless of the social conditions in which it arises. Conversely, the Marxists point out the close link between the struggle against environmental pollution and industrial noise and for the solution of the housing problem and the struggle against the capitalist production method, which is the prime reason for all difficulties. The Marxists are formulating a truly class, a revolutionary concept of the "quality of life." They support everything which could really contribute to improving the life of the working people even under the conditions of a bourgeois society, while, at the same time, pointing out the need for a struggle for socialism, which creates real conditions for the factual solution of the environmental problem and for the all-round satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of man.

Socialism Is a Way to the Solution of the Ecology Problem

It could be said that the history of capitalism is also a history of the destruction of the environment. Capitalism cannot exist without causing the environment irreparable harm and without disturbing the normal relations within the "nature-society" system. The political declaration adopted at the Brussels conference of communist and workers parties of Western Europe notes that big capital is unable to fully resolve the environmental problem.

However, the revolutionary workers movement as well, under the circumstances of capitalist domination, can impose upon the monopolies only a partial, a limited solution of the problem. At the same time, however, in the course of the struggle, a democratic alternative to the position held on this problem by big capital is being formulated. The possibility for a socialist solution of the environmental problem is developing in the course the demands of the working people for a democratic alternative. In other

words, the revolutionary workers movement is closely linking the struggle for the full solution of the environmental problem with the struggle for socialism. It is following F. Engels' behest, who wrote in "Anti-Duhring" that only under the conditions of a socialist society could we speak of 'life in harmony with knowledge of the laws of nature'" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 20, p 117). Lenin's works also contain the important conclusion that the protection of the environment could be insured only providing that the working class seizes the political power. In the very first years following the October Revolution, a number of decrees to protect nature were passed on the initiative of the head of the Soviet Government.

The understanding that it is only under socialist conditions that the radical solution of this problem may be achieved is becoming one of the incentives in the struggle waged by the toiling masses for the socialist reorganization of society. "New motivations for communism arise from the crisis of the 'man-environment' system," noted the Italian communists at a conference sponsored by the Gramsci Institute. "The struggle for changing the environment and the organization of labor must be based on the reorganization of society and the state," wrote RINASCITA, the Italian Communist Party weekly. Socialism can eliminate the contradiction within the "man-society-nature" system which appears in an antagonistic form under capitalism.

The decisive advantage of socialism in resolving the environmental problem is that the social ownership of productive capital makes it possible to organize sensible control over production conditions, including relations between man and nature. This conclusion of scientific communism is reflected in a number of communist party documents. As stated in the resolution of the 32d Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, "Socialism, which offers all possibilities for the efficient utilization of human resources and for organizing industrial activities exclusively with a view to satisfying social requirements, is the most power force capable of preserving resources and restraining the environmental pollution faced by mankind." At the last congress of the German Communist Party, H. Mies, its chairman, noted that, "The problems of the scientific and technical revolution and environmental protection can be resolved. They can be resolved in a society in which the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private ownership method of acquisition of labor has been surmounted."

The experience of the socialist comity confirms the accuracy of the conclusions of the revolutionary workers movement that under socialist conditions environmental problems are resolved most fully and in the interest of the toiling masses. "The Soviet Union is doing everything possible for the protection of nature and its vegetal and animal world and mineral resources. This is Lenin's legacy," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. ". . . This course was reasserted at the 25th congress of our party. We shall continue to follow this line in the future."

In the "Basic Directions for the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980," formulated by the congress, extensive environmental protection measures are earmarked. The scientific workers were set the task of developing the scientific foundations for the rational utilization and protection of the soil, the subsoil, the vegetal and animal world, and the air and water basins, and to expand comprehensive studies of the world's oceans. Proofs of the purposeful efforts of the Soviet state to establish an ecological balance through the harmonious development of the economy and social life is found in important documents passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, such as "Foundations of Land Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics," "Foundations of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Health Care," "Foundations of Water Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics," "Foundations of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on the Subsoil," the CC CPSU and Council of Ministers decrees "On Increasing the Protection of the Environment and Improving the Utilization of Natural Resources" and "On Additional Measures to Increase the Protection of the Environment and to Improve the Utilization of Natural Resources," and others. Similar laws have been passed by all members of the socialist comity. Through joint efforts they are promoting the most effective solution of environmental problems.

Systematically fighting for resolving environmental problems in the interest of the global working class and all mankind, in accordance with the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries are actively cooperating in this area with other countries, on a mutually advantageous basis. The participation of the USSR in international efforts aimed at resolving problems of environmental protection is stipulated in the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Our party and the Soviet state have done a great deal in this area. The USSR is promoting cooperation with the United States in the field of environmental protection on the basis of the May 1972 agreement concluded in Moscow. A similar agreement was concluded with France in March and with Belgium in June of 1975. In the course of the working visit which French President V. Giscard d'Estaing paid to Moscow, in April 1979, environmental protection was again pointed out as an important area of reciprocal cooperation. It was precisely on the initiative of the USSR that the United Nations General Assembly passed the convention banning the influencing of the environment and the climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the interest of insuring the international security, prosperity, and health of the people. It is noteworthy, again on the initiative of the socialist countries, preparations were made to convene a European conference on environmental protection.

As was pointed out by the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers, the results of the Helsinki Conference create prerequisites for the broadening and energizing of cooperation among European countries in various fields, including environmental protection. The 25th CPSU Congress considered environmental protection one of the directions to be followed in international cooperation with a view to implementing the stipulations of the Final Act of the European Conference.

Rallying within its ranks the broadest possible population strata of the capitalist countries, the movement for the protection of the natural and social environments is becoming a major direction of the anti-monopoly struggle. As the most consistent opponents of capitalist power, the communist link the struggle for healthy human living conditions with that for radical social changes and for the creation of a new, a socialist way of life for the present and future generations on earth. They consider this struggle a prerequisite for the establishment of harmonious relations between human society and nature.

5003
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WESTERN GREAT RESPONSIBILITY AND IRRESPONSIBLE STRATEGY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 79 pp 116-119

[Answer to a letter to the editor by Col M. Ponomarev, commentator for the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA]

> [Text] While with this unilateral decision to reduce the size of troops and combat equipment in Central Europe the Soviet leadership has once again convincingly proved its good will, a campaign has been mounted in the West in favor of "modernizing armaments." What is behind this campaign and what are its true objectives? V. Popov (Voronezh).

The Soviet initiative on problems of military detente and disarmament offers another important proof of the responsible attitude taken by the CPSU and the Soviet state toward the destinies of mankind and its future, and their sincere aspiration to strengthen peace on earth. It was expressed in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the Berlin ceremonies marking the 30th anniversary of the GDR. In this speech, delivered in the very heart of Europe, where, 40 years ago, World War II broke out, a war which brought incalculable calamities to the peoples on earth, a clear prospect is presented: really guaranteeing to all European nations a life under conditions of security and peace, and preventing the involvement of mankind in the mire of a fatal nuclear missile war. The implementation of the new Soviet proposals could become and, unquestionably, would become, should they be accepted by the West, the type stage and historical landmark in international development as were, in their time, the familiar treaties of the beginning of the 1970's, the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, and the conclusion of the SALT II treaty.

What are the content and nature of the new Soviet proposals?

Above all, the Soviet Union expressed its readiness to reduce, compared with the present level, the number of nuclear weapons of intermediate range deployed in the western areas of the USSR. Naturally, however, only providing that similar weapons are not additionally deployed in Western

Europe. At the same time, the Soviet Union solemnly asserted that it will never use nuclear weapons against countries which refuse to produce or acquire such weapons and have no such weapons on their territory. Such far-reaching Soviet proposals remove the ground from under the feet of the makers of the myth of the so-called "Soviet military threat." They totally eliminate insinuations which have spread in Western countries concerning the military policy and intentions of the USSR.

However, our peaceful initiative is not restricted to this. Moved by the sincere wish to get out of their stalemate the long years of efforts aimed at achieving military detente in Europe, and to give an example of a conversion from words to real actions, in coordination with the leadership of the GDR and following consultations with the other Warsaw Pact members, the Soviet Union decided to reduce, on a unilateral basis, the size of its forces in Central Europe. Over a 12-month period as many as 20,000 Soviet military personnel, 1,000 tanks, and a certain quantity of other military equipment will be withdrawn from GDR territory.

However, even this is not all. The USSR has formulated specific proposals on the further expansion of the level of trust in Europe, specifically those applying to giving advance warning of large-scale military exercises and limiting the number of involved soldiers and officers, and providing advance information on the movement of big contingents of land forces in the area stipulated in the Helsinki Final Act.

In this manner the new Soviet initiative covers not only a specific aspect but an entire set of measures related to the further intensification and strengthening of international detente and abating the military threat in Europe. It proved in the eyes of all mankind that the Soviet Union is the main bulwark of peace and a firm promoter of the course of the elimination of war from the life of society. The Soviet proposals met with the warm approval and broad support of the world socialist comity and became its common program for action. "The new important Soviet initiative is a convincing proof of the unity between words and actions of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, which are devoting all possible forces to make detente an irreversible process," stated the declaration of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian Council of Ministers and State Council. "This is a new powerful impetus in the struggle for restraining the arms race and an outstanding example of political principle-mindedness in resolving the problem of the real reduction of armed forces and armaments." Similar assessments were given by the party and state leaderships and broad public circles of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and the other fraternal socialist states.

The Soviet proposals did not find support and approval only among the nations of the socialist comity. They were highly rated by all progressive mankind and a number of public organizations, mass information media, and soberly thinking political leaders of various countries, including capitalist ones, such as, for example, W. Brandt, president of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Many observers have objected to the fact that the plans for the deployment in Western Europe of the new American nuclear missile weapon were dictated by Washington's aspiration to have only the European countries threatened in the case of a conflict, thus protecting from this danger U.S. territory proper.

The "existence of positive elements" in the Soviet proposals, and intentions to study them thoroughly and analyze them profoundly have been expressed by some members of the U.S. Administration, the governments of other NATO countries, and the leaderships of the North Atlantic bloc as a whole. Unfortunately, in fact, the ruling circles of most Western countries are continuing to rely on the arms race and its further intensification. In order to justify such actions in the eyes of the public a variety of propaganda tricks have been put in circulation. One of the most widespread among them is attempts to belittle the significance of the Soviet proposals, distort their meaning, and slander the foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist states. "A Soviet Trap for Europe," hysterically proclaimed the London DAILY TELEGRAPH. "An initiative with no major military significance," said the Paris LE MONDE, seconding it.

The bourgeois propagandists needed such base tricks to justify the dangerous play with fire planned by the Pentagon and the NATO staffs. Washington and Brussels are continuing to think in terms of the obsolete categories of cold-war times. Here plans for achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Pact are still being concocted, if not on a global scale, at least on a regional, European above all. The American political and military strategists proceed from the concepts formulated by the U.S. Department of Defense of "advance deployment" and "limited" nuclear war in Europe.

These concepts are closely interwoven and are of an openly aggressive nature. They are aimed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

Let us take the first. Guided by the concept of "advance deployment," the United States and its NATO allies have created in Western Europe a huge nuclear missile arsenal. According to London's Institute for Strategic Research and other information published in the Western press, the United States has in Europe over 7,000 nuclear missiles. Among others they have deployed here about 700 F-4, F-111, F-15, and F-16 airplanes which carry nuclear weapons, over 100 Pershing-1A missiles with a range in excess of 700 km, practical Lance and Honest John missiles, and over 500 artillery 155 and 203 mm guns capable of firing nuclear shells. Furthermore, American aircraft carriers and other ships steadily plying the Mediterranean and the Eastern Atlantic, have about 1,000 nuclear missiles and approximately 500 missile-carrying aircraft. Combat positions have been taken here also by U.S. nuclear submarines carrying Polaris and Poseidon missiles. All in all, therefore, the area contains over 8,000 American nuclear missiles and over 3,000 means for their delivery.

Nuclear weapons and delivery facilities have been deployed by some European NATO countries as well. Great Britain has four nuclear submarines (each carrying 16 Polaris A2 missiles) and 48 intermediate range Vulcan strategic bombers. The nuclear submarines are equipped with missiles with nuclear warheads; France has Mirage 4A strategic bombers (35 to 40), 60 tactical Mirage 3E and Jaguar airplanes which carry nuclear weapons, 18 intermediate range ballistic missiles and tactical Pluto missiles. The West German Bundeswehr is armed with Pershing-1A (72), Lance, Honest John, and other nuclear missiles.

Even this very partial list proves the real value of the complaints heard in the West on the imaginary "helplessness" and "impotence" of NATO. However, the Atlantic strategists, the American above all, claim that even that such mountains of most dangerous nuclear missiles are unable to satisfy their "needs." They believe that the available mass-destruction weapons are insufficient for waging a "limited" nuclear war. What is meant by this hypocritical term? What is the meaning of this concept given to it by its supporters?

The Pentagon leaders proceed from the possibility that a military conflict may break out in Europe which in the final account would develop into military operations involving the use of nuclear weapons. However, they assume that this conflict could be localized within the European theater of operations. The "only" requirement here is for the warring parties to limit themselves to the use of so-called "theater of military operations weapons," i.e., tactical and intermediate range nuclear weapons, without resorting to the utilization of other strategic weapons. A simpler interpretation of this concept would be the following: The United States and its allies should be capable of launching nuclear missile strikes from the "advance bases" against the territory of the Soviet Union, while the U.S. territory will remain inaccessible to Soviet intermediate range missiles.

The authors of this "concept" remain modestly silent on the subject of what it would bring to the Western European partners of the United States. Yet, they adamantly call for deploying on Western European territory a new generation American nuclear missile, a weapon described as "Euro-strategic." This applies to the new Pershing-2 missiles whose range exceeds that of the Pershing-1A by a factor of over two, and ground-based Cruise missiles whose range is even longer--up to 2,600 km. Both would be equipped with nuclear warheads.

Thus the creators of irresponsible strategic concepts intend to turn Europe into a launching pad for American nuclear missiles. Such plans have met with the strong opposition of the West European public. The wave of indignation they triggered became so high that the governments of a number of countries on whose territory the "Euro-strategic" missiles were to be deployed did not dare to yield unconditionally to the pressure from the other side of the ocean. Some of them resorted to a variety of stipulations.

Washington's answer was the tactic of "arm-twisting." One after another high-level American delegation, categorically insisting on the implementation of the Pentagon's plans, began to visit, one after another, the Western European capitals. Meanwhile, organizations close to NATO, such as the Assembly of Associations of the Atlantic Treaty, the Western European Union, and so on, expressed themselves in favor of the deployment of the new American missiles. At the beginning of October a group of North Atlantic bloc experts recommended to the bloc members to accept the American plan and to deploy on the territory of the FRG, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy, 572 intermediate range missiles carrying nuclear warheads, including 108 Pershing-2 ballistic missiles and 464 Cruise missiles.

According to the foreign press the British Government has agreed to the deployment of new American missiles which, as Prime Minister Thatcher stated with unusual lightness, could cause the Soviet people "colossal suffering," similar and even worse than they experienced in World War II. A number of members of the Italian Cabinet, the heads of the FRG Government, and the ministers of defense of a number of countries are also tending to announce their acceptance. The envoys from the other side of the ocean are urging on those who are still hesitating, as a final decision will have to be made by mid-December, when the winter session of the NATO Council will open in Brussels. As to the session itself, the public is being lied to here as well, for in its course, as noted in the 25 October PRAVDA issue Marshall of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of defense, the session will not consider in the least plans for replacing the systems based on U.S. armaments in Europe with new ones, but a program for radical quantitative and qualitative changes in the American nuclear potential deployed in the area and aimed at resolving strategic problems.

This shows that some Western government leaders have initiated a rather shameless game. Supporting, to the detriment of the security of the peoples of their own countries, plans for the deployment of a new generation of American missiles in Europe, they are trying to depict this measure only as harmless "modernizing," nothing more than "completing NATO armaments." The purpose of such base means is to conceal from the public the essence of the matter.

Moved by the sincere aspiration to prevent a further spiraling of the arms race in Europe, particularly in the area of intermediate range nuclear missiles, the Soviet Union has offered the only way for the practical solution of the problem: the immediate initiation of talks. This was stated with extreme clarity by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his answer to a question asked by a PRAVDA correspondent on 6 November. ". . . I would like to reemphasize most seriously, however," he state, "that even now the Soviet Union will not undertake to use nuclear weapons [illegible] countries which refuse to produce and acquire such weapons or d[illegible] on their territories."

It is still not too late to prevent a dangerous development of events in Europe. The new Soviet initiative shows a way to accomplish this. Now it is the turn of the Western countries. They should make full use of the historical opportunity presented by the Soviet proposals.

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WORLD-CHANGING DOCTRINE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 79 pp 120-126

[Review by V. Panov of the book by M. A. Suslov, "Marksizm-Leninizm i Sovremennaya Epokha" [Marxism-Leninism and the Contemporary Age], collection of speeches, Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 95 pages]

[Text] The new book by Comrade M. A. Suslov, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, chronologically continuing the already-published two-volume collection of his works, includes his speeches from 1977 to 1979.

Within that time a number of events occurred in the life of the Soviet people confirming the high-level dynamism of the developed socialist society. The most important among them were the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the first elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet under the developed socialist constitution, and the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 10th Five-Year Plan, and for the pursuit of the foreign political course charted by the party and the Soviet Government. All this is extensively and meaningfully reflected in the collection.

The book covers a rather extensive range of problems of the life of the Soviet society and its political nucleus--the CPSU. It provides a clear idea of the comprehensive activities of its author as member of the Leninist collective leadership of the CPSU. Here the reader will find speeches delivered at the supreme organ of the Soviet state and at meetings of working people, at the international theoretical science conference, and articles carried by the party press.

The entire content of the work convincingly shows the inspiring role of the Marxist-Leninist ideas in the building of socialism and communism in our country and in the other members of the socialist comity, and in the social progress of mankind. It shows the significance and main directions in the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with the practice of the building of communism and the development of the global revolutionary process.

In terms of its influence on the minds of the people and their social activities, Marxism-Leninism is far superior to all sociopolitical doctrines known to mankind. Noting this indisputable fact, M. A. Suslov emphasizes that the power of the ideological and political influence of Marxism-Leninism on the masses is due to the fact that it is a true theory, and that it is the scientific expression of the basic interests of the working people. It is no accident that in periods of sharp class battles and in turning points of world history the attractiveness of Marxism-Leninism rises sharply: the working people seek and find in it ideological and political guidance in the struggle for social justice and for the revolutionary renovation of the world. Following the victory of the Great October Revolution, for over 60 years scientific communism "has been not only a field of theory but a practical project implemented by many millions of people. The basic laws of the appearance, establishment, and the development of the communist socioeconomic system were tested and confirmed through the experience of the socialist countries. This experience is the most valuable international possession of the communists and revolutionaries the world over" (p 30).

Loyalty to Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the main prerequisite for the successful implementation of the leading and guiding role of the communist party in Soviet society. The Soviet communists protect revolutionary theory as embodied in the brilliant works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and a number of documents of our party and the international communist movement. No single topical contemporary problem can be scientifically interpreted without turning to this doctrine. The CPSU is the party of scientific communism, which "approaches theory not as a collection of inanimate dogmas, established once and for all for all cases in life, but creatively, as a living and steadily developing project" (p 21).

The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that at the present stage of the country's development the need for further creative development of theory does not decline, but on the contrary becomes even greater. This has been caused by our society's entry into the mature socialist stage, the dynamism of the sociopolitical and economic processes inherent in the developed socialist society, and their scale. They have considerably upgraded the role of scientific prediction and planned management.

M. A. Suslov notes the considerable creative contribution made by our party to the development of the theory of communist construction. On the basis of a scientific study of socialist reality our party reached basic conclusions on the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR, defined its most important features, and described the economic and political system of the mature socialist society, and the prerequisite and ways for the building of communism.

The conclusions found their concentrated expression in the decisions of CPSU congresses and Central Committee plenums, in the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman,

and in the works of other leaders of our party and Soviet state. Problems of the theory of the building of communism, including its contemporary stage, have invariably occupied the focal point of addresses and writings by M. A. Suslov, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary.

As the author shows, the elaboration of the scientific concept of developed socialism, accomplished by our party, together with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, is a considerable creative contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. The international experience gained, despite the entire variety of national and historical conditions governing the building of the new society in one or another country, and differences in the initial conditions of development of production forces, confirmed with particular emphasis the existence of common laws governing this process, laws whose consideration is a true guarantee for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The collection describes the basic laws of the building and advancement of developed socialism. The establishment of these laws, the author notes, "creates favorable conditions for accelerating the coordinated and harmonious development of all realms of activity of the socialist society: economic, sociopolitical, and spritual" (p 11). Such laws include insuring the high level of development of production forces on the basis of the utilization of the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution; the further development of socialist ownership in its two basic forms--state and kolkhoz-cooperative--and their gradual rapprochement; the steady growth of the prosperity of the people; the preservation over a lengthy period of time and the improvement of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor as the principal distribution method. The author pays particular attention to the progressive changes in the social structure, natural in the case of developed socialism: The increased leading role of the working class, the strengthening of its alliance with the other toiling strata, the strengthened unity of the entire society and its progress toward social homogeneousness, the growing ideological and political rapprochement among all nations and nationalities within the USSR on the basis of their equality and common communist ideals and powerful development of their economies and cultures; the growth of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a socialist state of the whole people; and the intensification and all-round development of socialist democracy. The author notes that at the developed socialist stage the level of education and culture of the members of society rises even further along with their political awareness and ideological maturity. A scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook develops in the broad toiling masses.

One of the basic laws governing the building of a developed socialist society is the strengthening of all-round cooperation with the fraternal countries and the coordination of their foreign policy in the struggle for insuring the most favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism. We could say with full confidence that it is precisely the steady consideration of the effects of this law that has made

it possible for the comity of socialist countries not only to make successful use of the advantages offered by mutual aid in the development of the national economy, science, and culture, but to become a powerful factor for social progress and an inviolable bulwark of the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism.

Finally, the most important law governing the building of the new society is the enhanced leading role of communist and workers parties. "The experience of real socialism convincingly proved that the objective need for the conscious management of socioeconomic and political processes, which appeared at the very beginning of the struggle for socialism," said M. A. Suslov at the International Theoretical Science Conference on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, "is becoming even more vital in the period of the growth of socialism into communism. This can be accomplished only by the communist party, which is the organized nucleus, the core of the entire sociopolitical life the country" (p 37).

In our country, while remaining the party of the working class, under the conditions of mature socialism the communist party has become the vanguard, the party of the entire Soviet people. Enjoying the highest possible authority and infinite trust of the working people, it developed the ability to awaken in them their gigantic constructive energy and to insure the purposeful development of all social life, and successfully resolve the arising complex problems. The party opens to the country the way for progress based on the thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of economic, sociopolitical, and ideological processes, and the skillful utilization of the laws governing social development.

The leading and guiding role of the CPSU in the Soviet political system is codified by the USSR Constitution. In the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the Fundamental Law of developed socialism, the working people particularly emphasized the essential importance of including within it a special article on the CPSU as the guarantor of the development of socialist democracy. This is a natural acknowledgment of the merits of the party and of its place in the life of the Soviet society. In his report at the extraordinary seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev particularly noted that "the communist party is the vanguard of the Soviet people and their most conscientious and progress part, inseparable from the people as a whole. The party has no interests other than those of the people."

The collection of addresses by M. A. Suslov extensively treats problems related to the constructive activities of the CPSU, including the intensified influence of interparty life on the entire society, the systematic improvement of the quality composition of the party, the adoption of measures for the further ideological and organizational strengthening of its ranks, cadre policy, concern for the all-round enhancement of the activities of all public and state organizations, the establishment in their work of a Leninist style which requires a scientific approach to all problems and

their creative solution, and the influence of the constructive efforts of the party on improving socialist social relations and our entire political system.

Ideological and educational work plays a particular role in CPSU activities. Man himself, as a creator and transformer, changes and is morally and spiritually enhanced in the course of the revolutionary reorganization of the social system. However, this is not a spontaneous process, but a process directed and controlled by the party, the result of its adamant, daily, and purposeful efforts. "The party tries to develop in the working people feelings of international brotherhood and socialist patriotism and their knowledge of the richest possible cultural heritage of mankind. It promotes the constructive activities of the working people for the good of the entire society" (p 21).

Today our society has a rich spiritual and moral potential. The party is working for the maximum utilization and multiplication of this potential in the interest of the full triumph of communism. The CC CPSU recently passed the decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Education Work." This document of great political importance, which has summed up the very rich experience of the party and is an expanded program for action for all its organizations and institutions, mass-information media, and all party members, in the field of ideological and educational work, states: "The CPSU considers the communist education of the working people an important front in the struggle for communism. The successes in ideological and political-educational work determine, to an ever greater extent, the course of the economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development of the country, the full utilization of the opportunities offered by developed socialism, the implementation of the Leninist foreign political course of the Soviet Union, and the strengthening of its international positions." The party's entire ideological-educational work is based on the profound mastery of the science of Marxism-Leninism by the working people.

M. A. Suslov's book pays considerable attention to problems of the further development of Soviet society and improvements of socialist democracy. This was vividly reflected in the noteworthy event in the life of our country--the discussion and adoption of the new USSR Constitution.

The author emphasizes that the entire Soviet people were the makers of the Fundamental Law of their life. The very course of the discussions and the adoption of this historical document proved the most profoundly democratic nature of our system, the true participation of all citizens in the administration of the state, and their deep interest in the further perfecting of our political system. "The Constitution of the USSR," M. A. Suslov pointed out, "has gathered within itself the richest possible experience of the Soviet people and the basic conclusions and stipulations formulated by the party in recent years on the basis of the creative summation of the practice of the building of communism. It became a new noteworthy stage in the development of Soviet society" (p 37). The main

feature of the USSR Constitution is the further intensification and improvement of socialist democracy, the democracy of construction. The role and rights of the citizens and the soviets, and their upgraded responsibilities for social and economic development, and the intensified role of labor collectives in social life, are the main directions followed in this process codified by the USSR Constitution.

The author pays particular attention to the broadening of the social base of the Soviet state. The CPSU conclusion that the state the dictatorship of the proletariat has grown into a socialist state of the whole people, reflected in the USSR Constitution, is of international significance. It shows the way from a democracy of the working people, accounting for the overwhelming majority of society, to the full democracy of the whole people.

The democratic nature of the socialist state is revealed most clearly through the objectives it pursues in the course of its activities and through the highest among them--the fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the people. The socioeconomic strategy of the party is aimed at achieving this objective, as was reasserted at the 25th CPSU Congress; in the final account, this is the purpose of the work of the entire mechanism of the Soviet socialist economy.

Problems of the development of the national economy and of the growth of the prosperity of the working people account for a significant part of the collection. Noting the unquestionable successes reached by the Soviet people in this main realm of their activities, the author emphasizes that, "We have at our disposal a tremendous economic potential created with our hands. We have the party's correct economic and social policy, based on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Extremely rich experience has been acquired in the implementation of this policy" (p 60). The speech at the electoral meeting in the Kirovskiy Electoral District in Leningrad offers a vivid example of such a perspicacious economic leadership. In the mid'1960's, on the basis of a profound scientific prediction, the CPSU reached the conclusion of the need for the intensive and large-scale development of raw-material resources, fuel and energy in particular, in the eastern part of the country. This called for a certain reallocation of capital investments, considerable outlays of material and manpower resources, and the surmounting of tremendous difficulties. Within a short time, through the selfless efforts of the Soviet people, a solid fuel and energy base for the entire national economy was created east of the Urals. Today it is clear to all that had the party failed to take in advance the necessary measures, our economy could not have developed at an adequate pace. At the same time, in his addresses M. A. Suslov most urgently raises vital problems of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, focusing our attention on the shortcomings in economic development to be eliminated first of all.

The collection extensively reflects the foreign political activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state and their attitude toward problems of development

of the contemporary world. "The appearance of the world in the last quarter of the 20th century," the author writes, "developed under the decisive influence of Lenin's ideas, the Great October Revolution, and the socialist system they created. The practical implementation of the ideas of scientific communism is what determines the main features of our time" (p 22). The author discusses two basic historical shifts in international relations and in the world revolutionary process clearly developed under the influence of real socialism. First, the existence of ever more favorable external and internal conditions for the building of socialism and communism in the countries of victorious socialism, for the development of the class struggle of the working people in the capitalist world, for new victories by the democratic and national-liberation movements, and for decisive social changes in capitalist and developing countries. Secondly, objective prerequisites have appeared for the reorganization of the entire system of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, thus insuring total equality and mutually profitable cooperation among all countries and nations and, above all, saving mankind forever from the threat of a world war. The peace program adopted at the 24th congress, and developed and expanded at the 25th CPSU Congress, was formulated on the basis of these radical changes. The basic principles of peaceful foreign policy have been raised to the level of a constitutional principle and are now codified in the Constitution of the Land of the Soviets.

M. A. Suslov emphasizes the outstanding role which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, has played in the elaboration and implementation of the foreign political course of the Leninist party and the Soviet state. The purpose of this course is the firm and irreversible, all-embracing and comprehensive detente; the main way leading to this objective is the struggle for an end to the arms race and for practical and real disarmament measures. The detente course is facing the desperate resistance of reactionary and militaristic circles which are trying to urge on the arms race and turn the world back to the bankrupt cold-war policy. One of the characteristic features of such subversive actions is the ever greater refinement of ideological diversions aimed at poisoning the international atmosphere and promoting psychological warfare and anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria.

The author particularly emphasizes the total unification of the Beijing rulers with the most reactionary imperialist circles, acting as fierce opponents of detente and peace, and pursuing far-reaching hegemonistic and expansionistic objectives. Military aggression against socialist Vietnam, and participation in the bloody slaughter in suffering Kampuchea has scattered even the last illusions of those who still had some concerning the true objectives and intentions of the present Chinese leadership: the preaching of war developed into an armed attack aimed, to the pleasure of world reaction, above all, against the forces of democracy, national liberation, and socialism. Beijing's aggression was unanimously condemned

by all fighters for peace and social progress. The communist and workers parties showed their fraternal support for the heroic Vietnamese people through their inflexible support of the ideas of the struggle for peace and security of the nations and detente. This was a vivid manifestation of the principle of international proletarian solidarity. "The outstanding achievements of the revolutionary forces of our time," M. A. Suslov points out, "would have been inconceivable without their international interaction and mutual support" (p 28).

The author consistently shows the comprehensive nature of modern internationalism, and the broadened circle of social and political forces whose international interaction is necessary for the solution of basic contemporary problems, drawing the attention to the fact that the working class and the international communist movement remain, as in the past, the main bearers of and spokesman for internationalist ideology and politics. Internationalism, solidarity, and the unification of the international working class are based, above all, on their common basic interests, objectives, and outlook, and the unity of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist science.

Materials in the collection of speeches by M. A. Suslov are another convincing proof of the inviolable loyalty of the CPSU to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the great attention paid by the party in its creative development under the contemporary conditions of the building of communism and the international circumstances, and the adamant implementation of the ideas of scientific communism in life. "The nature of the Leninist party as a party of a new type, a party of innovators, building its entire work on the solid foundations of Marxism-Leninism, determines the steady attention paid to problems of theory. Historical experience has fully confirmed the Leninist conclusion that without revolutionary theory there could be no revolutionary movement" (p 72).

The new book by Comrade M. A. Suslov, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, shows most completely the essence of the basic directions of the tremendous revolutionary-transforming activities of our party, its boundless loyalty to the great cause of communism, and its invariable pursuit of the good and the happiness of the working people and of peace throughout the world.

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SHORT BOOK REVIEW

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[Review by S. Petrov of the book "Bi-Bi-Si. Istoriya, Apparat, Metody Radiopropagandy" [The BBC. History, Apparatus, Radio Propaganda Methods], by V. Artemov and V. Semenov, Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1978, 256 pages]

[Text] One of the characteristics of contemporary world development is the drastic aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena and the growing activeness of imperialist propaganda aimed at undermining the socialist system. "Distorted information and tendentious interpretation of facts, suppression of news, semi-truths, and simply brazen lies--everything is used," states in this connection the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." It is natural, therefore, that an important task today in ideological-educational activities is the specific and convincing exposure of the hostile line followed by the imperialist disinformation centers. The study made by V. Artemov and V. Semenov, comprehensively analyzing the activities of one of the oldest centers of ideological diversion--the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is of unquestionable interest to the propaganda aktiv and the broadest possible readership circles.

The authors trace the history of the creation of the BBC foreign broadcasts, at the beginning of the 1930's, and their gradual development into a major channel of British imperialist foreign policy. The work convincingly proves that despite the widespread legend of the "independence" of this radio broadcasting corporation, throughout its virtually 50 years of operations it has been among the institutions most rigidly controlled by the leadership. This control is exercised through a great variety of ways: a system of governmental financing, factual political censorship, and cadre policy which insures the hiring for work and management purposes of convinced supporters of the capitalist system who are no less convinced anti-communists. The substantial amount of data and documents provided by the authors, showing the ties between the corporation and British intelligence and the Foreign Office offer a clear idea of the position of the BCC in the state apparatus.

Let us cite one example. In 1978 the press published information which triggered a political scandal in Britain. It was revealed that for 30 years the Foreign Office had had a secret "information-research department" which regularly issued recommendations and selected materials for anti-Soviet writings which reached certain journalists (trusted by the Foreign Office) employed by the bourgeois press and the BBC, above all in its foreign broadcasting departments. In 1977 this "department" was closed down. In its stead, however, the British Foreign Office set up a "foreign information department," of smaller size but broadened functions.

The authors consider in detail the ways and means of refined techniques used to manipulate public opinion with the help of so-called "factological propaganda" and "straight" information, the selection from numerous news only pieces suitable to the corporation and its masters, directing the attention of the radio listeners to secondary events while suppressing truly significant ones, gross distortion of the truth in assessments and conclusions, direct misrepresentations, slanders, fabrications of all sorts of ambiguous "information," and dirty playing on human emotions.

The exposure of imperialist propaganda and the development of high political vigilance in the Soviet people will be helped also by the numerous examples cited by the authors of the specific use by the BBC radio diversionists of such dirty ways and means of psychological warfare waged against the members of the socialist comity and the young developing states and peoples defending their freedom and independence, and the forces of peace and progress the world over.

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BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Oct 1979 pp 127-128

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