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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 17, November 1979

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21 February 1980

USSR REPORT  
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 17, November 1979

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INFORMATION COMMUNICATION ON THE CC CPSU PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 p 3

[Text] The regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on 27 November 1979.

The plenum heard reports submitted by Comrade N. K. Baybakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, "On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1980" and USSR Minister of Finance Comrade V. F. Garbuzov "On the 1980 USSR State Budget and the Execution of the 1978 USSR State Budget."

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, made a major speech at the plenum.

The following comrades took part in the debate: V. V. Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee; G. V. Romanov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee; I. Z. Sokolov, second secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee; Sh. R. Rashidov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee; I. G. Pavlovskiy, USSR minister of railways; G. A. Aliyev, first secretary, Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee; S. I. Manyakin, first secretary of the Omskaya Oblast CPSU Committee; N. Ye. Morozov, first secretary of the Tselinogradskiy Obkom, Communist Party of Kazakhstan; and A. P. Aleksandrov, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The CC CPSU plenum passed a corresponding decree on the items discussed, carried by the press.

The CC CPSU plenum considered organizational problems.

The Central Committee plenum promoted Comrade N. A. Tikhonov from candidate member to member of the CC CPSU Politburo.

The Central Committee plenum elected CC CPSU secretary Comrade M. S. Gorbachev candidate member of the CC CPSU Politburo.

This concluded the work of the CC CPSU plenum.

ON THE DRAFT 1980 STATE PLAN FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR AND THE USSR STATE BUDGET

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 4-5

[CC CPSU plenum decree]

[Text] 1. The draft 1980 State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and USSR State Budget are hereby approved in their essential lines.

The USSR Council of Ministers shall submit said draft for consideration by the regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

2. The stipulations and conclusions expressed in the speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the present plenum shall be approved in their entirety and fully. They shall constitute the base of the activities of all party, state, and economic organs, and trade-union and Komsomol organizations on the fulfillment of the 1980 Plan and the implementation of the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress on problems of party economic policy.

3. The CC CPSU plenum emphasizes the need to insure the further dynamic and proportional development of public production and the systematic implementation of the course of upgrading work effectiveness and quality in all national economic units. Particular attention must be focused on the growth of labor productivity, accelerated production intensification, based on scientific and technical progress, and the perfecting of planning and economic management.

Adamant work must be done on the further development of the fuel-raw material base, power-industry, metallurgy, machine-building, chemical, and other industrial sectors. Maximum use must be made of reserves and possibilities for improving the work of railroad and other transport facilities. Returns from productive capital must be increased; manpower, raw-material, fuel-energy, and financial resources, and everything at the disposal of our national economy, must be utilized efficiently and economically. The production of good-quality consumer goods must be increased.



Tireless attention must continue to be paid to the implementation of the decisions of the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum aimed at strengthening and further development of the material and technical base of agriculture, and increasing the output of this most-important economic sector. The use of equipment in agriculture and of the means channeled into its development must be improved. The wintering of the cattle must be carried out on an organized basis and no reduction in the size of the herds must be allowed. Good preparations must be made for spring farm operations. Farm crop yields, and livestock and poultry productivity must be increased; the 1980 state plans for the purchasing of crop and livestock products must be fulfilled and overfulfilled.

The CC CPSU plenum deems necessary the decisive improvement of the situation in the field of capital construction, upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments, reducing the number of newly undertaken construction projects, focusing funds and efforts on target projects and on the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises, and upgrading construction quality in all national economic sectors.

The party organizations must improve their political and organizational work at industrial, construction, and transportation enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and scientific institutions, directing it toward the all-round development of the labor activeness of the masses, upgrading organization and discipline, and insuring the personal responsibility of cadres for assignments and for the further upsurge of the economy, science, culture, and people's prosperity.

Socialist competition in honor of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and for the successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan must be developed extensively.

The CC CPSU plenum expresses its firm confidence that workers and kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia, and all working people in the country will multiply their efforts, under the guidance of the Leninist party, in the struggle for the further strengthening of the economic power of our homeland and will achieve new accomplishments in all sectors of the building of communism in 1980--the concluding year of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

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L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE 27 NOVEMBER 1979 CC CPSU PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 6-18

[Text] Comrades!

The problem we are discussing today is of major economic and political significance. Next year will be not only the concluding year of the present five-year plan, but the base on which the next five-year plan will be built. It will be a year of active preparations for the 26th party congress. It is precisely from these positions that we must approach our assessment of the work done and the 1980 tasks.

The CC CPSU plenum heard the reports of Comrades N. K. Baybakov and V. F. Garbuzov. We can note with satisfaction that, since the beginning of the five-year plan and implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, we have made considerable progress in the development of the national economy and in the further upsurge of the material and cultural living standards of the people and in strengthening the defense capability of our homeland (applause).

Compared with the corresponding period in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, in the past four years the country's national income rose by 323 billion rubles; industrial output rose by 600 billion rubles. Gross agricultural production rose by over 40 billion rubles.

The scope of the constructive activities of the Soviet people was manifested particularly vividly in the tremendous scale of construction. In the past four years capital investments in the national economy will have exceeded 500 billion rubles. This will enable us to substantially broaden basic productive capital. By the end of 1979 they will total over one trillion rubles and almost one-third of them will have been renovated, including 30% in industry and 41% in agriculture.

These percentages represent about 1,000 new big industrial enterprises. They include industrial giants, such as the Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Kama Automotive Vehicles Plant, and the Atomash Plant. They include the Leningrad, Kursk, Chernobyl and Armenian nuclear

electric power plants, the Lisichansk and Pavlodar petroleum refineries, the Kursk Leather-Processing Plant, the meat combines in Lipetsk and Zhitomir, the Main Kakhovka Canal, and many others.

The dynamic development of territorial-production complexes is continuing. Over the past four years the Zapadno-Sibirskiy, Bratsk, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Orenburg, Nizhnekamskiy and other complexes accounted for the entire increase in petroleum and natural gas extraction, a considerable share of the generated electric power, the extraction of iron ore and coal, and the production of trucks and tractors. Over 1,500 km of tracks were laid along the Baykal-Amur Main Line.

From the very first days of the five-year plan the emphasis was put on the base sectors of the national economy: there were increases in the production of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, the generation of electric power, and the extraction of coal and petroleum. Thus, this year, 585 million tons of petroleum (including gas condensate) will be extracted, or 94 million tons more than in 1975. The extraction of natural gas is rising rapidly. With the same period it has risen 40% and will exceed 400 billion cubic meters. The production of electric power will have grown 20%, totaling 1 trillion 245 billion kilowatt hours.

The structure of industrial output was improved as a result of the accelerated development of sectors determining technical progress. Whereas, compared with 1975, the 1979 industrial output will be 20% higher, it will be 40% higher in machine building and metal processing, and 25% higher in the chemical and petrochemical industries.

The production of consumer goods has increased and the market has become better supplied with cultural-consumer goods.

With full justification the CC CPSU plenum has rated highly the work of the leaders in our industry and the best collectives in all industrial sectors (applause).

The party's agrarian policy has been systematically implemented. The countryside was given 1.5 million tractors, 426,000 grain-harvesting combines, over 1 million trucks, 317 million tons of chemical fertilizers, and over 7 billion rubles' worth of machines for animal husbandry and feed production. The pace of the transformation of agriculture into a highly developed economic sector has been convincingly proved also by the fact that the power-labor ratio has risen by a factor of 1.4.

As a result, we were able to increase agricultural productivity and surmount at lesser cost the whims of the weather, which has affected the granaries of our country in some years. The changes in the countryside, the energy and will of the party, and the valorous labor of the people made it possible to raise over the four year period the average annual gross grain harvest to 209 million tons, which is nearly 27 million more than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Even this year, a very poor one, 179 million tons of grain were harvested.

Nationwide thanks to the working people of Kazakhstan! A total of 1 billion 261 million poods of good-quality Kazakhstan grain has already been poured into the granaries of the country (lengthy applause).

Orenburgskaya, Omskaya, Chelyabinskaya, and Amurskaya oblasts in the Russian Federation, and Khmel'nitskaya, Ternopol'skaya, and L'vovskaya oblasts in the Ukraine successfully fulfilled their plans and made a substantial contribution to grain procurements (applause).

The farms of Altayskiy and Krasnodarskiy krays and the Bashkir Autonomous Republic sold the state considerable quantities of grain (applause).

Good results were achieved by the rural workers of Azerbaijan and Moldavia, the cotton growers of Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, and Tadzhikistan, the potato growers of the Ukraine and Belorussia, the tea growers of Georgia, along with some other republics and oblasts (applause).

Many kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and the republics and oblasts which experienced particular hardships caused by the weather did shock and conscientious work.

Allow me, on behalf of the participants in the CC CPSU plenum, to express our profound gratitude to the agricultural workers, the urban citizens and armed forces who helped the villages, to all those who valorously fought for each ton of the 1979 harvest (lengthy applause).

The successes achieved by the national economy made it possible to systematically implement the party's course toward resolving the most important social problems and upgrading the living standard of the people. The real per capita income is the most general indicator in this case. Over the four-year period it will have risen by over 13%.

The five-year plan assignments for raising the wages of workers and employees and the income of kolkhoz members are being implemented. This year we are completing the introduction of new and higher salaries and wages of 31 million workers and employees in the non-production sectors. Additional benefits have been granted to individual categories of workers in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the coal and shale industries, the textile industry, and agriculture. The wages of line personnel in construction have been raised. It was recently resolved to raise wages on the railroads of the eastern parts of the country and introduce payments for length of service at the enterprises of the Ministry of Railways.

Sales of consumer goods have risen. In terms of comparable prices, retail trade will be 18% higher, while the volume of services will rise by 1/3.

The social consumption funds will total a huge amount exceeding 410 billion rubles. The purpose of these billions is known: The fuller satisfaction of social and cultural requirements of the population, insuring the further

development of public education, improving medical aid and the organization of the recreation of the working people, and the payment of pensions and scholarships.

More funds than planned were assigned for housing and sociocultural construction. The result of the past four years has been the construction of 423 million square meters of housing. A number of kindergartens, schools, hospitals, clubs, and libraries have been built. The experience of Muscovites in converting to the construction of taller, pre-assembled house buildings should be studied and disseminated. This made it possible not only substantially to lower outlays, but to improve the quality of the apartments and the architecture of the buildings.

Therefore, comrades, since the beginning of the five-year plan extensive work has been done to implement the party's economic and social policy formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses (lengthy applause).

Substantial successes are obvious. We consider them a good foundation for the solution of the national economic problems of 1980 and for our confident march toward the building of the material and technical foundations for communism (applause).

The pace earmarked in the draft plan insures a substantial increase in the absolute growth of the national income and in industrial and agricultural output. Another positive feature is the fact that the draft calls for focusing the efforts on key sectors, such as energy, transportation, and ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy. Agriculture will be supplied with a great deal of machines and fertilizers. Substantial funds will be channeled into the light and food industries. Real per capita income will rise. The high pace of housing construction will be retained. Population demand for a number of goods will be satisfied better. Foreign economic relations will be expanded with CEMA and other countries.

On the basis of all this, we could approve, in their essential outlines, the draft plan and budget for 1980. I hope that the CC CPSU plenum will support this conclusion and will agree to the submission of both drafts for consideration by the Supreme Soviet session (applause).

However, does this mean that we are fully satisfied with the draft plan and the results of the work over the past four years? No, it does not. The materials submitted show that in a number of items the 1980 assignments are below the five-year plan. A stress situation remains in some national economic sectors.

Naturally, we cannot ignore the objective difficulties encountered by the economy in 1979--the most complex of the 10th Five-Year Plan. However, the main reason for the remaining bottlenecks and shortcomings in the economy is that in the field of further upgrading production effectiveness and work quality we were unable to move ahead as stipulated by the plan.

Far from all ministries and departments were able to surmount the forces of inertia and firmly achieve a turn in their entire work toward quality, higher labor productivity, and the achievement of best end-results.

Tremendous funds have been invested in the national economy. The country has become first in the world in the production of many types of fuel and raw materials, iron, steel, cement, chemical fertilizers, and a number of other indicators. Productive capital is growing steadily and ever new manpower resources are being recruited. Yet the end result is lesser than it should be, judging by our possibilities. This leads to disproportions, shortages, and insufficient reserves.

In this connection let us discuss some problems, essentially from the viewpoint of what must be accomplished to resolve them in 1980 and in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Comrades, the shortcomings were already mentioned here. Let me begin with a problem which has acquired particular urgency--the work of transportation, rail above all. Naturally, transport has always played an important role. Now under the conditions of an unparalleled shifting of industry to Siberia and the Far East, and intensified specialization and cooperation, its importance is becoming even greater.

Considering the noted difficulties, in January 1977 the party Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a special decree on measures to develop railroad transportation in the current five-year plan. However, neither the Ministry of Railways nor the Gosplan properly insured its implementation. The result has been a gross violation of plans for the hauling of most important freight. This includes fuel, ores, timber, and grain. A great share of the blame for this falls of on Comrade I. G. Pavlovskiy and other ministry heads. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that they must immediately bring order in the railroads and strengthen the discipline in all units. Urgent measures must be taken to increase the fleet of diesel and electric locomotives, expand and improve freight-car repairs, and develop railroad-station resources. It is also necessary to drastically increase the responsibility of enterprises in industry, construction, and trade for the timely loading and unloading of cars. Party and soviet organs must deal daily with these as with other problems of transportation work.

All this, I repeat, brooks no delays. The situation in transportation must change for the better in the immediate future. However, in order to resolve the transport problems radically, on a long-term basis, this would not be sufficient. A long-term comprehensive program must be formulated for the development of transportation, to include the best achievements of scientific and technical thinking. Such a program should cover problems of development and combination of all types of transport. It should be aimed at modernizing railroads, and developing at a faster pace pipeline, river, and automotive transport, and the mechanization of loading and unloading operations. Particular attention should be paid to radical improvements in the organization of haulage and its more efficient planning.

The formulation of such a program and the daily and effective management of the work of all types of transport require a decisive increase in the responsibility of transport ministries and the USSR Gosplan.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev further dealt with fuel and energy problems. He stated that the participants in the plenum were well familiar with the fact that we have the biggest fuel-energy complex in the world. In the past 15 years alone the production of electric power and petroleum extraction (including gas condensate) nearly tripled, while that of natural gas more than quadrupled. The modern power industry is relying ever more on the achievements of science and highly productive equipment. Thus in Leningrad the production of power units for thermoelectric power plants developing a capacity of 800,000 kilowatts has been undertaken; equipment for the head power unit with a 1.2 million kilowatt capacity has been created, and the production of nuclear reactors generating 1 million kilowatts has been mastered. This will result in considerable economy of fuel and material and manpower resources.

However, since the growing needs of the national economy can still be satisfied with a certain stress, we must again and again reconsider the entire set of energy problems.

Speaking of the forthcoming tasks, we must, above all, develop adequate reserves of fuel for the winter. This will require the efficient work of petroleum workers, miners, and gas-industry and, particularly, transportation workers. The planned fuel-economy assignments must be implemented strictly. This must be the concern not only of economic organizations, but of all party and soviet organs, from top to bottom.

The task for 1980 is substantially to improve the fuel-energy balance of the country and, above all, reduce the share of petroleum as fuel for electric power plants. Is this realistic? Computations prove that it is entirely realistic.

This requires, first of all, an even more decisive increase in the pace of gas extraction, particularly in West Siberia, and replacing fuel oil with gas on a broad scale. Secondly, the nuclear power industry must be developed more rapidly, serving not only the generation of electric power, but heat production. This includes quite substantial reserves and is a very profitable undertaking. Thirdly, we must accelerate the development of the Ekibastuz, Kansk-Achinsk, and Kuznetsk fuel-energy complexes, and naturally the laying of proper electric-power transmission cables, above all the one from Ekibastuz to the Center, handling direct current of 1,500 kilovolts. Let me point out, incidentally, that the construction of one-of-a-kind thermoelectric power plants in the eastern part of Kazakhstan has been carried out so far extremely poorly. I would recommend to Comrade P. S. Neporozhnyy to immediately survey the situation and energetically intervene in the affairs of Ekibastuz and take the necessary measures.

Regardless of the pace at which we may develop the power industry, economy of fuel and energy will remain the most important national task. For this reason, the plans must include greater assignments on replacing obsolete and excessively energy-intensive equipment, the acceleration of technical progress, the extensive use of energy-saving technology, and the increased heat resistance of industrial equipment and house buildings. The efforts of every collective and working person must be focused on saving fuel and energy.

Finally, it is our duty to think on time about energy in the future, which will greatly determine the country's economic growth.

Consequently, the long-term plans must call for the extensive construction of nuclear electric power plants with breeder reactors, work on controlled thermonuclear synthesis, the production of synthetic liquid fuel, and the use of solar and geothermal energy.

The accelerated development of the power industry will require substantial efforts and major capital investments. A special commission has been set up to establish the effective means for the solution of the energy problem.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that metallurgy and machine building remain a subject of our particular concern. Despite the tremendous scale of production of metals, they remain in short supply.

This is due to three groups of reasons. The first is the slow implementation of radical quality changes in metallurgy itself. The second is lagging in the introduction of new technological processes in the basic metal-consuming sectors. The third is the waste of metal allowed and its unsatisfactory storage and misuse.

It has frequently been mentioned that with the level reached in the production of metals, the main direction to be followed in the future development of ferrous metallurgy is less its quantitative growth than radical improvements in quality and increased variety. I am convinced that this is realized by Comrades I. P. Kazanets and others who are responsible for ferrous metallurgy. However, the line of technical progress is being sluggishly pursued. We are clearly behind in the installation of powerful oxygen converters and electric furnaces and continuous steel casting. The share of economical metal shapes is increasing at an inadequate pace.

The construction workers as well must be held responsible for the situation in ferrous metallurgy. Frequently the plans for the commissioning of production capacities are violated. The CC CPSU plenum has the right to take to task Comrade N. V. Goldin, entrusted with the Ministry of Construction of Heavy-Industry Enterprises.

The machine-building industry is one of the biggest metal users. We value the achievements of this sector and consider its accelerated development



the most important prerequisite for technical progress in the entire national economy and pay a high price for the facilities its needs. However, the machine builders have obligations as well. The metal intensiveness of many types of machines and equipment produced remains excessively high. The percentage of waste in metal processing is not dropping and precision casting is being developed slowly.

There are shortcomings in the technical standard and quality of some types of machines and equipment. There have been cases of undertaking the production of machines with unfinished designs. A recent example is that of the Cheboksary Tractors Plant, a newly built plant to which great hopes were linked. However, the first shipment of heavy tractors proved to be unsuitable for the type of operations the tractors were essentially designed for. The responsibility for this is that of Minister Comrade I. F. Sinitsyn and plant director Comrade V. T. Desyatov.

Some machine-building plants excessively delay their retooling for the production of new, modern goods. This, in particular, applies to the conversion of the Pavlodar Tractors Plant for the production of the powerful K-701 tractor, which proved its worth in Virgin-Land farming.

In both machine building and metallurgy there are a number of directions in which significant national-economic end results could be obtained at very low cost. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev drew attention to the need to upgrade the durability of metal goods, increase the struggle against corrosion, and develop powder metallurgy more rapidly and the production of metal substitutes. All this is carried out in a half-way manner, I would say, timidly.

In order to meet the needs of the national economy, the Gosplan and the respective ministries should insure in the 11th Five-Year Plan a decisive turn toward metal quality and economy. No other way is possible.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid great attention to capital construction, a major state problem. Every year over one-fifth of the national income goes into construction and the way such funds are used determines the indicators of our economy, the pace of scientific and technical progress in the country, and production effectiveness.

We are building a great deal. Yet we cannot be satisfied with the situation in capital construction. Construction deadlines are frequently extended. Unfinished construction has considerably exceeded the norms. Frequently resources are channeled into secondary projects. Here not only errors and parochialism are allowed, but even cases of obvious arbitrariness.

The Central Committee has been given specific facts and has called for their investigation.

Kraykom, obkom, and gorkom secretaries must draw the proper conclusions and firmly stop the pilfering of capital investments and the drawing of workers and materials away from important state projects.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, further, that a study has indicated that in many cases the building of capacities in related sectors remains uncoordinated.

Very big plants for the production of fertilizers have been built at the cost of tremendous efforts. Yet it now becomes apparent that Comrade L. A. Kostandov has had idling capacities which could produce millions of tons of fertilizer. The reason was the lack of raw materials and gas. What were they thinking in the past? Why was money given for the construction of plants if there was no guarantee that they could operate? We have the right to ask this of Comrade Kostandov and the Gosplan workers.

Here are other examples: The capacities installed in recent years at the Ruza and Penza plants for chemical machine building (Minister Comrade K. I. Brekhov) were used in the first half of 1979 at less than half capacity. The main reason was lack of personnel. The following question arises as well: Was it not necessary to think of personnel recruitment on time?

The impression is created that the Gosplan is not properly resisting the pressure of departmentalism and parochialism, which weaken the strength of the plan and hinder the proportional growth of the economy. The Gosplan management must display greater firmness in defending the national interests. In this area as well it will have the full support of the CPSU Central Committee (applause).

In the course of the consideration of the draft plan for 1980 it was suggested to reduce the number of newly initiated projects and to do everything possible to complete the target projects and the fastest possible commissioning of capacities. These are the current tasks.

Decisions on the building of industrial projects must be made only after a realistic consideration of all factors which insure their further uninterrupted work--raw materials, transport, and manpower. Once a decision has been made, capital investments and material and financial resources must be appropriated for the new construction projects fully in accordance with the norms.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed his confidence that the participants in the CC CPSU plenum, directly or indirectly dealing with capital construction, will undertake the implementation of the tasks facing this area of the national economy with a full feeling of responsibility (applause).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev then discussed problems of supplying the population with foodstuffs, meat in particular. He said that insuring the

uninterrupted supply and adequate production of a wide variety of high-quality comestible products is one of the most important tasks stemming from the party course of upgrading the prosperity of the working people.

Resolving this problem, naturally, we have relied on the upsurge of agriculture. In the past three five-year plans alone about 400 billion rubles were invested in agriculture. Considerable capital investments will be made in the 11th Five-Year Plan as well.

At the same time, we have the right to, we must demand the more rational use of funds and equipment, so that the strengthening of the material and technical base in the villages may have a more tangible effect on supplying the country with foodstuffs.

Everyone knows what a complex sector livestock breeding is. A great deal is being done to develop it. Even though direct grain feed requirements have long been met in full, we are continuing to increase the production of grain crops for feed. Thousands of new farms and complexes have been built. The size of the cattle herds is quite impressive as well. Several years ago a special sector was developed to produce machines for animal husbandry and feed production.

Yet returns are still quite low. For the past several years feed production has been growing quite slowly. The protein imbalance in feeds is one of the reasons cited. I do not question the existence of the problem. I am confident, however, that, given the current level of our economy and current scales of outlays for animal husbandry, this problem, like others, could be dealt with far more quickly.

Specific measures aimed at the development of animal husbandry were extensively considered at the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum. Implementing the plenum's decisions and considerably increasing the production of meat in the country is the primary duty of the managers of the agricultural sector, the local party and soviet organs, the specialists, and all workers in animal husbandry (applause).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev further expressed some considerations on the quality of agricultural output. There are few other sectors in which end results would depend on quality to such an extent. However, it must be recognized that so far the kolkhozes and sovkhoses have not paid the necessary attention to this aspect of the work. Obviously, they are not being encouraged sufficiently in the struggle for high quality and preservation of the goods. Obviously, the question of improving such incentives--material and moral--is ripe. Plan indicators and prices must be based on quality to a greater extent.

As we know, in agriculture a great deal depends on the primary processing of the goods, which takes place immediately after the harvest--drying, sorting, and cleaning. If this is not done, or is done poorly, losses and

a drastic lowering of quality become inevitable. Furthermore some of the harvested goods (particularly vegetables and fruits) unsuitable for transportation and lengthy storage, could be used with immediate processing--manufacturing of juices and tomato paste, pickling, fermenting, and so on. Yet kolkhoz and sovkhos capacities for primary processing remain very low. Therefore, we must increase the share of state and kolkhoz investments used for the building of such capacities. The experience of the progressive farms convincingly proves the effectiveness of this approach.

The system of storing the goods purchased by the state must be improved substantially. It would be more profitable to keep some of the products for a while directly in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This would not only increase the quality of the goods and reduce losses, but lower the pressure on centralized warehouses and make more even use of transport facilities and manpower. Consequently, the construction of kolkhoz and sovkhos warehouses and storage bins must be expanded.

In the final account, the consumer judges the quality and quantity of agricultural output on the basis of what he can see and buy in the store. That is why we must strive to promote the uninterrupted and coordinated work of all links within this chain stretching between the field or farm and the consumer. Here everything is equally important: Transportation, production of containers, storage and processing of goods, and, finally, trade. The instructions of the last two CC CPSU plenums must be implemented more energetically and the old shortcomings which exist in virtually all the links must be eliminated.

The work of the food and dairy industries must be improved. For example, why is the variety of baked and pastry goods being reduced? Or else, with such a huge production of milk, why are there interruptions in supplies of milk, butter, and cheese? I believe that Comrades V. P. Lein and S. F. Antonov will realize that these questions are asked above all of them and that they require practical solutions.

Life shows, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, that agricultural production cannot be considered separately from the systems of procurement, transportation, storage, processing, and trade in foodstuffs. All this is a single food complex and must be planned as a single entity. The allocation of capital investments and other resources should be subordinated to the final objective of improving the supply of the population with food products. The uninterrupted and fast processing of the goods, from the production stage to store shelves, must also be treated as a single complex. The system of plan indicators and material incentives should be structured in such a way that workers in all units be interested in taking to the consumer as many high-quality goods as possible. It is precisely on this basis that the food problem must be resolved in the new five-year plan (applause).

The Central Committee is also concerned with interruptions in supplies to the population of some industrial goods. Naturally, the volume of output

of consumer goods is growing. However, demands concerning quality and variety are obviously outstripping what industry is offering.

Of late the CPSU Central Committee and the newspapers have received letters and complaints on interruptions in the supply of goods which for some reason are described as "petty": The simplest types of medicines, soap, detergents, toothbrushes and pastes, needles, thread, diapers, and other light-industry goods. This, comrades is unforgivable.

The blame falls on the ministries producing such goods, the Ministry of Light Industry above all (Minister Comrade N. N. Tarasov). Another culprit is the Ministry of Trade (Minister Comrade A. I. Struyev). The trade network has the direct obligation to influence far more energetically the production process and demand from industry commodities truly needed by the consumer, and operatively to handle resources.

The situation must be corrected as early as 1980. The specific culprits for each "shortage" must be found if caused by negligence, irresponsibility or bungling. They must be punished (shouts: "Correct!" Applause).

The investigation conducted by USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and the people's control have indicated that a number of goods in regular demand could be successfully produced locally. Therefore, along with upgrading the responsibility of ministries, departments, and central planning and trade organs, local industry, the consumer cooperatives, the soviets, and their permanent commissions must undertake far more thoroughly and, above all, with a feeling of initiative, the production of consumer goods. This will make it possible to make better and more effective use of local raw materials, particularly in the distant areas.

Summing up his statements, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that by discussing some problems he had in mind not only to point out, yet once again, existing difficulties, but, above all, to emphasize that whatever sector is looked at, tremendous opportunities and tremendous reserves for successful progress are visible. However, in order that they may be used, we must achieve an upsurge in the level of management in the broadest meaning of the word.

Major changes must be implemented in the next five-year plan in the structure and ratios of the economy. Existing sectorial and territorial relations must be perfected and areas where the biggest and fastest results may be attained with minimum outlays must be found. The USSR Gosplan--the highest planning organ in the country--must profoundly interpret, compute, and translate into the language of specific planned assignments and figures. Consequently, all of us are interested in enhancing the role of the Gosplan and improving its work. Over one year ago the CPSU Central Committee passed a decision on the work of the Gosplan. The practical implementation of this decision must be speeded up. This will help the Gosplan to draft better the new five-year plan.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that its essential foundations were clear: in order to systematically upgrade the prosperity of the people one must display double and triple the amount of energy to implement the party's course of upgrading effectiveness and quality. There are no alternatives to this course, which must be steadily followed in the 11th Five-Year Plan (applause). It is important for the CPSU Central Committee to see in advance the way the party course and its decisions will be specifically included in the planned assignments and the means which will be used to upgrade economic effectiveness. We want to know how the existing problems or problems which we may come across in the 1980's will be resolved. For this reason, the USSR Gosplan has been instructed to submit in January 1980 to the CPSU Central Committee a general concept for the 11th Five-Year Plan projected through 1990. The assignment calls for developing not one, but several alternatives for the solution of major problems, with an objective assessment of the positive and negative aspects of each of them.

In terms of resolving the topical problems facing the national economy, particularly on the eve of the next five-year plan, the party is relying on the effective aid of our scientists--the USSR Academy of Sciences, the republic and sectorial academies, and all scientific research institutes. The State Committee for Science and Technology as well must work more energetically.

Last summer's CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees formulated important and specific measures aimed at improving planning and the entire economic mechanism.

These documents, drafted in accordance with the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the stipulations of the new USSR Constitution, direct all managerial and planning activities toward reaching high final national-economic results and the fuller satisfaction of growing social requirements. The restructuring of the economic mechanism is a major economic-political task. The USSR Council of Ministers and CC CPSU Secretariat must exercise tireless control over the implementation of these decrees. The superior organs must not infringe on the rights granted enterprises, associations, and labor collectives.

Discussing higher labor productivity and the improved utilization of manpower resources, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called for accelerating the mechanization of manual labor, heavy labor above all, and for greater concern for cultural and living conditions, particularly in the newly developed areas of Siberia, the Far East, and Kazakhstan, and seriously improving the organization of labor and the timely training of skilled cadres.

Of late, he pointed out, the local organs have increased their practice of drawing people from enterprises and establishments to carry out a variety of projects--harvesting, work in procurement organizations and in construction, urbanization, etc. Sometimes this is useful, and sometimes it is

not. The main thing, however, is that this suffers from great lack of organization and irresponsibility. This results in major labor losses, violations of the normal work of enterprises, and the desire of their managers to keep surplus manpower "in reserve." It is time to bring order in this matter and eliminate lack of personal responsibility and dependence. This applies to sponsorship relations between town and country as well (voices: "Correct!" Applause).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid great attention to the further strengthening of the discipline at all levels and work sectors. The tasks we face demand, in particular, to increase and strengthen control over the implementation of planned assignments and decisions. Otherwise, every year we shall be forced to discuss over and over again the same problems. Because of this, the CC CPSU Secretariat will hear a greater number of reports at its meetings submitted by comrades responsible for one or another direction of the work. In all likelihood a similar system will be followed by the USSR Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments. I hope that the party committees of republics, krays, and oblasts will draw the proper conclusions from all this.

There are various types of working people. Most of our cadres are, unquestionably, party-minded people who know their work and who know how to work and to resolve problems. However, other types exist as well. Regardless of how much we talk to them and appeal to their consciences, feelings of duty, and responsibility, nothing helps. Here again we must act more decisively and take different measures and replace those who fail to cope with their assignments. We must more boldly promote energetic, creatively thinking, and initiative-minded comrades (lengthy applause).

Generally speaking, discipline and order are always necessary. Now, when the scale of economic management has expanded tremendously, and when the network of economic relations is becoming ever more complex, dense, and widespread, they become particularly necessary. This involves not only speaking about discipline or calling for order. It requires, above all, painstaking and daily organizational work, efficient control over execution, and a flexible planned cadre policy. An operative and sharp reaction is necessary to manifestations of negligence and violations of plans, rules, and norms. I hope that this formulation of the matter will find full understanding and support among the participants in the plenum (lengthy applause).

A number of important laws will be considered at the forthcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet--on people's control, the Supreme Court, the prosecutor's office, arbitration, and the bar. Unquestionably, these laws will contribute to strengthening law and order in the country. Therefore, they will be most directly related to the problems we are discussing today, for the strict observance of the laws is one of the unconditional prerequisites for the successful functioning of the entire economic mechanism. The task of the party organs and the party members is to explain the content

and profoundly democratic nature of the new laws, energetically to help in their implementation, and raise the masses to the struggle against even the most minor delinquencies or violations of Soviet socialist law and order.

Let us especially emphasize the responsibility of the tasks facing the people's control organs. This is related to the promulgation of a special decree, related to the new law, giving people's control even greater support on the part of the party organs, so that the entire multimillion-strong army of people's controllers become more energetically involved in the common struggle for upgrading the level of economic work and the implementation of planned assignments.

In conclusion, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev discussed the nature of organizational, mass-political, and ideological work in terms of current national economic tasks. The main directions of this work will be the following:

The all-round development of the socialist competition and its orientation toward quality indicators and the struggle for the implementation of counterplans:

Support and dissemination of progressive experience and progressive ways and means of work contributing to upgrading labor productivity;

Systematic implementation of a regimen of savings and rational utilization of material and financial resources;

Struggle against violations of labor discipline, sloppiness, and slackness. The labor collectives must play a leading role in this struggle and their rights must be increased.

Our efforts must be focused on mobilizing the working people for the fulfillment of the assignments of the last year of the five-year plan. The assignments of the 1980 plan are not simple. However, they must be fulfilled and overfulfilled. What does this require? It requires an atmosphere of high exactingness, organization, and creative attitude toward the work in all economic sectors and production cells.

All of us know that the socialist economy is inconceivable without strengthening the centralized principle. Yet, along with it, the policy and economics of centralism, we need democratic scope which opens broad possibilities and initiative from below--the initiative of kolkhozes, sovkhoses, enterprises, associations, and local organs. This stems not only from our outlook, but from economic necessity. Initiative from below is our irreplaceable reserve in the acceleration of economic development.

Thousands and thousands of labor collectives and millions and millions of conscientious Soviet citizens think about and care for the country and its economy. The purpose of the socialist economic mechanism is to insure a proper outlay for energy and initiative. Improving style and work methods



in the spirit of the basic party instructions is the duty of all party and economic managers. This is demanded of them by the party Central Committee (applause).

Comrades, let there be less ostentation and sensationalism, and less what V. I. Lenin described as "political chattering." The dialog with the Soviet people must be frank, serious, and substantiated. This is required by the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Party propaganda and party agitation must be maximally specific. Convincingly and knowledgeably they must answer all the questions important to the people. Then the party word may develop into labor enthusiasm and the labor efforts of tens of millions of party and non-party people (applause).

Next year we shall celebrate the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. On this occasion the CPSU Central Committee is drafting a decree which will stipulate a number of politically important measures. Their common denominator will be to make 1980 a year of shock work, of Leninist work (applause). It is precisely on this that we must focus all party committees, the entire half-million primary party organizations and party groups, the soviets, the trade unions, and the Komsomol. Last autumn's accountability and election meetings proved once again that the party is ready for new accomplishments for the good of the people. This is the guarantee of our steadfast progress and of new successes and achievements (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

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## IN CLOSE CONNECTION WITH PRACTICE

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[Article by V. Konotop, first secretary, Moscow Oblast CPSU Committee]

[Text] The all-union conference of ideological workers, which was held last October, was yet another proof of the systematic and purposeful work done by the party Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, on implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The report submitted by Comrade M. A. Suslov, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and the businesslike and constructive discussion of this report drew yet once again the attention of the party and the entire Soviet people to the topical problems of communist upbringing. The participants in the conference comprehensively analyzed the initial results of the activities of the country's party organizations in implementing the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

This programmatic document remains in the center of attention of our oblast party organization. The tasks stemming from the Central Committee decree were discussed at an obkom plenum. Its study and discussion by the party and public organizations, labor collectives, and ideological institutions, and subsequently the implementation by all party organizations of comprehensive work plans based on the stipulations and recommendation of the decree made it possible to utilize more skillfully and effectively the various means for exerting an ideological influence on the masses.

Plenums, party aktiv meetings, and practical science conferences held in the oblast on the subject of the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev--the two-volume work "Aktual'nyye Voprosy Ideologicheskoye Raboty KPSS" [Topical Problems of CPSU Ideological Work] and the trilogy "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] played a mobilizing role in implementing the assignments. Work with these books invariably yields excellent results, arming the party aktiv and the propagandists with a truly Leninist approach to the solution of vitally important problems. The obkom bureau approved the practice of the utilization by the Chekhov City Party Committee of the experience in political-educational work summed

up by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his memoirs. Leonid Il'ich's instructions and personal experience acquire particularly topical significance in the course of the implementation of the CC CPSU decree on ideological problems. We shall continue to draw strength and inspiration in our specific daily work from his works and addresses, which are an inexhaustible source of Marxist-Leninist thought and live practical experience.

Within the political and economic training system the steady improvement of the structure of propaganda cadres helps to upgrade the quality of lectures and seminars and to insure the deeper mastery of scientific and dialectical-materialistic outlook by the Soviet people. Today the party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol workers, economic managers, and specialists are the base of the 60,000-strong detachment of propagandists in our oblast. They include thousands of real enthusiasts who are adamantly combining revolutionary theory with the practical solution of problems facing labor collectives and the entire country, giving a personal example of a communist attitude toward labor.

Hero of Socialist Labor Yu. V. Kochetkov, assistant foreman at the Kupava Fine-Cloth Factory, has taken over straggling brigades on six different occasions and turned them into leading ones. He is an experienced propagandist and instructor, and a sensitive educator of the youth. Marxist-Leninist training, impeccable moral qualities, and constant striving toward lofty social ideals help party members such as Yu. V. Kochetkov to lead the people.

In our oblast one out of two party members has a permanent party assignment directly linked with propaganda and mass-agitation work. This makes it possible to reach virtually every individual.

Taking into consideration the Central Committee's requirement of the need to unify organizational, economic, and ideological activities, our obkom and city and rayon committees are directing all party organizations toward increasing their effectiveness and concreteness of propaganda and agitation work, and their ties with life and with the solution of economic and political problems.

"The dialog with the Soviet people must be frank, serious, and substantiated," . . . Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. "Party propaganda and party agitation must be maximally specific. They must answer all the questions important to the people convincingly and knowledgeably. Then the party word will develop into labor enthusiasm and the labor efforts of tens of millions of party and non-party people."

Greater attention is being paid to the upbringing and systematic training of leading cadres which are facing stricter requirements. Party, soviet, economic, trade-union, and Komsomol workers are raising their ideological and theoretical standards in Marxism-Leninism universities, party-economic aktiv courses, and theory seminars.

There also operates a technical-progress university for directors of industrial enterprises and a university teaching the foundations of scientific production management and technical progress in agriculture for heads of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and poultry farms. In their classes problems of scientific and technical progress and the organization of labor, production and management are closely linked with the implementation of plans for the socioeconomic development of collectives and with ideological-educational work.

The efforts of the party organs and primary party organizations are focused on this. The individual responsibility of managers for the educational consequences of economic activities has been enhanced. This raised the prestige of production leaders, enriches them, brings them closer to the people, and contributes to successes in the implementation of plans and socialist pledges by the collectives.

Economic managers are submitting more regularly reports at plenums and meetings of party committee bureaus, describing their participation in propaganda and political-educational activities and in the struggle for strengthening labor and technological discipline and public order; they report on their role in the practical utilization of the rich possibilities of a properly organized competition and planned use of material and moral incentives aimed at achieving better quantitative and qualitative work indicators.

One-half of the economic managers in the oblast have followed the honorable way of rising from worker to director. Most of them are skillful production organizers and educators.

I. S. Leoshkevich, former weaver and now general director of the Moscow Carpets Association, has spent 17 years in management work. She is distinguished by her outstanding ability to promote in the people the desire to work today better than yesterday, and tomorrow better than today, and to find and use ever new reserves for upgrading production effectiveness and quality. In her efforts to mobilize the collective for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of planned assignments and in the struggle for high quality she relies on the party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, the association's specialists, and middle and primary level management. She listens to everyone carefully and supports good initiatives. All this makes it possible to utilize most fully the constructive potential of the collective and the abilities of every worker. I. S. Leoshkevich is not interested in production matters only. She may be found doing Sunday voluntary work or attending a sports event. She contributes to the organization of the way of life, training, and recreation of the working people.

On the initiative of the director and with the participation of scientists from the Scientific Research Institute of General and Pedagogical Psychology of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the association developed and is successfully applying a system for the professional growth of

cadres. Here the competition takes place within so-called practical experience groups, based on the skills and mastery of the workers. This enables every working person to see better the results of his work. In comparable conditions he finds it easier to assess the level of his skills and weigh the possibilities for further creative growth. The collective is steadily keeping a high labor atmosphere and a feeling of reciprocal exactingness and comradely mutual aid. Everyone feels himself the master of the production work and responsible for work end-results. In the first three years of the five-year plan labor productivity in the association rose by one-third. Today it is the highest in the sector. The share of goods awarded the state Emblem of Quality has reached 40% of the overall volume of output. Within that time unproductive work-time losses have been reduced by one-half. Violations of labor discipline or public order have become rare.

"The contemporary manager," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, "must organically combine within himself party mindedness with great competence, and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the work. At the same time, whatever his sector, the manager must also take into consideration sociopolitical and educational aspects. He must be responsive to the people and to their needs and requirements, and give the example in work and outside work."

That is why in promoting comrades to leading positions, the party committees pay particular attention to their ability to work with people. It has become a tradition for the CPSU obkom, together with ministries and departments, to promote to positions of managers of associations and enterprises competent specialists with adequate experience in production activities and trained in party work. The expediency of this practice has been confirmed by a number of examples.

V. P. Strel'nikov headed the party committee at the Kolomna Diesel Locomotive Engines Plant for seven years. Before that he had attended an excellent practical school: he had been foreman, chief of section, and deputy chief and chief of shop. In 1973 he was appointed director of the Kolomna Diesel Locomotive Engines Plant. Today he is the general director of the Kolomenskiy Zavod Association, which employs over 22,000 people. Judging by the affairs of the association and the relations which have developed between the manager and the thousands of workers, one could confidently say that the party training and skills acquired in the course of his work as party committee secretary have been useful in his economic activities and have enabled him to become an active organizer of ideological and educational work in the collective.

Let us mention here also A. V. Demidov, laureate of the USSR State Prize, candidate of technical sciences, and general director of the Elektrostal'tyazhmash Production Association. He too had been party committee secretary. The range of the director's concerns is not limited to purely production matters. He is also interested in the development of

the sponsorship movement, the labor upbringing of adolescents at the enterprises, the sponsorship course, families and mass-cultural and sports work. He considers this to be his duty as a communist manager.

On his suggestion, soon after the publication of the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," sociological studies were carried out at the association on the business, political, and moral qualities of the heads of production subunits. A system of collective responsibility for labor results and the condition of labor discipline in the brigades was applied. The brigade loses its rating in the socialist competition should anyone of its members violate the discipline or public order.

Characteristic of the collective of the machine builders, where a conscientious and creative attitude toward the work is deliberately promoted, is a feeling for the new, an aspiration to always seek means to improve planning and strengthen the influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading production effectiveness. For a number of years the production of casting in the association is planned not in terms of physical tons, as is being done everywhere else, but in accordance with labor outlays. This eliminates the "pressure" of the gross output factor on variety, and lowers metal outlays and cost of further processing. The oblast party committee held an oblast seminar at the enterprise based on the fact that this experiment is not only of major economic, but educational significance as well.

All this has contributed to the creation of a healthy moral and psychological climate in the association's production collectives. Production effectiveness and work quality have improved. Here the output meets the highest world standards. The personal contribution of the general director may be seen in all accomplishments and successes.

At the same time, however, unfortunately, we have economic managers who are unable to structure educational work properly, in close touch with the party and public organizations. They are not concerned with the growth of their ideological and professional standards. Naturally, this adversely affects the activities of labor collectives and, in many cases, creates grounds for violations of state discipline. The oblast party organizations will be increasing their exactingness toward managers. They will work with them patiently. In other words, they will educate the educators themselves and will get rid of those who draw not conclusions from criticism or are unwilling or unable to change their work style.

The party's Central Committee has called for upgrading the responsibility of the sectorial departments of party committees for the condition of educational work among all groups of working people. Certain steps have been taken in this direction. Thus, today the Moscow Oblast Party Committee and the oblast gorkoms and raykoms have councils on economic education in which the personnel of these departments participate actively. These councils contributed, in particular, to the creation of special commissions

at many enterprises in charge of analyzing and implementing suggestions submitted by students within the universal economic training system.

The personnel of the sectorial departments of party committees are actively participating in the holding of joint political days and in the organization and monthly study of competition results under the slogan of "10th Five-Year Plan--10 Shock Labor Shifts." They are promoting the operative summing up of competition results in labor collectives and primary party organizations, and the broad publicity and comparability of results. They help in the application of progressive experience.

The textile and light-industry department of the party obkom is an example of the thoughtful attitude toward the upbringing of working people in the sector. Frequently visiting the enterprises, its personnel have done a great deal to improve the organization of the socialist competition and promote the initiative of workers and engineers, as was the case, for example, with the introduction of multiple-loom servicing and the creation of high labor productivity sectors.

Meetings between leading competition workers and heads of oblast organizations, ministries, and departments, now traditional, sponsored by the department, have become very popular. Such meetings are held in a warm comradely atmosphere and are long remembered by the participants. The best workers are presented with moire ribbons, beautifully designed certificates and competition winner badges, and souvenirs. Most frankly the production workers share with the sectorial managers not only their joys, but their problems which require joint work.

The department closely studies the activities of the primary party organs and economic managers of enterprises which have acquired live and useful experience in working with people and promoting their communist upbringing. For example, the dissemination of the experience of the Proletarskaya Pobeda Factory--the head enterprise of the Podmoskov ye Association--was very useful. A successful joint Soviet-Bulgarian seminar was held at the factory for secretaries of party committees in charge of ideological and educational work. Everything which is today the pride of the collective of this enterprise--ranging from modern model production, which makes it possible to produce high-quality fabrics for children, to splendid interiors and the cozy atmosphere created in cafeterias and rest areas--is the product of the concerned hands and enthusiasm of the textile workers themselves. Here everyone has developed a high feeling of responsibility for the situation in his sector and for the economic and social development of the entire collective. The joint and highly effective work of all production units made it possible for the factory to become one of the leading enterprises in the sector and earn the title of communist labor collective. It is one of the 153 enterprises in the oblast maintaining high production and labor organization standards.

Unity between theory and practice and between word and deed is a most important principle governing the activities of our party, inherited from

the great Lenin. At the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated it as follows: "Communist idea mindedness is an alloy of knowledge, convictions, and practical action."

The strength of this alloy and the power of communist idea mindedness of the working people are manifested most fully and visibly in the solution of the major and complex problems reflecting the main directions of the Leninist course of the party and its Central Committee.

One of these tasks is the systematic practical implementation of the decisions of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on measures for the further development of agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR. This zone, as we know, includes Moscow Oblast. We link increased agricultural output and improved supplies to the population of the capital and other industrial centers with the conversion of the Moscow area into an oblast of intensive and highly developed agricultural production.

All the necessary conditions exist for reaching this target. Thanks to the steadfast implementation of the party's agrarian policy, following the historical March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, the oblast farms have raised their capital-labor ratio by a 3.9 factor; the power-labor ratio tripled, and the use of chemical fertilizers rose by a factor of 2.9. Within that time over seven million square meters of housing area, 133 houses of culture, clubs, and movie theaters, 224 schools, and 330 children's preschool institutions were built in the rural areas. Labor conditions improved and the wages of kolhoz and sovkhoz working people rose.

In the first three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan gross agricultural output in the public sector rose one-quarter compared with the same period in the previous five-year plan. This year, despite the complex weather conditions, the plan for the sale of grain and vegetables to the state was fulfilled; considerably more potatoes than planned were sold.

The type of atmosphere and material and technical conditions which have been created is such that further increase in crop and animal-husbandry output and the further upsurge of the culture and living comforts in the villages depend, above all, on the successful organization of the matter, on the entire organizational, economic, and ideological-political work.

Propagandists, agitators, mass-information media workers, and all ideological cadres are contributing through impassionate party words, advice, and specific aid to call upon every working person, responding to the inspiring prospects for the development of agriculture, creatively to implement assignments and clearly realize his role and place in their successful implementation.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" calls for developing in the young people love for the agricultural professions and developing and supporting in them the desire to work in kolhozes and sovkhozes.



In 1972 the party obkom created a permanent commission on involving young people in agricultural production. The commission is coordinating the efforts made in this direction by party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, and soviet and economic organs. It sees to it that the young men and women are provided with proper conditions for working, training, living, and recreation, and that, from the very beginning, their conscientious work be properly encouraged. The improved labor training of secondary school students and their work within student brigades at livestock farms, fields, and workshops, the increased number of rural vocational-technical schools, and the organization in the farms of Komsomol-youth collectives, already exceeding 700, are contributing to the influx of young people into the villages and the retention of young cadres.

One year ago a new dairy farm was commissioned at the Borets Sovkhoz, Dmitrovskiy Rayon. The management and the party committee entrusted it with young people. Today there are 24 young animal husbandrymen here, including 11 married couples. Many of them previously worked in the city. The young people are working enthusiastically. They try to live a rich spiritual life. They visit theaters, museums, and memorial sites. They actively participate in social life and in amateur art activities. This is a strong and united collective of like-minded people, who have firmly linked their lives with the sovkhoz and are largely indicative of its future.

Oblast and rayon rallies of young rural working people, rural school students, and students attending vocational-technical schools, and solemn presentation of Komsomol assignment cards to young men and women who have expressed the desire to work in agriculture, have become a tradition.

In recent years ever more tangible results have been achieved through the use of work and rest camps, a progressive method for the ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing of senior classmen. During the summer vacations about 60,000 secondary school students go to such camps. Here they acquire the initial labor skills, gain profound respect for the work of crop growers and livestock breeders, begin to understand the value of the earned kopeck, become more familiar with nature, and strengthen their health. They develop a feeling of collectivism, comradesly mutual aid, and the best features of the Soviet character. Every year many work and rest camps accept over 500 young citizens of the Central Czech Area in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Sofia Okrug in the Bulgarian People's Republic, and as many children from the Moscow area go to work and rest camps in sister oblasts of fraternal countries. This promotes international upbringing and broadens the outlook of the young people. We believe that such camps must become widespread throughout the country and as commonplace as pioneer camps.

As a result of painstaking and daily work, in the 10th Five-Year Plan alone over 58,000 young men and women, including demobilized soldiers, have gone into kolkhoz-sovkhoz production in our oblast. The countryside has become

noticeably rejuvenated. The number of young mechanizers, animal husbandry-men, and construction workers has increased particularly rapidly. We shall continue these efforts in the future with even greater emphasis and exceptional attention, bearing in mind its importance not only in terms of resolving current problems, but of the intensive development of the oblast's agriculture in the 11th and 12th Five-Year plans in accordance with a specific program for upgrading further agricultural production effectiveness, as stipulated by the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum.

The party organizations are doing a great deal to insure the comprehensive full utilization of the extensive educational possibilities of socialist competition. At the 16th USSR Trade Unions Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev quite properly stated that "the competition is an irreplaceable means for the upbringing of the new person, contributing to his political growth and moral perfecting."

The outstanding tradition of celebrating through new labor accomplishments the bright Leninist anniversaries has become a vivid manifestation of the ideological maturity and the infinite loyalty of the Soviet people to the communist ideals, the eternally alive Leninist cause, and the warm love and respect for the founder of our party and Soviet state. As throughout the country, the patriotic initiative of the working people to welcome properly the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth has become widespread in our oblast. Pledges to complete their individual five-year plans by that great anniversary were given by 138,000 workers; last September 6,500 had already fulfilled that program.

The movement for a communist attitude toward labor is becoming ever more important in the communist education of the Soviet people and in upgrading production effectiveness and the quality of all our work. The oblast has over 90 enterprises, over 17,000 shops and sectors, and 36,000 brigades which have earned the title of communist; over 1 million leading workers and production innovators are communist labor shock workers. The main feature, however, is the qualitative aspect of the movement itself, to which our party and trade-union organizations ascribe prime importance. The leading production workers and collectives who annually assert this high title are our pride and gold stock.

It was pointed out at the all-union conference of ideological workers that successes in the development of the economy and in education are organically interdependent. This is confirmed by the decrees passed by the CPSU Central Committee on the problems of ideological work and on improving the economic mechanism.

In answer to these decrees a valuable initiative was launched by the brigade headed by A. R. Koroten'kov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and senior foreman V. I. Naumochkin, at the Elektrostal' Metallurgical Plant imeni I. F. Tevosyan: "All brigades and workers must have their individual effectiveness accounts, and every specialist must have his creative plan."

Such initiatives launched by the leading workers and collectives in the country offer splendid opportunities for giving the work on improving the economic mechanism a deep ideological content, involving the conscientious participation of everyone in strengthening state and labor discipline and expediently using material and manpower resources.

It is precisely in the brigade--the primary cell of the labor collective--that the most favorable opportunities for the organic combination of the ideas of workers and engineers, developing in the people the need to engage in creative work, and the permanent search for best production and economic solutions are born.

We greatly value the initiative of the Elektrostal' workers also because it encourages engineering and technical personnel and economic managers to act on a daily basis as educators and be ready, in close cooperation with the workers, to find effective means for upgrading labor productivity and production quality. Furthermore, this competition method makes it possible to determine for each work place the effect of the above-plan production of goods, their improved quality and durability, and raw-material and material savings, clearly, intelligibly, and in terms of value. It encourages the close linking of economic training with the solution of specific problems, the application of brigade cost accounting, and engaging in Leninist economical management.

According to the individual effectiveness accounts of oblast enterprise workers, and with the active participation of specialists, in the first 10 months of 1979 the factual amount of about 46 million rubles were saved.

The entire practical experience in managing the socialist competition convinces us that, considering the present strict requirements governing the development of the economy, the improvement of the economic mechanism, and the upbringing of the people, the party organizations must combine, more purposefully and skillfully, combat political slogans and the mobilization of the working people for the solution of major political and economic problems with the organization of the competition at each sector and work place. We must develop an organization which would inspire the workers and specialists knowledgeably and scientifically to utilize the profound reserves existing for upgrading production effectiveness.

The party committees and organizations will continue to support and develop effective methods for the creative participation of the working people in resolving the problems set by the party. We have no right to be satisfied with accomplishments, the more so since there still are straggling collectives which are working regardless of existing reserves and possibilities and whose organization of ideological and educational work suffers from serious shortcomings. We try to give practical help to such collectives, to enhance the mobilizing role of their primary party organizations, to improve party control over administrative activities, and to create everywhere an atmosphere of high principle mindedness, exactingness, and attention to every person.

As Lenin emphasized, developing the consciousness of the masses remains the basis and the main content of all our work. It is precisely the development of the consciousness of the masses, the organic combination of Marxism-Leninism with revolutionary practice, and unity between word and action that make it possible for the party to achieve new successes in the building of communism, and promote the profoundly interested participation of the working people in the affairs of our socialist society and in the new upsurge in the country's material and spiritual forces.

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## VIGOROUSNESS OF MORAL POSITION IN LIFE AND LITERATURE

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[Article by Feliks Kuznetsov, first secretary of the board of the Moscow writers' organization, RSFSR Union of Writers]

[Text] Nothing enhances the individual more than an active life stance and a conscientious attitude toward social duty, when unity of word and action becomes the daily norm of behavior. This stipulation, formulated in the CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress, includes one of the key topics and tasks facing today theoretical and artistic thinking. Our party's documents, the new USSR Constitution, and the memoirs by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land] contain extremely rich and, so far, barely used possibilities for the interpretation of the social, spiritual, and moral processes which are taking place today in the developed socialist society. They help us to understand, better and deeper, the aspect and the heart of this human society, unparalleled in history, and the very essence of what we proudly describe as the Soviet, the socialist way of life.

The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," the materials of the all-union conference of ideological workers, and the report submitted by Comrade M. A. Suslov at the conference entitled "An All-Party Cause," are of great importance to the development of literature and the arts. To us, writers and critics, the most important feature of these documents is the fact that the party considers the realm of ideology one of the important sectors in the building of communism, directing our attention to the conceptual foundations of artistic creativity, emphasizing the significance of the idea mindedness and civic mindedness of the artist as the foundations for his creative successes. Perhaps one of the major concepts expressed at the conference was the adamant requirement of closely linking knowledge with life, "so that knowledge may turn into conviction, into a manual for action, into an active life stance adopted by the Soviet person, who, displaying high conscientiousness, will dedicate his efforts to the common cause and will irreconcilably oppose any manifestations of alien ideology and morality.."

Thinking of the vigorous life stance of the Soviet person, and its presentation in literature, we must emphasize, above all, that it is a question of high, truly humane and human, i.e., communist, vigorousness on the part of the individual, basically different from the egotistical, and individualistic vigorousness of the individual molded by the capitalist society based on individual successes. Whereas a vigorous life stance stemming from the conscientious attitude toward social duty and dictated by humanistic ideals, enhances the individual, bringing together the meaning and spirituality of its existence, bourgeois activism wrecks and destroys man, turning him into a slave to his career, purely personal and material success, and gain. Problems of morality, humanism, and humaneness cannot be resolved outside of a social, a class approach. Under socialist conditions, like the age-old word "owner," the concept of vital activeness assumes, under socialist conditions, a qualitatively new content.

In the old understanding of the word, "owner" meant, above all, "private owner." The struggle with "customs which were imbued in every small owner in the course of centuries and millenia," was considered by V. I. Lenin a matter which "providing that the exploiting classes have been totally overthrown would require long years" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 121).

Lenin considered that the meaning and objective of this struggle is for every working person "to feel that he is not only the owner of his plant, but a representative of the country." According to Lenin, it was precisely the "feeling of ownership" of one's kolkhoz, plant, enterprise, and country, and the "selfless concern, surmounting heavy toil, on the part of the rank-and-file workers for upgrading labor productivity" and preserving "each pood of grain, coal, iron, and other products supplied not to the workers personally and their 'relatives,' but to 'unknown people,' i.e., to the entire society at large" that marks the beginning of communism (ibid, p 22). This feeling is also at the base of the social vigor and civic mindedness and active life stance which ennobles man more than anything else.

The life activeness of the Soviet person, the citizen of the socialist fatherland, stems from communist morality and is nurtured by the very essence and daily practical life of the socialist society, a society free from the spirit of business and profit and the exploitation of man by man. Socialist reality molds in the human soul a collectivistic mentality, a feeling of personal involvement with everything and civic responsibility for everything around us. It is precisely such features that represent the new aspects characteristic of the Soviet person. His civic behavior is based on idea mindedness and communist convictions, and a conscientious attitude toward social duty. Lack of ideas is the synonym of the petit bourgeoisie, of a philistine attitude toward life and work. Communist education does not end with a change in mentality or surmounting private ownership habits and customs developed in the masses as a result of centuries of exploitation and oppression. Communist education means, in the

final account, the shaping of a new consciousness of the masses, and new ideological and civic convictions. The "feeling of ownership," and of civic responsibility for the fate of the revolution, of the country, and of our ideas are impossible outside of communist consciousness and convictions. Only convictions based on knowledge, on the product of one's own thinking and mind, reworked into emotions, feelings, morality, and features of the character, can create fighters consciously defending the basic interests of the people, the party, and the historical prospects of revolutionary development.

That is why the formulation by the 25th CPSU Congress of the problem of the need for a comprehensive approach to communist education and for a dialectical unity among ideological-political, labor, and moral upbringing, is of such tremendous importance. Any of these three areas plays an irreplaceable role. Each of them is relatively autonomous, yet at the same time inseparable from the others.

Neglect of such dialectics and underestimating moral education, let us say, leads to pitiful results in which a person is familiar in theory with our policy and principles, yet in practice does not fight for their implementation. In his heart such knowledge has not been resmelted into convictions, into a moral position. It has not been transformed into practical actions, but has remain a set of phrases. This is nothing but a refined form of idelessness and of a philistine, a petit bourgeois attitude toward life. We must be irreconcilable toward those who proclaim unquestionable truths without, however, implementing them in practice, who do not fight for their implementation, and who tolerate shortcomings. The gap between word and action, whatever form its manifestation may take, harms economic construction and the moral upbringing of the Soviet people.

The new moral attitude toward labor, which according to Lenin is inseparable from communist labor, grows into the new, the civic attitude of the person toward society, when the person feels responsible for everything. This type of moral awareness leads to social activeness and the social principle-mindedness of the individual, making a fighter out of a person, a person who, as Belinskiy said, is a fighter in the world. The specific, the practical task of communist upbringing today consists precisely of turning, as was pointed out at the 24th CPSU Congress, "all workers, kolkhoz members, and members of the intelligentsia into conscientious fighters for the implementation of the party's economic policy . . . fully displaying their capabilities, initiative, and sharpness of wit," so that everyone could feel himself a citizen in the full meaning of the term, interested in the national cause and assuming for it his share of responsibility. The systematic development of socialist democracy, as an objective prerequisite and guarantee for the social civic activity of the Soviet people contains a tremendous spiritual and moral sense.

As we know, the spiritual wealth of a person in the socialist society is based on the scope of his activities, amount of social interests, and

wealth and variety of social relations. The richer and closer his social, i.e., civic relations with the world are, the more he is needed by society and by the people, the more his cause is the common cause and his labor is creative, and the more he is interested in this common cause and feels his personal responsibility for it sharply, the richer he is internally, and the more spiritual his life becomes. The greatest moral gain of socialism is that it involves an ever larger number of people in conscious historical creativity, turning them into civilly active people, and involving them in economic and political life not as performers, but as creators. K. Marx considered that the humane essence of the socialist revolution was the restoration of man to himself as a social person.

Having eliminated the exploitation of man by man, only socialism can mold qualitatively new people, free from the slavish mentality of profit, individualism, and private possession, socially active and socially conscious, involving in the range of their vital interests not only their own, private, or family concerns, but the interests of their plant, kolkhoz, enterprise, and society at large. It is precisely socialism that can and does resolve the age-old problem of interrelationship between individual and society, not at the expense of absorbing the individual by society or, conversely, of inflated individual aspirations to the detriment of social interests, but through the harmonious unity between the individual and society, and between the individual and the collective.

The socialist personality is collectivistic and social in spirit, hostile to individualism and social egotism which usurp the interests of society, the collective, and other people for its narrow, selfish purposes. It organically combines the features of human morality and the qualities of the new, communist morality. The activeness of the social interests pre-determines the harmonious inner development of the individual. The spiritual requirements of man are the consequence of both the increased level of his education and the strengthening and development of his civic and social vigor. It is precisely this, the intensive development of the individual principle, that is the key to the secret which usually so greatly intrigues our foreign guests--why is it that people read so much in the USSR? They read immeasurably more than in any other country, including countries where universal literacy was achieved far earlier than in our country. The main thing here is the phenomenon of the social activeness of the people, in which the aspirations of the masses spread farther and farther beyond the limits of a narrow, closed existence, reaching out to people, society, and the world. As man becomes an ever more developed and socially active individual he develops an ever deeper and fuller social and, therefore, spiritual interest, which is satisfied among other things by art, literature, and motion pictures. This is the origin of the mysterious explosion of interest on the part of the Soviet people in books, the theater, museums, and culture as a whole, incomprehensible to foreigners, an interest which as a rule is alien to the entrepreneurial society, which cultivates in the souls of the individuals egocentrism, and alienation of man from society and from himself as a social being.



Let us consider from this viewpoint a most interesting phenomenon of today, such as Soviet literature days, which have become a permanent living tradition in the life of the Moscow Writers' Organization and of the entire USSR Union of Writers, and let us enjoy the warmth and immediacy of such encounters in which thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of writers have participated: at Krasnaya Presna and Baumanskiy Rayon, in Moscow, in the Komi ASSR and the Moscow area, in distant Siberia and sunny Georgia, in the Far East and in the harsh Perm'. They all shared the common feature of the depth of involvement and warmth, an organic naturalness, and I would say a vital need for. Such is yet another extremely important form of the cooperation between life and literature discussed at the 25th CPSU Congress. To the Moscow writers it is also a major contribution to the transformation of Moscow into a model communist city.

Let us properly rate such literature days, a phenomenon which appeared and became so widespread precisely in the last decade. Let us consider this amazing fact as one of a series of similar facts.

Actually, is the imagination not struck by the attitude of the masses toward the printed word, the artistic word in particular?! In fact, books and journals, despite huge editions to which "Western" editions cannot even be compared, are incredibly scarce. Unquestionably, circumstances not always lofty are of importance in this case: to some people books have become a factor of prestige, occasionally fashion, and even a characteristic manifestation of possession of objects. This is bad. Nevertheless, in the final account, there is something quite serious, deep, bright, and qualitatively new behind the tempestuous rise of interest in books--the energizing of inner life, the growth of the spiritual needs of millions of people.

Changes in the depths of the mass mentality, the mass awareness, so sharply noted of late, are appearing everywhere. Not only in terms of books, but in an equally passionate attitude toward the theater. Sociologists and psychologists are still to understand the origins of this "boom," not only in terms of books but theaters and museums, as a result of which people wishing to visit Yasnaya Polyana must make reservations for the trip almost a year in advance!

What about the essentially new attitude of the readers toward classics? Literature and poetry celebrations of Pushkin, Blok, Lermontov, and Tyutchevskiy, which draw a very large public, the recent nationwide celebration of Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy, and the appearance of a very wide readership of our classics are most interesting features of our time!

It is very important to interpret all these qualitatively new features of the present, the features of the socialist way of life, from philosophical, social, and political positions. Naturally, from the positions of the writer as well, for such an unparalleled cultural thirst and gravitation toward the full and comprehensive satisfaction of such tempestuously

developing spiritual requirements of the broad popular masses today incredibly increase the responsibility of the literary worker and formulate high requirements governing his works. The quality of the spiritual food offered today to such a thirsty, yet so demanding a reader, viewer, or listener, must be consistent with the time, its requirements, level of development of the contemporary Soviet person, and the cultural potential of our society.

Comrade M. A. Suslov's words to the effect that the level of our propaganda "must be made consistent with the increased scale and complexity of the tasks of the building of communism, the increased educational and cultural standards of the Soviet people, and the aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena" largely apply to literature and art as well.

The level of spirituality of the Soviet person is particularly impressive in comparing two so different and totally opposite ways of life: ours and the American's. In the course of an almost two-month stay in the United States, where I attended a meeting between Soviet and American writers, and, subsequently, read lectures on Soviet literature in a number of American universities, I had the opportunity to come in close contact with what is known as the "American" or, simply, bourgeois way of life and bourgeois culture.

May I be forgiven a certain contrasting and some black-and-white conclusions. It is a consequence of the shock produced by some features of the way of life in the United States on the Soviet person. Unquestionably, the technical accomplishments of their human labor and minds are great and there is something for us to be both envious of and to learn from. However, man does not live by bread alone.

As a whole, the United States gives the impression of an ocean of flesh and of militant and triumphant material principles, an all-absorbing ocean which engulfs, which enslaves the human soul with some kind of mad vividness, poisonous disgrace and just as poisonous and fraudulent beauty. In this ocean of flesh and material foundations, the spiritual, the human principle, which can be detected, felt, or found with great difficulty, or sometimes not at all, beats hardly noticeably, in extremely light spurts. The lack of spirituality of today's America is striking. This is not a mere phrase, it is no propaganda. Some kind of devilish most powerful forces seem to have conspired and fiercely hurled themselves at what is human in man, and are frenziedly working to lower all human principles, dehumanize man, and turn him back into an animal.

A very big American physicist of the University of California, whom I visited, said, smiling: "I am a typical American." "How to interpret this?" "A typical American is the one who, after his workday is over, puts on his shorts and works in his garden and reads nothing." This is the truth. The homes of Americans, even intellectuals, contain virtually no

libraries. There is neither interest nor love for books. At the University of California (at Irvine) I experienced a peculiar sadness and hurt for our ideological opponent--the mastodon of "Sovietology" G. P. Struve. He was delivering lectures on white emigre literature in the same university circuit, literally preceding me. In Irvine our paths crossed and I was invited to attend his lecture on Nabokov, advertised throughout the entire 20,000-strong university, a lecture he was delivering in English. Only 28 people attended! At the end there were 14! Struve was reading his lecture with his head bowed in shame.

Yet there is a literature in America which is in tremendous demand by millions of people. It consists of pornographic best sellers and magazines. The spreading of the pornographic industry in the United States, reaching its end, has touched what is most sacred--children. According to American data about 350,000 children are involved today in this devilish undertaking and in sex and pornographic movies which corrupt and twist the children's souls. The lack of spirituality and the immorality of contemporary America profoundly hurt any clean human soul, as we were told with sadness and grief in the course of our meetings with the best writers of the United States and a number of simple Americans.

I have deliberately mentioned in somewhat greater detail these unseemly features of the American way of life to make clearer the factual correlation between the two worlds, two ways of life, and two social systems, and a comparison based on the criteria of humanism and humaneness and what the Americans themselves describe as the quality of life, unfortunately far from always including within this concept the full volume of human values. It is only by considering the full scale and significance of this correlation and opposite trends of development of two so greatly different social systems, so powerfully described recently by Yuriy Bondarev in his novel "Bereg" [The Shore], that we could properly assess the role and significance of literature in our country.

In the novel "Bereg," whose action develops in two time levels, the times of peace and contemporaneity, the characters are engaged in an open debate with their former battlefield enemy. It is a question of the basic values of human life, and of the concept of peace which is most consistent with the aspirations and expectations of the people. In the course of this discussion, presented in terms of documents in the novel, the difference between these two opposite concepts of life and so different social systems becomes entirely clear. The writer claims that in the competition between them not only economic or military, but spiritual, moral positions and criteria are assuming ever greater importance in their competition. As shown in the novel, this is realized by both sides.

Dietzman, a West German publicist and literary critic, one of the characters in the novel, and the principal opponent in this debate against the Soviet writer Nikitin, is forced to acknowledge regretfully that the bourgeoisie in West Germany lives a killingly non-spiritual life. "The

philistines live in a stupifying world of goods and turn into soulless consumption machines. . . . Pragmaticism rules everything." Yet Dietzman blasphemously claims that the final objective of the socialist revolution is "refrigerators for all," and that, he tells the Soviet writer, after a certain number of years "in your country as well spiritual life will disappear: the car, apartment, suburban cottage, and refrigerator will become the gods, as in the West."

"The revolution is the rejection of immorality and the assertion of morality, i.e., of the faith in man and the struggle and, naturally, in conscience as a manual for action," the novel's character, the writer Nikitin, formerly an officer in the Soviet Army-liberator, answers Deitzman. This is a fierce debate against an ideological opponent in the course of which the essential differences appear between the society of real socialism and the so-called "consumer society," the bourgeois, grubbing, philistine, and soulless society.

The sharp energizing of the humanistic principles and, hence, the role and significance of literature in contemporary conditions is a sign of the times and a manifestation of the profound laws governing the development of socialism. Despite the full importance (and, occasionally, difficulties) of resolving material problems, to the Soviet person material prosperity is a necessary prerequisite, rather than a self-seeking aim. It is a necessary prerequisite for the all-round and full and harmonious development of the individual, rather than the purpose of the individual's life.

We must always remember this demarcation, clear and sharp like a razor-blade cut, separating the citizen from the philistine; as long as material goods are to you no more than a prerequisite for real human existence, you are a person. The moment material goods convert from a prerequisite into the purpose and meaning of life, you are a philistine, alienated from the true values of life.

The separation from and struggle against a consumerist attitude toward life under contemporary circumstances, when the level of material prosperity has risen sharply, when generations who have not experienced the trials of the hardships as we, participants in, or children of the war have known and who have not gone through the serious school of work because of the parents' soft-heartedness, are entering life, and when the West is trying to blind our spiritual eyes with the fool's gold of consumer tinsel, the struggle against a consumption mentality which denigrates and destroys the human soul becomes one of our main concerns.

In a word, our society gives priority to an entire set of reasons and, by the very nature of things, to problems of morality and humanism, problems of man and his place in life.

Under developed socialist conditions the party formulates and resolves the problems of moral upbringing as problems of primary political importance.

This is particularly important to us, writers, and to literature as a powerful and irreplaceable means for influencing the soul of man. As the party emphasizes, the moral factor, the moral criterion, and the moral attitude of every toiling person toward his work contain tremendous reserves for the development of the individual and society, and for its economic dynamics. This was quite clearly stated in the documents of the 24th and 25th party congresses, and the books by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], which recreate precisely this type, this character of the party worker and state leader who considers a moral approach and a vigorous moral position as his cornerstone.

The growing significance of spiritual-moral factors in the socialist society, as we progress, also determines the increased role of literature and art in our life. On the other hand, however, when we speak of the obvious growth of the social influence and prestige of the artistic word, we cannot ignore the fact that, despite its weaknesses and shortcomings, our literature touches certain very important aspects of the people's life and answers some vital problems and requirements of its time. The stress of spiritual-moral searches has turned Soviet literature in recent years into one of the richest and most interesting literatures of the contemporary world, determining the world's literary process. This is no exaggeration.

At the 25th CPSU Congress, describing the processes occurring in contemporary Soviet literature, among a number of other morality subjects, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev particularly singled out the following: "This has cost something, but the accomplishments have been great. The merit of our writers and artists is that they are trying to keep up the best qualities of man--his principle mindedness, honesty, and depth of feelings, based on the inviolable principles of our communist morality." The very fact that the congress paid such close attention to the problem of moral searches is significant. It proves both their significance and scale in our literature and the recognition of the important role which literature plays in the moral upbringing of the people, for this is an area of the life of the human spirit and soul which has priority.

Actually, moral search is mandatory in all true literature if it is literature, which means the study of human behavior. It is important to determine the specific nature of the moral search in Soviet literature today, at the contemporary stage of its development, in the social conditions and circumstances of mature socialism. Answering this question, we believe that we shall understand quite precisely this aspect--moral search and the assertion of moral and spiritual values--has acquired today, not only in literature, but in our entire society, such importance and significance. It would be difficult to agree to a narrow approach to the problem according to which there is a certain stream in our literature noted by moral search (as would be the case, arbitrarily speaking, of Yuriy Trifonov and other), as though separate from all other literature. The

characteristic of the present period in the development of our multinational literature is precisely the fact that today spiritual-moral search is covering an inordinately broad literary front, whether our writers turn to the Leninist topic or the topic of revolutionary history, the heroics of the Great Patriotic War, or the history of the building of socialism. Such search is comprehensive and varied, conducted with the help of a great variety of data. However, it is not self-seeking but is subordinated to an even nobler task: the ever fuller determination and assertion of the humanistic potential of the developed socialist society.

We have reached a level of social maturity in which it becomes obvious that the highest and eternal human values of the spirit and morality, searches for the meaning of life, spirituality, honor, truth, goodness, and the struggle of the human conscience are all our, specifically our values of true, i.e., socialist humanism, which we assert through the entire structure and way of our life and defend in a very intense ideological struggle.

A number of works have been written on this subject at different levels of artistry and depth, but all identically uncompromisingly oppose lack of spirituality and sharply raise the question of the danger of a spiritual vacuum, of those "black traces" in the human mind which are incompatible with our socialist way of life and our communist concept of man. A number of recent works have passionately and consistently struggled for reaching an understanding of the fact that a spiritual and moral vacuum is fatal to the individual and conflicts with the very nature of the socialist way of life.

Let us recall recent works such as "Belyy Parokhod" [White Steamship] by Chingiz Aytmatov, "Bereg" by Yuriy Bondarev, "Sotnikov" by Vasiliy Bykov, "Klavdiya Vilor" by Daniil Granin, "Posledniy Srok" [Last Period] and "Zhivi i Pomni" [Live and Remember] by Valentin Rasputin, "Blokada" [Blockade] by Aleksandr Chakovskiy, the stories of Vasiliy Shukshin, and the best novels of Yuriy Trifonov. All of them discuss the importance of truly human values to man and to our society. That is why such works belong to the literature of socialist realism, needed by mature and developed socialism, whose general characteristic, precisely, is a fuller, deeper, and clearer manifestation of its humanistic potential, the precise quality which Marx described as "real humanism."

As was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, the growth of material possibilities must be steadily paralleled by the increased ideological-moral and cultural standard of the people. Otherwise we could have recurrences of a philistine, a petit bourgeois mentality. That is why the anti-philistine pathos of many works published in recent years, the pathos of the struggle against recurrences of petit bourgeois mentality--grubbing, private ownership, social egotism, social indifference, and philistinism--deserves every possible support. This is the topic of works such as "Yuzhnoamerikanskiy Variant" [South American Gambit] by S. Zalygin, "I Eto Vse o Nem" [All This for Him] and "Igor' Savvovich" by V. Lipatov,

"Chuzhiye Den'gi" [Other People's Money] by A. Skalon, and many others. They fight the soullessness of philistinism and for the high values of real human existence and richness of the human spirit.

In work after work and book after book our literature is submitting persistently and consistently for public discussion the question of the significance of the spiritual and moral values to man and society and, particularly, to the Soviet person and the socialist society, showing and proving that without a profound and solid moral foundation the problem of molding the man of the communist future will not be resolved.

The scale and the very essence of this task determine the intensification of the philosophical potential of our literature and the more daring and the broader formulation of its basic problems and the problems of the human spirit and morality, such as the meaning of life, good and evil, and conscience--the "eternal" questions which, at each new turn in the historical spiral have faced every person and age as though anew, demanding their autonomous solution, based not only on the preceding experience of mankind, but on the new which life introduces in its continual motion. These questions are raised in contemporary Soviet literature within the context of a most intensive struggle against the ideological enemy and in terms of the social experience and way of life of the two confronting classes--the proletariat and the bourgeoisie--and the two social systems.

As moral searches intensify in literature together with collective investigation and self-investigation of their results, untimely, asocial, metaphysical, non-class solutions of the problems of values, formulated by some of our critics, become ever more discredited in contemporary literary thinking. Ideologically and philosophically immature attempts made by some critics to present morality as a certain self-satisfying value, accountable only to itself, i.e., separating the moral realm of human life and society from the real earth, from the "commonwealth," and from links with factual social and socialist reality, have met with no support.

Ever more deeply and persistently Soviet literature and critique are developing the Marxist-Leninist view of spiritual and moral values, offering a new solution to a seemingly "eternal" yet so current problem of social and specific historical ways. The literature of socialist realism does not see a solution to the basic problems of the human spirit outside our "mortal earth," in social reality, in the active efforts of the people building communism. It is the conviction of Soviet literature and criticism that outside such a real social ground the spiritual-moral range of contemporary problems becomes simply insoluble.

Our "rural," as the critics sometime call it, but in reality moral-philosophical prose plays a major role in the moral searches of contemporary Soviet literature, represented by such well-known names as A. Abramov, M. Alekseyev, V. Astaf'yev, V. Belov, I. Drutse, S. Krutilin, V. Likhonosov, G. Matevosyan, B. Mozhayev, Ye. Nosov, V. Rasputin,

V. Soloukhin, G. Troyepol'skiy, V. Shukshin, and others. In their best works, these writers have raised with great artistic power the question of the fate of the spiritual values of man and society in our tempestuous and fast-moving century, always trying to find the sources of the development of the human personality, and analyzing the moral aspects of human inter-relationships and civic responsibility for all life on earth.

It is largely thanks to this direction followed by our prose that contemporary literature and literary criticism have powerfully established and asserted in the social consciousness the principle of historicism in the approach to moral values, and have indicated the real foundations of the human moral values which have always been the base of the people's culture and morality, and which were developed after centuries of human toil and struggle on earth. This prose reminded us on time that without this truly earthly, real, and necessary foundation the basic moral problems of the century will not be resolved.

These artists based their solution of problems of human values on the inseparable link with the motherland, the native land and its people, and love and duty toward this land and this people. This is a reliable base for social morality in its democratic understanding, an understanding which determined the morality of the Decembrists and the people of the 1860's, the populists and the Narodovol'tsy, and the moral gains of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Nationality and historicism largely determine the spiritual-moral searches in contemporary Soviet prose and its substantial successes.

The best works of our prose deal with the countryside and show a social, a specific-historical approach to the problem of the moral life of the people. They study not only the historical foundations, but the complex and contradictory process of the shaping of the new morality in the deepest layers of popular life, a morality marked by the social, the creative activeness of the masses. This includes "Pryasliny" [The Praslines] by F. Abramov, "Posledniy Poklon" [The Last Bow] by V. Astaf'yev, "Solenaya Pad'" [Saline Dip] and "Komissiya" [Commission] by S. Zalygin, "Vechnyy Zov" [Eternal Call] by A. Ivanov, "Sibir'" [Siberia] by G. Markov, "Poleseskaya Khronika" [Poles'ye Chronicle] by I. Melezh, "Krov' i Pot" [Blood and Sweat] by A. Nurpeisov, "Sud'ba" [Fate] and "Imya Tvoye" [Your Name] by P. Proskurin, "Pamyat' Zemli" [Memory of the Land] by V. Fomenko, "Bereg Vetrov" [Windy Shore] by A. Khint, and many others. The people's laboring morality is studied here in its development and enrichment with new social principles, the principles which originated with the class revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses and the Russian proletariat.

This socio-class specific historical view developed in our literature and criticism in the course of the arguments and struggle against the two extremes: the nihilistic attitude toward the heritage of the people's working morality and the idealizing of history and the non-social, non-class approach to the spiritual-moral legacy of the past. This position



rejects both relativism and nihilism in terms of human moral values, as well as the abstract-humanistic interpretation of such values which separates them from their social, class, specific-historical foundations.

Throughout those years our literature persistently progressed toward the correct, the dialectical interpretation of the correlation between the human and the class aspects of morality, categorically rejecting ethical relativism and abstract humanism. Here any absolutizing or metaphysical contra-position is dangerous, and so is even the slightest confusion of emphasis. The essence here lies not in denying the simple forms of morality and justice, but interpreting them from the positions of the class struggle of the proletariat in a life which asserts the human norms of morality as the factual real rules governing relations between people and nations.

Abstract humanism and its danger and limitations lie not in acknowledging the significance of universal moral norms developed by the people's masses over the millenia, but the in the separation of human moral values from the class struggle and the revolution, and from the real practice of the struggle for socialism and communism. True, i.e., socialist humanism does not reject universal values but gives them a specific historical interpretation, organically combining morality with the struggle of the people, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, for a communist future.

However, to this day not everyone shares the idea that abstract humanism does not lie in the least in acknowledging the tremendous significance to all people of truth, goodness, and justice, but in the idealistic, the non-social interpretation of such categories, and that the Marxist-Leninist, the socio-class understanding of morality does not eliminate, as Lenin wrote, the freedom of a moral choice or the human conscience. I refer as an example to the article by N. Azarov in which he defends the humanistic heritage of the outstanding educator V. A. Sukhomlinskiy from vulgar-dogmatic attacks.

There have also been recurrences of an abstract-humanistic approach to problems of morality, frequently linked to the "cost" paid on the subject of morality and moral search, mentioned at the 25th CPSU Congress by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. They are noted most frequently precisely when the moral area in literature is artificially narrowed and separated, to one or another extent, from the reality which surrounds us.

The local understanding of morality, which reduces it only to individual virtues, leads to the fact that, occasionally, attempts are being made to resolve in literature the most complex moral problems and spiritual questions of our time merely on the basis of purely individual relations among people, beyond the range of the basic civic realm of activities of the modern man--his accomplishments, and his labor--and beyond the range of our social reality, or else also generally on the basis of the principle of "non-involvement" in it.

Supporting the need for action, goodness, honor, conscience, humaneness, and all simple norms of human morality, the literature of socialist realism presumes the type of inner development of man which would lead him to developing as a truly human individual and, consequently, a social individual, and the formulation of an all-embracing socially active life stance. A person becomes a personality only when his individual morality develops into civic morality, and his individual honesty to civic honesty. It is no accident that Belinskiy considered civic convictions the crowning point of human education.

It is important for the movement from the emotional reaching of good and evil and basic moral truths to communist outlook and a social interpretation of the processes of life and the conscious determination of one's civic place in it become natural and organic, so that the system of ideological convictions be experienced and achieved internally, and that the progressive ideas of the time become not abstract knowledge, but profoundly personal, an inner conviction, and a manual for life, work, action, and struggle.

A number of books by our writers may be named (let us name among the recently published "Gori, Gori Yasno" [Burn, Burn Bright] and "Pozhivem-Uvidim" [We Shall See Later] by the young prose writer A. Krivonosov) which make a profound study of this "second," civic development of the individual. The molding of the citizen is a long, slow dialectical process in which a number of factors, influences, and indirect influences interact, including the moral foundations of the individual, labor training and outlook, and human convictions.

Communist civic mindedness is inseparable from morality. Furthermore, civic mindedness stems from morality, enriched with toil for the good of man and the work of the mind and the sociopolitical outlook, which in turn becomes an idea-feeling, a conviction, an inner law of moral behavior. Being a citizen begins with the awareness of being a moral personality, rising in the course of inner development to the position of a convinced patriot of the socialist fatherland, personally responsible for everything around him. Our concept of an active life stance of the individual, the character of life and literature, is based on the profound foundations of the truly human morality and the lofty principles of the human spirit.

Growing from the great humanistic tradition of mankind and, particularly, the humanistic tradition of Russian literature, the Russian liberation movement, and the principle of an active position in life, under socialist conditions the individual has gained a new life and new opportunities, and consequently a new destiny.

The social, meaningful, and highly conscientious activity of the individual in the struggle for justice, truth, goodness, beauty, and lofty and beautiful ideals--is this not the main feature which the revolution and socialism introduce into the morality of the people?! Are not the organic blend of

universal moral values and an active life stance of the individual in the struggle for the implementation of such values and for real humanism not the very essence of communist morality? Let us recall in this connection Lenin's definition: "Communist morality is based on the struggle for the strengthening and completion of communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 313).

Turning to the times of the revolution and Civil War, the history of the building of socialism, and the heroic epoch of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar restoration, continuing in the traditions of Gor'kiy, Mayakovskiy, Fadeyev, A. Tolstoy, Furmanov, N. Ostrovskiy, Tvardovskiy, Simonov, and Fedin, inspired by the unfading example of Sholokhov and Leonov, extended the gallery of socially active and highly civic characters whose personality is determined by the extent of their consciousness, feeling of party mindedness, and organic ties with the people, and their attitude toward the most noble social duty--the struggle for the strengthening and completion of communism.

Such are M. Sholokhov's Davydov, L. Leonov's Professor Vikhrov, P. Nilin's Ven'ka Malyshev, Ch. Iytmatov's teacher Dyuysheh, S. Zalygin's Chief Commissar Meshcheryakov, K. Simonov's Serpilin, V. Bykov's Sotnikov, Yu. Bondarev's Lieutenant Knyazhko. . . . These are characters of unbribeable morality and highest possible spirituality, of inseparable unity of word and action and convictions and deeds.

The way to spirituality and to the interpretation of human existence passes, today as well, above all through the awareness of man of his social and civic position in life and the realized possibility to make his individual contribution to the common cause, to think and act the statesman, and to assume an active life stance on the most important social and production processes, and display civic courage in the struggle for the national interest.

In both life and literature the spiritual, the moral position is asserted in the course of labor and struggle, and in the confrontation of civic and social passions. This position in literature--an interest in the civic sphere of contemporary labor--is today the most promising and the future belongs to it. It helps to assert in life and literature the characters of people with an active life stance, civic honesty, and civic courage as the necessary air to breathe today.

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## COMPONENTS OF PRODUCTION INTENSIFICATION

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[Article by A. Baranov, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] The most essential feature of the intensive development of the national economy is the nature of the used productive capital and its technical and economic level. The higher this level becomes the more the productive capital used is consistent with the contemporary achievements of science and technology, and the higher the intensification of public production becomes. The 25th party congress noted that in the course of the implementation of our national economic plans we must "achieve high quality shifts in the structure and technical standard of the national economy, and substantially change its very appearance." This presumes the faster development of science and the extensive use of its achievements in practice, improvements in capital construction and the comprehensive development of all intensification components. The need to accelerate production intensification was emphasized in the decisions of the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum and the decrees of the Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the further perfecting of the economic mechanism.

### I

The use of effective productive capital as the basis for intensification is possible only thanks to the steady progress of science and technology and the extensive application of the results of scientific research in the national economy. "The party's economic policy," the 25th congress noted, "stems from the fact that in order to develop the national economy through intensification it is necessary for the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution to be organically linked with the advantages of the socialist economic system." Today priority is given to the quality aspect--upgrading the effectiveness of scientific work itself and improving its organization. That is why the development of science as well must be intensive, in which the activities of scientific workers are directed to the solution of major national economic problems and to achieving radical production improvements.

Unfortunately, in some important scientific and production sectors there is a waste of forces. The necessary statesmanlike approach to the work, as is required by the party, is not insured. Let us take a major problem such as the production of equipment for lifting-transportation and warehousing operations. It is precisely in such operations that manual labor predominates. Yet the development of means for their mechanization and automation has been the concern of tens of departments, which however have a poor scientific and production base. The head ministry--the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building--and its scientific, design, and production subunits are creating, designing, and manufacturing only one-fifth of this output. The share of the other ministries entrusted with the production of such equipment is equally modest: the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, Ministry of Automotive Industry, and Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry. Because of this the national economy is experiencing an acute shortage of such mechanization facilities, particularly in the areas of trackless transportation, modern sets of warehousing equipment utilizing computers, and many others.

Ferrous metallurgy enterprises are encountering great difficulties in developing automated control systems for technological processes (ASUTP) which yield substantial savings. The trouble is that, in addition to scientific research subdivisions of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy itself, four other ministries are involved in the installation of ASUTP in the sector, the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, and Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry. Each of them is doing its share of the work. The difficulty is that no proper coordination has been established among them. For this reason, many metallurgical units are not equipped with modern, automated control systems. Naturally, this is reflected in the level of metallurgical labor productivity and the quality of the goods produced.

The more clear specialization of scientific institutions yields great results. It makes it possible to eliminate duplication in the work and direct the scientists to work on problems in whose solution the national economy is interested. The implementation of this measure is facilitated by the fact that such experience has already been acquired by a number of industrial sectors. This is exemplified by the scientific organizations of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry. Each of them has specialized in a specific area, for which reason, despite the huge variety of goods produced by the sector, long-term comprehensive plans have been drawn up for upgrading the technical standards of all commodities. The target approach to planning and development of technical progress and the combination of scientific and production efforts are yielding good results. From the beginning of the experiment in the sector, initiated in 1969, the share of superior quality goods rose from 3% in 1972 to 42.9% in 1978, while the share of second category goods declined from 6.5% to 0.6%. The experience of the electrical industry personnel should be applied to the other production sectors.

Scientific developments are completed sooner in the complex institutes which combine scientific research with the designing of new equipment and creation of experimental prototypes, such as the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye. O. Paton, Gipronikel' and others. This objective is pursued also by many scientific-production associations whose establishment was based on the progressive principle of the combined nature and comprehensiveness of the planning of scientific developments and their execution. In accordance with the Regulation on the Scientific-Production Association, here planning and financing cover the entire work process from scientific research to preparations for the production of new items and the mastering of new technological processes.

The success of scientific research and labor productivity of specialists is largely determined by the quantity and quality of scientific equipment, instruments, materials, and so on, available. Nevertheless, in a number of cases a situation develops in which the level of technical facilities in some institutes is very low, while in others scientific equipment, complex equipment in particular, is not used at full capacity. A partial solution to this problem may be the creation of computer centers for collective use, cost-accounting laboratories, and the organization of bases for the manufacturing of complex and expensive equipment, as exemplified by the scientific institutes of the Ministry of Chemical Industry.

Perfecting the material incentive offered scientific workers, based on their contribution to science and technology, remains a topical problem. One of the means for the solution of this problem is the dissemination of the incentive system used by the Scientific Research Physical-Chemical Institute imeni Karlov. Following the introduction of the new system, here, as in other scientific centers in the country, the responsibility of the scientific associates for the development and application of completed research projects, and for the personal contribution of every scientist to the work of the entire collective, has increased. Naturally, further studies are required in this direction.

The strengthening of research subunits at big enterprises will also contribute to the development of scientific research. Recent practical experience has indicated that the number of scientists directly involved in production is growing and that their contribution to the development of topical problems of scientific and technical progress is increasing.

The participation of scientists working in higher schools could be a major reserve for the development of basic and applied research. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree passed last year on this subject directs the collectives of VUZ's to become more actively involved in the development of topical scientific and technical problems. It is based on the existing experience of VUZ scientific collectives such as Moscow University imeni Lomonosov, the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute imeni Kalinin, the Leningrad Technological Institute imeni Lensovet, and many others. Here the volume of work involving research in each of them is estimated at tens

of millions of rubles. All in all, scientific research in VUZ's under the republic administration of the RSFSR and 55 VUZ's of the Ministry of Agriculture, operating on RSFSR territory, involves the participation of over 155,000 professors and teachers, 21,000 post-graduate students, and 800,000 students. The overall economic result of the utilization of the scientific research developments of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education totaled 950 million rubles in 1978. The proper scientific activity of higher school scientists, skillfully organized and combined with the training-education process, is an important means for raising the theoretical standard of education, and developing in the students an inclination for research as well as their scientific and dialectical-materialistic outlook.

The fate of scientific and technical progress in one or another sector is determined, in the final account, at the enterprise--where the scientists' scientific developments are applied. The application of scientific ideas is the final stage of this tremendous work, for which reason it demands special attention. Scientific research is not a self-seeking aim. What makes it valuable is that the results achieved are applied in practice, in the national economy.

In recent years the efforts to apply the most important achievements of science and technology in production have been noticeably energized in industry and other economic sectors. This work has become the target of planning. As of 1976 ministries, departments, and councils of ministers of union republics have been setting planned assignments concerning the share of superior quality goods, lowering of material outlays, raising the level of labor mechanization, use of new technology, and use of equipment of higher unit capacity. This measure has contributed to the production of high-quality goods based on improved industrial equipment and technology. Experience has indicated that the majority of industrial ministries are coping with the corresponding state assignments, even though in some of them the share of superior category goods was planned for a rather level. As a result, in 1978 it accounted for 28.5% at the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building enterprises, 32.8% at enterprises of the Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, and 37.5% at the enterprises of the Ministry of Automotive Industry. These figures represent the adamant efforts of a number of enterprises to improve their output on the basis of the latest scientific and technical accomplishments.

However, the utilization of science in the national economy must be improved further. It has been estimated that only 30 to 50% of completed scientific developments are applied in production, and that in some sectors these indicators are even lower. The time which it takes a scientific idea to reach the level of industrial utilization remains long. For this reason the 25th party congress noted that "the revolution in science and technology requires radical changes in the style and methods of economic activities, a decisive struggle against sluggishness and routine, true respect for science, and the ability and desire to take its advice and take

it into consideration. It calls for improving planning and economic incentive in order to create conditions which will contribute to the fullest extent to the fastest possible traveling of new ideas along the entire chain from invention to mass production, and reliably block the production of obsolete goods."

An entire set of comprehensive measures is needed for the implementation of such stipulations--organizational, economic, and planning. The all-round development of experimental bases is of major importance among them. There still are many enterprises whose experimental shops and sectors are engaged in the production of the basic items instead of carrying out their specific functions. The building of new experimental production facilities is conducted slowly. The plans are not being fulfilled, even though capital investments for such purposes account for a relatively low share of one-two percent of investments in the sector.

Planning is a powerful lever for strengthening the alliance between science and production. The plan for new equipment must not simply be linked with the enterprise's production program, but be the base of all activities of the collective in the field of production improvements and of increasing labor productivity. It is inadmissible that a still substantial number of enterprises, while successfully coping with the production program, fail to fulfill new equipment assignments. This means that the necessary connection is lacking between the two sections of the technical-industrial-financial plan, and that the plan for new equipment itself, and the measures it stipulates, occasionally have no substantial influence on the technical and economic standards of the enterprise.

Let us consider the use of economic incentives for technical progress. We know that the implementation of measures for the application of new equipment yields major economic results which are steadily growing. In seven years (1971-1977) they increased from 2.6 billion rubles per year to 4.2 billion, i.e., more than 50%. The number of relatively released workers as well rose from 399,000 to 543,000. Annual profits rose as well. However, naturally, average indicators do not accurately reflect the results of this work at all enterprises. In a number of cases the new goods proved to be more expensive than the old, already mastered goods. Yet this is justified only when the new equipment is more complex and effective, and of better quality. In such cases production outlays inevitably rise. However, the basic price-setting principle must be absolutely observed: prices must drop per unit of useful effect. This is far from always the case. It frequently happens that the price itself is unable to compensate for all mastering outlays. Otherwise the goods will become unprofitable to the consumer. In such cases mastering outlays must be covered out of special funds set up for such purposes. It is important to emphasize here that not only incentive measures but economic penalties must be made effective, such as lowering prices of morally obsolete goods, along with measures of administrative influence on those who stick to their habits and are unwilling to be in step with the times.



In our view specialization in application work, the creation of organizations, enterprises, and associations whose function would be the application of technical innovations at their own or related sectorial enterprises, appears promising. In particular, this conclusion is reached in studying the work of the specialized Soyuztekhnostka Association, which is engaged in the production of general purpose-assembled and movable equipment for machine-building enterprises. Its use reduces the time of preparations for the production of new commodities by a factor of two or three and makes the repeated use of the assembled attachments possible. Savings resulting from the concentration of the production of equipment and the centralization of application totaled 164 million rubles in the past five-year plan; this five-year plan the figure should increase by one-half. This also saves the efforts of designers and metal, and releases industrial areas.

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" calls for the implementation of an entire system of measures for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the national economy. Comprehensive planning at all stages in the solution of most important scientific and technical problems, the increased role of standards, intensified control of technical standards and production quality, and the creation of a single science and technology development fund by ministries and departments, along with other measures, will contribute to the substantial and fast renovation of output and its development on an intensive basis.

## II

The nature and pace of socialist intensification largely depend on the policy of capital investments and on the way the stipulations of the law of socialist accumulations and the law of the planned and proportional development of the national economy are met.

The socialist ownership of productive capital and planned economic management have a decisive influence on the improvement of the material and technical base of socialism. Accumulation becomes the most important instrument of the planned improvement of the structure of the national economy, its balanced development, and the comprehensive utilization of intensive economic growth factors.

The influence of production intensification on socialist accumulation is comprehensive. As one of the means for upgrading production effectiveness it contributes to reducing the share of accumulations in the national income, and consequently the absolute and relative growth of consumption. On the other hand, based on new and the latest technology, intensification calls for maintaining the accumulations fund on a sufficiently high level. Society must be always concerned with having the production apparatus of industry, agriculture, and other economic sectors reflect contemporary

scientific and technical achievements. In this connection, we consider as unsubstantiated the view that under the conditions of intensive production the share of accumulations may be reduced to an insignificant value and a transition to simple reproduction carried out. In the final account, the growth of the living standards of the people itself, if considered not only from the viewpoint of immediate results, but of the long-range needs of the people, depends not only on the share of the national income going into current consumption at a given moment, but also on the share which goes to accumulations, to the creation of capacities for the production of a variety of consumer goods. Today the Soviet people would not have a number of modern goods at their disposal (television sets, refrigerators, washing machines, and other household equipment) as well as highly productive equipment for sectors producing consumer goods, had the production capacities not been created in the past in the group A industrial sectors, and had the necessary resources not been appropriated for the purpose.

The pursuit of the production-intensification course is achieved through the investment process, in the course of which new enterprises are built, and existing enterprises and production facilities are modernized, technically retooled, and reconstructed. The scales and effectiveness of this work are confirmed by the following data: In the past five-year plan alone industrial productive capital rose by 130 billion rubles, or 51%. Meanwhile, the total savings achieved as a result of the growth of labor productivity and lowered material intensiveness of goods exceeded by about one-half all outlays for the creation of new capital assets in industry. Therefore, the redemption of funds for capital construction in our country is rather high.

Industry is participating ever more actively in shaping the material structure of capital investments in the national economy. About one-half of the machine-building and ferrous metallurgy output, approximately 80% of the output of the construction-materials industry, over one-third of the output of the timber, cellulose-paper, and timber-processing industry, and about 20% of the chemical-industry output are used for such purposes. Within the overall volume of resources channeled into the accumulation of productive and working capital, industrial products accounted for about one-third. This is an important indicator of economic intensification, proving the increasing growth of the production of raw and other materials of industrial origin and of agricultural raw materials subject to industrial processing.

The intensification of the investment process is achieved through several means. The principal one among them is the utilization of the results of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution in accordance with the tasks of the given stage of the building of communism. The effectiveness of the newly created productive capital is confirmed, among other things, by the fact that during the past five-year plan the highest growth of labor productivity, compared with the two preceding five-year plans, was achieved in industry--34% as compared with 32% in the Eighth and 25% in the Seventh Five-Year plans.

A growing share of capital investments is channeled into quality improvements of production facilities and goods. Thus according to the Institute of Economics of the Central Scientific Research Institute of Ferrous Metallurgy, the share of capital investments in the sector used for such purposes in recent five-year plans was as follows (in percentages):

|  | <u>1961-1965</u> | <u>1966-1970</u> | <u>1971-1975</u> | <u>1976-1980</u> |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Total . . . . .  | 100              | 100              | 100              | 100              |
| Including:   |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Improved Quality and Expanded Variety of Metal Goods . . . | 17.8             | 21.8             | 21.9             | 27.0             |
| Of These:  |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Fourth Conversion and Quality Upgrading Shops . . . . .    | 7.0              | 9.0              | 10.3             | 14.2             |
| Steel Pipes . . . . .                                      | 6.9              | 8.1              | 7.7              | 7.8              |
| Metal Goods . . . . .                                      | 2.9              | 4.7              | 3.9              | 5.0              |

Modern big machines and machine units are being created. This makes it possible to reduce general and specific capital investments. In ferrous metallurgy as a whole the increased average capacity of machine units has insured the lowering of general capital investments by five percent each five-year period compared with the previous five-year period. Here we must point out that even though there have been changes for the better in the structure of the production of metal goods, the project is merely at its beginning. The country's national economy is still experiencing shortages of modern types of metal goods, and metal processing losses remain high.

Formulating the most efficient means for expanded reproduction in the national economy, the party relies on the expansion and reconstruction of existing enterprises and is focusing resources on the completion of already initiated projects in order to accelerate investment returns. The problem is that in the course of planning capital investments a proper ratio be secured between newly initiated construction projects and those which are approaching their time of commissioning or whose construction stage has already by completed. The excessively large number of projects under construction, as well as the lack of necessary materials violate the proportionality of the national economy and hinder the normal course of the reproduction cycle.

Practical experience has indicated that the various elements of the productive capital of a single enterprise have different service periods, as a result of which it is possible to use the still suitable capital assets by

replacing obsolete elements. This is the reason for the objective need for reconstruction. Also important is the fact that stable cadres have already been developed at the existing enterprises, some of which, released as new equipment is installed, could be used in the expanded or reconstructed production sectors. Let us add to this that reconstruction outlays are recovered within a shorter time compared with new construction.

Under contemporary conditions the importance of work at existing enterprises related to upgrading production quality, comprehensive utilization of raw materials, and the protection of the water and air environments become particularly important. Reconstruction radically changes not only the aspect of small and medium size enterprises, but of industrial giants, such as the Kirovskiy Plant, Magnitka, ZIL, and others. It is indicative that the share of capital investments for the reconstruction, expansion, and technical retooling of existing enterprises has grown within the overall volume of state capital investments in industrial projects.

However, new construction as well is consistent with the interests of further production intensification. It is necessary whenever it is a question of the use of essentially new equipment and tools, the better location of production forces, and improvements in the sectorial production structure. The construction of enterprises is also needed in the development of new mineral deposits. Extensive construction takes place in sectors whose output is being rapidly increased, such as the electric power industry (approximately 90% of all capital investments), the natural gas industry (over 80%), and chemistry and petrochemistry (over 70%, including expansion of production facilities).

Production intensification is secured by the targeted use of capital investments and the conversion from "base" planning to planning the growth of specific types of commodities needed by the national economy. This increases the responsibility of sectorial workers for the proper utilization of capital investments and for reducing the volume of unfinished construction. This objective could be helped by converting industrial sectors to total cost accounting, as exemplified by the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems. The 10-year experience acquired by this ministry in working on the basis of total self-financing, including outlays for expanded reproduction, has confirmed the high effectiveness of this measure. The decree on improving planning and the economic mechanism allows the industrial ministries (as they become ready) to set up fixed withholding norms from profits for financing capital investments, repaying bank loans, and other sectorial expenditures. This provides an objective base for their conversion to total cost accounting. Also serving the objectives of the intensification of the investment process are measures stipulated in the decree aimed at accelerating the commissioning of production capacities and upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments as the conversion to new planning indicators of construction output; introduction of account settling between customers and contractors for completed construction and delivered enterprises, priority

complexes, sequences, and projects ready to begin production; expanding the role of credit, including the practice of Stroybank crediting the construction of enterprises delivered ready for work; perfecting the material and technical support of construction projects; and introducing progressive methods of production organization and material incentive for construction and assembly workers.

The acceleration of the construction process and its intensification directly depend on strengthening the material and technical base of the construction industry, raising the level of mechanization of construction work, and improving the organization of labor at construction sites and projects.

The building of industrial sites is a complex process. In addition to the construction workers, it involves the direct participation of the personnel of scientific research and planning-design organizations, ministry-customers, collectives of machine-building enterprises, construction industry plants, and material and technical supply organs. In order to insure their coordinated work the activities of all those in charge of the construction project must be coordinated. Otherwise numerous consultations and related time losses and slowed down pace of development are inevitable. Frequently less time is spent on designing, building, or manufacturing equipment than in coordinating the joint activities of all interested organizations.

In this connection, the time combination of the various stages of the construction process could yield considerable economic results: designing and construction, installation of equipment and of plant elements which, under usual conditions, are done sequentially. This construction method is expedient in sectors experiencing fast technological changes in which each year of construction delays could be of decisive significance, since within that time a great deal of the equipment and the technology may become obsolete. The main thing under such circumstances is time gains, and the fast and operative restructuring of the production process in accordance with the latest scientific and technical achievements. Both domestic and foreign experience proves that this considerably reduces the time for the construction of industrial projects and accelerates output.

The experience in the building of the Volga and Kama automotive plants, the Baykal-Amur Main Line, and other major projects proves that the project must have a single owner bearing full responsibility for it, from beginning to end. The situation which has developed at a number of construction projects in which, along with the general contractor, tens of subcontracting organizations are working on a practically independent basis, does not insure the coordination of their actions. Such full owner does not have to be necessarily the construction organization. In sectors where a high share of the work involves production and installation of equipment (chemistry, petrochemistry, petroleum refining, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and others), such functions may be assumed by the engineering

machine-building firm. The implementation of even part of such functions by the machine builders, the complete procurement of equipment at construction projects, in particular, yields great savings. Thus in the Ninth Five-Year Plan the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building was able to save in excess of one billion rubles. At individual construction projects, where the architectural expressiveness of the plant or the installations is particularly important, the designer may be the general contractor. Currently his functions are reduced to only authorship control.

### III

Insuring the comprehensive development of the economy of the entire country and of its individual areas is a necessary prerequisite for intensive economic growth and for utilizing the advantages of socialism.

V. I. Lenin paid great attention to the comprehensive development of the national economy. He considered that the task of economics was "to present the individual aspects and phenomena of contemporary economic life as components of a specific public economic system . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 37). He frequently demanded the use of this approach in practical work. Here is an example: In 1929 Lenin wrote the following to A. P. Serebrovskiy, chairman of the Azneft Board: "Here is another question: Is the question of petroleum properly formulated in Baku from the viewpoint of coordinating the various aspects of the national economy? The region is extremely rich. It has timber, it has fertile (if irrigated) land, and so on. We are water pumping water (with petroleum) without using this water for irrigation, which would yield huge crops of hay, rice, and cotton. We are not using the 'north wind' to power windmill motors. Naturally, the main thing is food and irrigation. Could we develop a petroleum industry without developing irrigation and farming around Baku? Are those who work in and on this thinking about it as they should?" (ibid, vol 52, p 124).

Lenin drew attention to the need to use the essentially as yet untouched natural resources of western Siberia, the southeast, and other parts of the country. On his initiative, the study of the mineral resources of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly was undertaken. ". . . We have here," he pointed out, "an almost probably unparalleled resource which could turn upside down all metallurgy" (ibid, vol 54, p 227). The development and implementation of many most important national economic projects were undertaken in the very first years of the Soviet system.

Guided by Lenin's instructions, our party followed the principle of comprehensiveness with the very first long-term plans, including the GOELRO Plan, which organically combined the development of the electric power industry, metallurgy, agriculture, machine building, and other economic sectors. ". . . The USSR," the First Five-Year Plan stipulated, "cannot build and develop its national economy unless it takes fully into consideration all natural, economic, and national characteristics of its vast union and

specializes its individual sections. This is the only way to achieve the highest social labor effectiveness coefficient."

The comprehensive development of the economy presumes the simultaneous and interrelated growth, not only of any given, even though leading and important, production sector, but of other related sectors for whose development the necessary conditions are available in the specific area. This is the base for the rational utilization of natural resources and the growth of social labor productivity. For example, developing the petroleum and gas industries under the conditions of western Siberia, we must not fail to consider the simultaneous utilization of the timber, fishing, and other resources of that vast area, and of their usefulness to our entire society.

Ignoring the levels of social and technical development, labor productivity and differences in its standards will prove to be related to natural conditions and their own differences. Therefore, the sensible specialization of the various areas in the production of specific goods, in accordance with available natural resources and their comprehensive and full utilization, becomes an absolute prerequisite for proper intensive economic management.

Another feature of comprehensive development is the necessary coordination in the expansion of production capacities and infrastructural projects, such as roads, warehousing facilities, communications lines, etc. Practical experience shows that lagging in the development of infrastructural projects frequently triggers production arrhythmia and results in unjustified losses and the under utilization of equipment and manpower and other resources. Conversely, timely concern and attention for such "rear production lines" result in considerable savings. It has been estimated that each ruble invested in the building of highways in the Nonchernozem Zone of RSFSR saves 4.3 rubles in state and kolkhoz funds.

An important feature of comprehensive development is the building, together with enterprises, of the production infrastructure, such as housing, schools, cultural-consumer institutions, and trade enterprises. Typical of the new industrial centers is the new cities and worker settlements built around them. Noril'sk in the Extreme North, Shevchenko, in the Caspian area, Naberezhnyye Chelny on the Kama, and Komsomol'sk-na-Amury are not only new enterprises, but new socialist-type cities. They are stages in our heroic history and visual proofs of the labor exploits of the various generations of the builders of communism.

The development of production and of the non-production sphere is closely interlinked. One determines the other and depends on it. The time is long gone when concern for the daily bread dominated everything, forcing us to tolerate hard living conditions and poor cultural recreation, particularly for young people, and a shortage of children's institutions. Today requirements are different. No economic manager could be found to state

that my business is production, let others deal with life amenities. Yet the force of habit is still apparent here and there: occasionally the building of industrial projects is undertaken on bare land without modern housing, cultural institutions, or service enterprises. Apparent savings turn into substantial losses: the new production facilities become short of cadres and the installed capacities become underutilized.

It is thus that life, the practice of the building of socialism, has brought together seemingly disparate facets of economic and social life, making them closely interdependent, and strengthening their dialectical ties with the iron logic of social development. Naturally, the fact that in recent years the possibilities of our economy have broadened immeasurably has played an important role in this respect. What was inaccessible only 10 to 15 years ago is now reality. For example, the shift method of servicing the deposits is gathering strength at the oil and natural gas deposits in Western Siberia. The exploitation brigade goes to the field from the settlement located 500-600 or more kilometers away, where all conditions for normal life are available. Working its stipulated period of time, it goes back to its permanent residents, replaced by the next shift. The meaning of this? It eliminates the need for building a settlement at each oil field and resettling the people permanently in conditions of a severe northern climate, away from the big cities and from anything considered part of modern standard of life.

Let this today be considered merely the beginning, the initial experiments, which like any new project involve difficulties. However, the future belongs to them, and this future is ever more persistently making its way wherever the possibility arises for the creation of comprehensive-mechanized and automated production not requiring large numbers of people whose functions are reduced to control, observation, and maintenance of operating equipment.

So far comprehensive mechanization and automation far from covers all production processes. Yet the need for it is becoming ever more urgent. It is particularly needed in the northern and eastern parts of the country because of manpower shortages and because the creation of the necessary living and housing conditions for retaining cadres cost the state considerably more than in the central and southern areas. The north needs quite urgently powerful construction and earth-removal equipment and the best possible transport facilities which could operate at low temperatures at which assemblies and parts made of conventional metals fail.

In this connection, the current five-year plan calls for the increased production of machines for the north. New types of machines and equipment are being developed. About 30 models and types of construction and road machinery--excavators, bulldozers, scrapers, graders, snow plows, construction, power, road, and self-propelled cranes, cement tankers, and snow trucks--have been created by the enterprises and the scientific research and design organizations of the Ministry of Construction, Road, and



Municipal Machine Building alone. The production of machines for the north is growing at a faster pace. Unfortunately, in other sectors the necessary attention is still not being paid to this work.

The building of entire systems of big enterprises, including everything required for human life--national economic complexes--has developed in the immense spaces of the West Siberian Depression, along the Angar River, the upper reaches of the Yenisey, along the Irtysh River in Kazakhstan, in the European North, the center of the country, and the area of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly. The Soviet people are entering the new areas like thrifty owners; the wealth of Siberia and the Far East, Central Asia, and Kazakhstan belongs not only the present but the future generations of our people. Hence the concern of the party and the Soviet state for applying such resources to an ever greater extent to the building of communism.

The CC CPSU and government decree calls for the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems, rational combination of sectorial with territorial planning, and increasing, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, the role of the local organs in insuring the harmonious development of the economies of union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons.

Socialist production is developing not for the sake of production. Its main purpose is to create material conditions for the further comprehensive development of the toiling person. The course charted toward intensive development facilitates the solution of this important social problem and insures the further enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

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## DIVISION OF LABOR AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE

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

[Text] In the course of the building of socialism the USSR developed a tremendous economic potential and huge material resources. At the end of 1979 productive capital was worth over one trillion rubles and nearly one-third of it will have been renovated. Taking this growth of the possibilities of our economy and the logic of development of the mature socialist society into consideration, at its 24th and 25th congresses the party formulated an economic strategy based on a course toward intensification and orientation of all planning and economic activities toward national-economic end results.

This strategy determines the concept of economic growth, which is that along with the further growth of material resources the center of gravity shifts to the creation of organizational, structural, and technical prerequisites for systematic production intensification--the fullest and most effective utilization of available production resources and saving on outlays and reducing losses at all stages in the production and turnover of the social product. We must also take fully into consideration the time factor, insuring the accelerated reproduction process. Great attention to such problems was paid in the November 1979 decree of the CC CPSU Plenum and the plenum speech delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary.

The most important link in the development and implementation of this strategy is the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers July 1979 decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality." Among a number of most important directions to be followed for improving all planning work, it particularly singles out "the choice of the most effective means for achieving high national-economic end results"; "elimination of losses in the national economy"; "proper definition of priorities in the development of sectors and economic rayons for insuring progressive changes in national economic ratios." In this connection, priority is given to the development

of the set of sectors which provide general conditions for production development and perform multiple functions in servicing the entire reproduction process. Their purpose is to insure the uninterrupted and planned acceleration of all stages of this process; the development of complex intersectorial and intrasectorial relations and the multiple shifts in production facilities and in end products they define (including storage and warehousing); gathering, processing, and transmittal of huge and growing amounts of information; minimizing losses and preserving the consumer qualities of all utilized resources and produced goods, etc.

This set of sectors legitimately arises as a result of the steady progress of the social division of labor, expressed in the steady creation, at all levels and in all material production units, of basic and service functions and, subsequently, of subdivisions. Such a natural and developing division of labor, as long as it does not exceed the boundaries of the primary production unit--the enterprise--consists of the basic and auxiliary shops and services which, performing multiple servicing functions, have not as yet become structural subdivisions in social production. Further specialization, together with technical retooling and gradual organizational autonomy, lead to their reorganization and the development of separate sectors, the totality of which is known as the production infrastructure.

The significance and tasks of this complex may be judged by the scales of material resources used in the course of the social production process and, correspondingly, the significance of the losses which may appear at any of its stages. In 1977 the country produced 1.7 billion tons of fuel (in conventional units), 248 million tons of iron and manganese ore, 147 million tons of steel, 127 million tons of cement, 922 million cubic meters of non-mineral construction materials, 96.8 million tons of chemical fertilizers, and many hundreds of millions of tons of agricultural goods. This is a very partial list of the raw materials, materials, and products which must be moved, frequently at considerable distances and on time, store and protect from losses, and so on.

One of the most important tasks of the infrastructure is the gradual release of basic production enterprises from performing service functions and focusing their attention and efforts on improving basic activities with the support of the services provided by specialized enterprises and sectors. This would make it possible simultaneously to raise the quality of auxiliary and service operations. This is a major contribution made by the infrastructure to the progress of the division of labor. The condition and the technical and organizational standards of the infrastructure also determine the mobility of the economy and the possibility for its fast adaptation to changing circumstances.

The strategic significance of the problem of the development of the infrastructure faces the science of economics with major demands. Economics must define the functions and place of the infrastructure within the national economic system, establish its expedient structure and organization of activities, and determine the effective directions for its further development and improvement.

Taking the foreseeable future into consideration, in our view, the following national economic subunits must be classified as parts of the material production infrastructure: First, sectors related to water resources (organization of rivers, reclamation and irrigation systems and networks, in addition to corresponding kolkhoz and sovkhos installations); second, all types of transport and electric power transmission lines; third, the linking of all subunits; fourth, an information "industry" (network of enterprises and systems for general use involved in the gathering, processing, and transmittal of data); fifth, material and technical supplies, procurements, and marketing, including warehousing, refrigeration, and elevator facilities, centers for reusable containers, and so on; sixth, business services enterprises and organizations (cost accounting organizations providing production enterprises and associations with services of organizational, technical, and consultative nature).

#### Current Status of the Infrastructure

Starting with the end of the war major capital investments were made in the infrastructure. As a result, between 1951 and 1977 the operational length of the railroads was extended by 22,900 km; the length of internal waterways, by 12,900; of petroleum and petroleum-product pipelines by 56,500; gas mains by 108,500; and hard-paved motor-vehicle roads by 539,000 km. The length of overhead electric-power grids with a voltage of 35 kv or higher rose by a factor of over 21 (from 31,400 to 670,400 km).

Along with the qualitative growth, a substantial technical retooling of all types of transport took place. Thus within the same period the length of railroad tracks handling electric and diesel trains rose from 6,200 to 137,100 km. Major changes affected all other types of transportation and communications without exception.

In recent years the state system of centralized material and technical supplies began to develop quite rapidly. Whereas warehouse trade handled by the USSR Gossnab system rose by a 2.9 factor over a 10-year period (1966-1975), the installation of mechanization facilities and highly productive warehousing equipment at bases and warehouses rose by a factor of over five.

Despite the significance of the changes which have occurred in the present level of development of the infrastructure, it is noticeably falling behind the scale and complexity of the requirements of the expanding Soviet economy.

The development of the reproduction process, uninterrupted intersectorial and intrasectorial relations, in terms of time and space, and the reduction to a minimum of losses arising in the course of the production process and the turnover of the social product, require the faster development of transport networks and main lines and communications.

Historical conditions and the need to repair the destructions did not allow the Soviet Union to resolve these problems in the prewar and initial post-war years to the necessary extent. Between 1913 and 1960 the length of all land main ways was lengthened by no more than 325,000 km. A drastic acceleration took place in the 1960's: in 17 years (1961-1977) they were lengthened by nearly 600,000 km, i.e., they were nearly doubled compared with the preceding 43 years.

However, the requirements of the USSR national economy rose faster and the growth of transportation mains is still unable to catch up with the growth of public production. Thus in the 1960's, for each percentage of the growth of the gross social product, the growth of land main ways averaged 0.81%; it averaged 0.78% in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. For each percent of increased freight turnover by rail, truck, and petroleum pipelines, the length of the mains rose 0.85% between 1961 and 1970, and 0.66% between 1971 and 1977.

Presently we must resolve the problem of more intensive building of second tracks and two-way connections and automatic block signaling and the need for an accelerated pace of reconstruction of railroad stations and junctions whose condition hinders the utilization of the possibilities of more powerful rolling stock.

Until the 1970 the development of petroleum pipelines could not parallel increased petroleum extraction. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan their faster development was achieved. However, the length of such pipelines remains inadequate, as a result of which, between 1951 and 1977, petroleum haulage by rail rose by a factor of over 9.4, accounting for about 15% of the entire freight handled by Soviet railroads. We know that the pumping of crude oil along pipelines is one-third as expensive as its hauling in tankers. This is confirmed by the experience of the United States, which had in 1976 approximately 280,000 km of pipelines handling petroleum and petroleum products, compared with only 62,000 in the Soviet Union in 1977, even though we considerably outstripped the United States in terms of petroleum extraction. The development of natural gas pipelines fell considerably behind increased natural gas extraction after 1960.

The pace of road construction in our country has risen substantially. Between 1961 and 1977 the length of paved roads rose by 442,000 km, or a 1.8 factor more than in the preceding 43 years. However, the availability of highways and their condition are considerably below national economic requirements. At the end of 1977 the length of supervised highways was 1,409,200 km. Of these 716,000 were paved, or 51%, and only 331,000 km, or 24%, were with improved paving. Yet in addition to this, the country has yet several hundred thousands of kilometers of unpaved automotive roads.

The inadequate development of the network of automotive roads results in considerable losses suffered by the national economy. Suffice it to say that as a result of the use of dirt roads the cost of transportation rises

30 to 50%. Furthermore, goods losses rise (particularly of fast-spoiling goods). Substantial damages result from the increased cost of the operation of vehicles without proper roads: increased fuel consumption and hard wear and tear of parts. Considering the tremendous distances in our country this reaches significant amounts.

Despite a substantial growth, supply, marketing, and procurement material facilities have fallen behind rising requirements. As we know, the capacity of storage and refrigeration facilities remains insufficient to insure the storage of all procured products. The equipment of bases and material and technical supply enterprises leaves something better to be desired. According to estimates, in the country at large losses related to unnecessary outlays for the storage and processing of materials in warehouses, and the damage caused as a result of losses of produce used for industrial purposes, resulting from violations of storage conditions, are assessed by experts at several billion rubles per year.

The comprehensive solution of the containers problem is a very big reserve for the acceleration of trade, improving the preservation of the social product and upgrading production and turnover standards. It is a question of containers used for agricultural commodities to carry the goods from fields and farms to storage areas, the packaging of food products in the retail trade, and the transportation of productive capital shipped either by outside suppliers on a cooperated basis, as well as related shops and sectors within the production facility. The problem of containers must be resolved in connection with warehousing facilities and means of transportation. Its rational solution in terms of intraplant turnover is a major factor in lowering labor intensiveness and improving the organization of intraplant transportation, warehousing, and the overall production and labor process. We know that losses of cement, bricks, chemical fertilizers, and so on, are high because of non-containerized hauling.

The progressive solution of the container problem most directly affects the increase in the leisure time of the people and insures the extensive development of self-service trade. At the same time, it drastically lowers labor outlays and material losses in retail trade.

The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress called for "formulating and implementing measures for designing, specialized production, and efficient utilization of containers for all national economic sectors." The purpose is to preserve transported and stored labor objects and products; insuring the maximum preservation of their consumer values; convenience in moving and optimum loading of transport facilities and warehouse premises; essentially, upgrading the capacity of the latter, insuring the economical and convenient nature of loading and unloading operations and warehousing operations; the economical production of containers, which absorbs tremendous material and manpower resources; finally, standardizing containers and their sizes according to freight-car and ship holding capacities, and so on.

Every year over 10 million rubles are spent on containers and packaging. In 1973 this required 26.5 million cubic meters of lumber, over 1 million tons of cardboard, the same amount of metal, hundreds of millions of meters of fabric, and so on. The structure of materials used for packaging is far from perfect, which results in higher labor and material outlays. The share of lumber is particularly high. According to published data 26.7 cubic meters of timber are required to produce 1,000 conventional-sized crates; 7.5 cubic meters are required for the same number of veneer-made cases, and 5.7 cubic meters for 1,000 corrugated cardboard containers. Labor outlays for their production, using corrugated cardboard are lower by a 13.7 factor compared with lumber. A single ton of plastic materials used in the manufacturing of containers is the equivalent of 745 cubic meters of lumber.

As a whole, the structure of containers used in the USSR is distinguished by its high share of wood--45%--compared with 4% in the United States and 10% in Japan--and a considerably lower share of cardboard and paper containers--16% in the USSR compared with 42 in the United States and 48 in Japan. This situation makes the need for the accelerated development of our cellulose-paper industry even more obvious.

The efficient solution of the container problem calls for an expedient organization of containerizing processes and the availability of technical facilities. In a number of cases, the making of packaging the final operation carried out along production lines would be the most effective.

The economic effectiveness of containerized freight is exceptionally high. According to estimates 1 million tons of such freight releases over 1,500 people and saves over 3 million rubles annually in wages.

These are very partial data characterizing the urgent and topical nature of the accelerated development of the infrastructure.

#### Problems of the Further Development and Organization of Infrastructural Sectors

In the 10th and 11th Five-Year plans and in subsequent years all infrastructural sectors will be developed intensively. The CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 25th party congress stated that "in the forthcoming period we shall have to allocate greater resources for the accelerated development of transportation, communications, and the material supplies system--for everything described as the infrastructure."

It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of resolving organizational problems related to the further progress of the infrastructure. This includes the building of this set of sectors, the nature of their functions, and the specialization and concentration of enterprises in this area. Yet currently virtually all infrastructural subunits are not organizationally combined within the sector. Within each one of them several ministries and departments are operating on a parallel basis.

Transport. "The situation in transport must be changed for the better in the immediate future," stipulated the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. "However, in order to resolve the transport problem radically, on a long-term basis, this would be insufficient. We must formulate a long-term comprehensive program for the development of transportation which would encompass the best achievements of scientific and technical thinking. Such a program must encompass problems of the development and coupling of all types of transportation." Along with the need for the further expansion of the network of transport mains, the elimination of departmental lack of coordination among all types of transport is of major importance. So far there is no single unit in charge. The various types of transport facilities belong to different departments. There is no organ which would not only plan but provide a single management of the entire transport flow for the country at large and the big economic regions. Naturally, this hinders the optimum combination of the various types of transport and leads to considerable losses of time, material resources, and manpower. Yet the results of a rational coordination would be quite substantial. Merely switching some of the "short-run" hauls (under 50 km) from the railroads to trucks would make it possible to reduce the number of reloading operations and lower outlays by 100-120 million rubles per year. The overall volume of losses caused by the lack of coordination and faults in transportation, developing in areas where the activities of numerous departments meet, is comparable in scale to the amount of capital investments in the sector.

The lack of a single comprehensive management of the haulage of economic freight leads to the fact that the increased technical speed of transport facilities is virtually "eroded" by the idling of freight at junction centers of various transport facilities. The factual operational speed at which the freight is hauled from the sender to the receiver frequently turns out to be severalfold below the speed of the locomotion facilities themselves. All this adversely affects production effectiveness.

A substantial and growing departmental lack of coordination exists within a given type of transport facility as well. Suffice it to say that freight cars stand idle for long periods of time at enterprise spurs. Yet the centralization of industrial transportation within big industrial centers may yield great economic results. KOMMUNIST has already described the experience of the Elektrostal' Enterprise with industrial rail transport in Moscow Oblast, which has combined the servicing of groups of plants and organizations.

The trucking system is scattered among various ministries and departments. In 1977 the share of public-use trucks accounted for no more than 29.3% of all freight haulage and 26.7% in terms of the tonnage of freight hauled. In 1977 departmental trucks hauled 16.3 billion tons of freight, covering 264 billion ton/kilometers. Both technical and operational indicators of departmental trucks are considerably lower. Losses from increased haulage costs alone account here for several billion rubles per year. This largely applies to water transport as well.



It is obvious that the creation of organizational conditions for comprehensive coordination by the state of the management of all types of transport is an absolutely topical task.

We must also insure the preservation of transport equipment and provide normal conditions for its maintenance and exploitation. At the end of 1970 the fleet of trucks in agriculture totaled 1,136,000 units. Between 1971 and 1977 it rose by 365,000 units only. A large number of trucks were written off. This is largely related to the conditions of upkeep and availability of spare parts. Frequently, their unavailability leads to the cannibalizing of the trucks, which are subsequently written off.

Communications is a sector in the infrastructure requiring great attention and accelerated development. In the USSR it is highly centralized. Today, in our view, with the further accelerated expansion of the communications network and improved technical equipment, we face the most important task of integrating it with the information "industry."

The radical reconstruction of the communications system is assuming prime significance. The building of electronic telephone exchanges, equipping telephone sets with video screens, and so on, are becoming reality. A large number of sets converting and transmitting computer data, with automatic time sharing, using telephone and microwave channels, are being produced. The faster development of computer data transmission using telephone channels is a tangible possibility. In other words, the communications network must be directed to an ever greater extent toward the servicing of computers as well.

Topical tasks in the area of material and technical supplies, procurements, and marketing are the need to strengthen it and, in many sectors, the creation of a new material and technical base. We must considerably increase the capacity of bases, warehouses, elevators, and refrigerated areas. We must improve their location and technical equipment with modern capacious transportation-hauling installations and systems. Organizational-structural problems are also awaiting their solutions.

The further specialization and concentration of the processes of material and technical supplies leads to the gradual replacement of numerous "domestic" bases and supply organs with specialized and centralized ones. This upgrades the quality of services and lowers turnover costs. Substantial experience has already been acquired in this area. For example, an association has been set up in Kurskaya Oblast, which is supplying facilities to about 400 enterprises under union or republic jurisdiction. This has expanded warehousing areas by a 1.5 factor; turnover costs per ruble of warehouse turnover was reduced over the five-year period 21.3%, while the profitability of the association--the amount of profits from the marketing of goods and services--nearly doubled. Let us point out that the increased work reliability of the supply system increases the confidence of the customers, as a result of which above norm stockpiles are reduced

considerably. The practice of comprehensive supplies, which requires corresponding periodical scheduling and deadlines for deliveries, is of essential significance.

In this respect the July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree is of great importance. It calls for "in the 10th Five-Year Plan, completing in its essential outlines the transition to the centralized delivery of goods to consumers from supply-marketing bases of the territorial organs of the USSR Gosnab . . . ."

The redistribution of functions between the production and material-technical supplies areas, and the conversion to comprehensive serving have their own logic: the ever greater orientation toward the consumer and providing him with an ever broader selection of additional, including industrial, services. Thus the Zapsibmetallosnabsbyt [West Siberian Metal Supplies and Marketing] Administration is providing services involving the cutting of rolled metal, smaller-size packaging, sorting, centralized delivery of freight, information services, and so on. Suffice it to say that in the 10th Five-Year Plan the volume of such services has nearly doubled.

In this connection the warehousing system must not only store goods, but accelerate the turnover of material values and improve consumer services. In the future it will be supplied ever more extensively with modern computers and the latest transport-lifting facilities. It will use the systems approach to the handling of stocks. This will be followed by concentration--the replacement of numerous local warehouses with a few big freight-distribution centers. In such centers analysts and mathematicians will be working alongside shippers and accountants, looking for means for the optimum flow of the stocks. The biggest of them will be equipped with the latest computers, which will issue on a daily basis data on stocks of hundreds or thousands of items.

In the entirely foreseeable future, unquestionably, the information "industry" will become a major link in the infrastructure. Presently it is in the stage of organization. It is scattered among departments and even enterprises using computers. There are virtually no general-use information industry enterprises. The trends of development of this most important sector have already become quite distinct.

The rapid increase in the volume of a great variety of data needed in modern industry, science, and management, and the simultaneous fast increase of unit capacity and amount of cybernetic equipment, are contributing to the ever greater development of separate subunits, enterprises, and entire sectors to whom information is the subject and product of their work. In the USSR, in 12 years alone (1966-1977), 3,404 automated control systems were installed, two-thirds of which are servicing enterprises and technological processes, the balance going to ministries, departments, territorial organizations, and so on.

The information equipment itself is improving at a headlong pace. Let us particularly note two essentially important trends: the possible use of computers on a real-time and on a time-shared basis. These two trends were implemented with the third-generation computer. The former creates conditions for the use of computers in controlling complex production processes and correcting the work of control systems. The latter means the simultaneous use of one computer by several customers. This precisely offers the possibility to develop subsequently information "industry" enterprises for general use.

In the course of its establishment and development, the information industry is following a path similar to that of electric power. In the same way that when "Das Kapital" was written, the machine-engine (the 19th century steam engine) was a structural component of machine systems at the primary enterprise, information equipment (100 years following the publication of "Das Kapital") was and, in the majority of cases, remains, essentially, a structural component of the production apparatus of modern enterprises. Subsequently, when electric power replaced steam, the electric-power industry--a specialized and a leading industrial sector--began to grow rapidly and "domestic" generation of energy, to an ever greater extent, became a thing of the past. The same path is followed by the information industry.

Obviously, it would be expedient to set up major computer centers which would provide services, on a cost accounting basis, in the field of automated and, specifically, telemetric data processing. Naturally, this is related to the need to organize the manufacturing and installation of terminals and to improve and upgrade the reliability of communications facilities. The systematic development of a highly specialized information industry for general use would make it possible to upgrade both its own effectiveness and that of other data-using sectors.

Clearly, the systematic orientation toward specialization and concentration must become a mandatory prerequisite for the effective development of an information industry. The same principle must become the basis of the setting up of business-services enterprises and organizations. The point is that the solution of all problems related to organizing, preparing and servicing production facilities on a contemporary level exceeds the forces of occasionally even very big enterprises. We believe that in the case of an economy operating on such a gigantic scale as ours, not to speak of the prospects of its further growth, it becomes necessary to create and perfect a "business-services industry"--highly developed, technically equipped, strictly obligated to carry out its functions promptly and on a high quality level. Such functions could include production planning in space and the development of the most economical system for intra-industrial transportation and hauling, including warehousing, and the selection of the most efficient container types; applying a quality control system, designing technological equipment and developing the organizational structure of management, the most expedient information flows, and

implementing a number of other production and business-services tasks. Such operations must be carried out by the enterprises in this sector, competently and professionally, on a cost-accounting basis.

In our view, such enterprises must also have their production base, needed for the manufacturing of one or another kind of specialized equipment. Good experience in the creation and development of a "business-services industry" has been acquired by the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. It is a question of the Kompleks Scientific-Production Association in Volgograd. This association has specialized in the development of designs and technological systems, the creation of equipment and the application of highly mechanized and automated transportation-warehousing systems.

Along with the head planning-design institute, the scientific-production association includes specialized design-technological bureaus and experimental plants.

The scientific-production association has developed a range of standard designs for warehouse complexes. Mechanized assembled warehousing sections, staple cranes, standardized containers, overhead monorails, and conveyor belts developed by the association are offered a mechanization facilities.

Between 1976 and 1978 the plants within the sector commissioned 259 mechanized warehouses with a total area exceeding 504,000 square meters.

Practical experience has also proved that the "business-services industry" should rely on the specialized production of the necessary equipment, which in this case is a wide variety of means for the mechanization of transportation-warehousing and packaging operations, and standardized assemblies and their parts.

The creation and development of similar enterprises and "business-services" sectors within the big ministries and, wherever expedient, on an inter-ministerial level, is quite expedient and should be comprehensively encouraged and stimulated also through a respective price system for services rendered.

The need for and expediency of organizing and developing a "business-services industry" are quite clear as applied to agriculture. In particular, positive experience in this area has been acquired by Vil'yandiskiy Rayon in the Estonian SSR. As LITERATURNAYA GAZETA justifiably pointed out, "The secret of agricultural success under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution is found not in the extent of production concentration alone. . . . The farmer is relieved of operations non-inherent to his work. He deals with his specific work and all the necessary support is provided by specialized agricultural services. . . . He should not worry about seeds, fertilizers, herbicides, veterinary aid, or concentrated fodder, firmly confident that all this will be supplied on time."

The development of the infrastructure requires considerable resources, the substantial contribution of science and technology, and the solution of a number of organization and structural problems. High capital intensiveness is an important characteristic of infrastructural sectors. For example, in transportation and communications capital intensiveness is nearly quadruple that of its average in overall material production.

Therefore, surmounting the lagging of the infrastructure, and making it consistent with growing economic requirements require quite substantial capital investments. However, according to even most conservative assessments, the total amount of losses related to the lagging of this area considerably exceeds the required amount of investments. Consequently, it is a question of comparing the amount of losses with outlays for measures to prevent them.

In our view, the effective struggle against losses demands of all planning and economic organs an acknowledgment of the equal value and, in the final account, interchangeability of outlays related to the so-called "current losses" which take place in the course of the reproduction process, and capital investments channeled into strategic measures aimed at eliminating the reasons which cause such losses. The tasks related to the comprehensive development of all the links in the chain linking production with the final consumption of the public product were formulated most urgently by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. "Here everything is of equal importance," he said. "Transportation, container production, storage and processing of goods and, finally, trade." This stipulation is particularly important in agricultural production.

Let us point out that frequently planning and economic activities practice a system metaphorically described as that of "two pockets": the first is a virtually unprotected pocket out of which all current losses are paid out without a hitch; the second pocket is protected by all the forces of the financial and planning instances. Yet it is precisely out of this pocket that measures insuring the elimination of the reasons for losses should be financed.

The elimination of losses in the national economy was made one of the main tasks in planning in the July CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree.

The following question arises: Could the resources and the tremendous materials lost by the national economy be converted into capital investments needed for the development of the infrastructure? This is a very difficult task. However, the grain, vegetables, and fruit which are lost because of poor roads, shortage of containers, and insufficient warehousing facilities, and the losses and waste in the hauling of chemical fertilizers, cement, bricks, and so on, are, essentially, additional capital investments of enterprises producing such goods or losses of foreign exchange used for importing them. The reduced speed of freight hauling because of lack of coordination among various types of transport

facilities represent a slow down of the process and reduction of the volumes of output. The unsatisfactory utilization of departmental automotive transport and its considerable operational overexpenditures represent potential capital investments in automotive, petroleum refining, and other plants. The excessively large network of "domestic" organs and enterprises engaged in material and technical supplies and marketing, "domestic" information-industry units, and the insufficiently skilled and expensive "domestic" provision of many business services in small, medium size, and even big enterprises, along with many other factors represent material resources which could and should be directed toward the accelerated development of specialized, technically equipped, and highly effective infrastructural enterprises and sectors.

Let us note that every year funds are "spent" on such losses (or saved in their elimination). Bearing in mind the construction of automotive highways, every year capital investments are made with immediate returns. Naturally, long-term resource investments are needed as well. However, this does not eliminate the problem of their equal significance, but merely requires the development of a purposeful trajectory followed by such a transformation process. Such is the path of intensification toward which the party is persistently directing our economy.

The elaboration of a comprehensive program for the development of the infrastructure is a matter for the USSR Gosplan and the corresponding departments. Considering the equal importance of the development and acceleration of the work of all infrastructural sectors we named, let us particularly single out the construction of automotive highways (which is most lagging and fraught with particularly high losses) and the development of communications facilities. The need for automotive highways is measured in terms of hundreds of thousands of kilometers, and with existing technological facilities, road construction costs would be in the hundreds of thousands of rubles per kilometer. The need has come for a real "brainstorming" which would enable us radically to change both equipment and technology of highway construction, and the nature of the materials used, making extensive use of polymers. There have been developments in this area in both the USSR and abroad. Obviously, the concentration of scientific and technical efforts and the creation of special comprehensive organizations (similar to those engaged in space research!) would be of great importance. This would make it possible to achieve a breakthrough in this exceptionally important area. Also topical are the new scientific and technical solutions in the field of transportation facilities, particularly the development of vehicles sliding on an air cushion.

At the same time, coordinating the functioning of all types of transportation and communications is a very topical task. The 25th CPSU Congress called for the creation of control systems covering groups of similar sectors, including the transport sector. The creation of a single state management of the entire transport network would be a major factor in reducing losses and upgrading public production effectiveness.

The accelerated development of the infrastructure requires, in our view, two other major prerequisites: the faster increase in the production of equipment for the infrastructural sectors and the creation of sufficiently powerful specialized construction industry subunits. Each of these machine-building and construction industry sectors should be responsible for the formulation and implementation of a unified technical policy in supplying the area it services.

The systematic pursuit of a course of specialization and concentration and of surmounting the rather strong (and not abating in the least) trends of development of a "natural economy," or the creation of "its own" infrastructure by each department, will be of major significance.

The accelerated development of the infrastructure is one of the most important prerequisites for the intensification of the entire reproduction process, upgrading its balanced development, and insuring the real increase of its end results and the progress of division of labor and production socialization.

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## VIRGIN LAND DEVELOPED, CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor N. Morozov, first secretary of Tselinogradskiy Obkom, Communist Party of Kazakhstan]

[Text] Recently the Virgin Lands celebrated their 25th anniversary. Many contemporaries still have fresh memories of their impressions related to the historical accomplishments of the new settlers. The first plywood sign on which the name of a just organized sovkhos was hastily written. . . . The first tractor furrow. . . . The first desired and very generous harvest.

The scale of accomplishments has broadened with the years. The land, after centuries of slumber, is serving the people with ever greater returns. A total of 3.2 million hectares of fertile land was put under cultivation in the steppe areas along the Ishim River. Our oblast became one of the biggest granaries of the country. In 26 years 2.3 billion poods of grain were purchased here.

This year, whereas the plan called for 123.5 million poods, the Tselinograd people sold the state over 204 million poods of grain, nearly 70% of which consisted of strong, hard, and valuable wheat strains. Average production per hectare was 16.9 quintals. The plan for the first four years of the five-year plan for grain purchases was overfulfilled. The curve expressing average annual grain procurements is rising. Compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan such procurements are higher by one-third.

Such is the main contribution of the oblast to the achievements of our republic, which by the will of the party and through the heroic toil of the Soviet people became the biggest base for the production of marketable grain. "National thanks to the working people of Kazakhstan!" said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. "A total of one billion 261 million poods of good-quality Kazakh grain has already been poured into the granaries of the country."

This was yet another manifestation of the power of the grain Virgin Lands, a power which has had a beneficial influence on the entire way of life of



this steppe area, transforming its economy, and encouraging the development of another no less important sector--animal husbandry. Since 1953 in our oblast cattle herds in the public sector have increased by a 2.4 factor; poultry by a factor of over 6, and hogs, by a factor of 9. Cattle and poultry procurements have quintupled; wool procurements have risen by a 2.3 factor and egg deliveries by a factor of 85. However, bearing in mind the relatively low starting level, we assess achievements in this are critically. Animal husbandry is our second Virgin Land and only the initial steps have been taken to develop it.

## I

After the plowing the steppe of Kazakhstan presented a grandiose yet monotonous sight: endless fields stretched for tens of kilometers and there were only occasional isolated livestock-farm "islands." The development of the sector was slow. There were shortages of material and technical facilities, and most kolkhozes and sovkhoses had no stable fodder base. In droughty and bad years in a number of places the cattle suffered from fodder shortages and animals even had to be slaughtered. Because of this, even in good years the situation in livestock farms did not always improve: there was not enough cattle to fulfill the plans.

Dust storms caused great damage. Party organizations, scientists, specialists, and all agricultural workers faced the problem of how to put an end to this disaster and preserve the fruitfulness of the just developed Virgin Lands?

The ways to resolve this exceptionally complex agronomical problem were convincingly described in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. As we know, the author was a participant in the great accomplishments of the Virgin Land pioneers and felt personally all the difficulties they experienced. With the direct participation of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, not far from Tselinograd, in the Shortanda Settlement, the All-Union Scientific Research Grain Farming Institute was created. Here, under the guidance of VASKHNIL [All-Union Agricultural Academy imeni Lenin] Academician A. I. Barayev, an effective soil protection farming system was developed for the Virgin Lands. It has withstood the test of time and its application has had a favorable impact on upgrading soil fertility and increasing all crop yields.

In the period of development of the Virgin and Fallow Lands, big highly mechanized grain farms were developed in the oblast. They became better equipped with technical facilities and other specialized productive capital. Subsequently, year after year, ever greater opportunities were made available for the development of animal husbandry sectors.

Today the sovkhoses and kolkhozes have acquired a certain experience in production specialization and concentration, the creation of big commercial livestock farms, and the development of interfarm cooperation. For example,

as early as the end of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the Akmolinskoye Poultry Farm had developed its production capacities to such an extent as to insure the fulfillment of the oblast plan for egg and poultry meat sales respectively 83 and 40.7%. Mechanized cattle-feeding areas became widespread. Incidentally, this does not require major outlays: usually, the old premises are used with some additional equipment. Mobile feeding and watering troughs with automatic water heating are installed in the stalls, which are equipped with feed distributors. The animals are in the open on a year-round basis, driven to the barn only in bad weather, and with proper nutrition, can withstand the cold painlessly. At the Shirokovskiy Sovkhoz in 180-200 days 2 mechanizers raise on such an area about 800 calves.

Such technology proved to be particularly good in the raising of Hereford, Kazakh white head and Aberdeen-Angus breeds. At the experimental farm of the grain resources institute the weight increases in cattle raised on a year-round basis in the open reach 1,100-1,200 grams per day. Subsequently interfarm associations--rayspetskhozhes [specialized rayon farms]--were set up on the basis of the mechanized cattle-raising areas. Today, within each rayon, the raising of cattle is done by specialized farms. However, within the sector as well a division of labor has taken place. A group of kol-khozhes and sovkhoses is engaged in the final raising of the young cattle to a weight of 200 kilograms, after which the herds are driven to the rayon specialized farm association. Here the cattle are subjected to intensive feeding, thanks to which the delivery weight of each animal is raised to 460-480 kilograms.

However, this experience must be expanded and enriched. To this effect the party obkom and the oblast executive committee organized several trips by leading cadres and specialists to leading farms and scientific research centers in the republic and other parts of the country. The results of the trips were thoroughly studied at representative conferences and covered by the press, television and radio. The conclusions and suggestions were summed up within a unified specialization and concentration system, which was then applied to each rayon and farm on the basis of specific natural-weather and socioeconomic conditions. The fulfillment of this program is under the constant supervision of a public commission under the party obkom. It includes senior personnel of oblast organizations, managers of leading farms, and scientists.

Within a short time 26 big animal husbandry complexes were set up and began operations in the oblast: for meat, dairy products, and sheep and rabbit breeding. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan productive capital in animal husbandry rose by a 2.1 factor. In the first three-and-a-half years of the 10th Five-Year Plan materials and equipment worth 68 million rubles from the state budget and 19 million from the farm accumulations fund were invested in this sector.

Never before had such attention been paid to the sector. The party committees and financial-planning organs organized effective control over the use

and expedient expenditure of funds. Groups of people's controllers and rural correspondent and "Komsomol Beacon" posts were organized at the shock construction projects in the villages and all animal husbandry complexes. An automated hog-breeding farm was completed at the Sovkhoz imeni Kirov in 10 months and was given good customer rating. This is a leading enterprise in the sector, raising 12,000 hogs at once, cared for by 4 workers. All processes are based on programmed control equipped with television. With the new technology labor productivity more than tripled. One kilogram of weight increase requires 5.8 fodder units and 4 man-hours.

The great possibilities of specialization may be judged by the following fact: Four sovkhoses--imeni Karl Marks, Maksimovskiy, Petrovskiy, and imeni Kirov--account for one-third of the fulfillment of the oblast pork production plan.

Such examples are an excellent means for the promotion of scientific and technical progress in agriculture. At the beginning of the five-year plan, however, the sovkhoses and kolkhozes fell behind in their milk and meat production. The oblast party organization and all agricultural workers devoted efforts to eliminate the indebtedness and raised the oblast to the planned level.

In the first stage of specialization, due to the lack of scientific developments in the raising of cattle through industrial technology, our area was forced to borrow plans for the building of animal husbandry complexes from different agricultural areas in the country. Yet a certain price had to be paid as well. The Sovkhoz imeni Gor'kiy, where a big dairy complex for 1,200 head was built, even though at that time it had no more than 400 cows, found itself in a difficult situation. This project cost the farm nearly three million rubles.

Guided by the CC CPSU decree on the further development of specialization and concentration of agricultural production, and the decisions of the July 1978 Central Committee Plenum the oblast party members analyzed the situation and earmarked specific measures to eliminate shortcomings. The practice of leading farms and entire rayons convinced us that in promoting specialization and concentration we should also use the old animal husbandry practices, adapting them for machine technology, as was done in its time by Krasnoznamenskiy Rayon. Here an area for cattle feeding was set up on the basis of a specialization plan. Yet what to do with the small hog-breeding farms built only 8 to 10 years previously? The decision was made to reconstruct and equip them with the necessary facilities.

Here is another example. With funds allocated for capital and current repairs, the 40 Let Kazakhstana Sovkhoz reconstructed the old cow barns and set up a dairy complex for 1,100 cows. It succeeded in modernizing three perfectly suitable pig pens as well.

The oblast party committee called for insuring in each sovkhos and kolkhoz increased output affecting also livestock farms not as yet modernized. At

the same time, the oblast is continuing to expand the capacities of the rural industry leaders--big complexes and interfarm production associations.

## II

Production specialization and concentration are the more successful the more effective the system for training skilled cadres is. At the present time the big farms and complexes are staffed with experienced workers, graduates of operators' courses of progressive experience schools and technical schools. The number of farm workers has been increased also with graduates of secondary vocational-technical schools. The rural schools have become a reliable source for new cadres. Several years ago optional classes were offered in zootechnology at the Romanovskaya Secondary School and during the summer vacation the students worked at a dairy complex. Over 100 school graduates were thus familiarized with the animal husbandry profession. Many of them are now working in the 40 Let Kazakhstana Sovkhoz and other farms in Tselinogradskiy Rayon. Following their example, zoo-technical classes have been opened in a number of oblast rural schools.

At the same time, the party organizations and soviets of people's deputies are concerned with the life of the workers who wish to work at animal husbandry complexes but have no specialized training. Courses have been organized for their benefit. In the past two years three vocational-technical schools and the oblast Sel'khoztekhnika Association and support-display farms have retrained 3,094 animal husbandrymen. The Master Livestock Breeder Grade, First and Second Class, has been awarded to 5,430 workers--approximately one-quarter of the entire personnel.

The requirements facing secondary management cadres rise with the development of animal husbandry specialization and concentration. In recent years the structure of the managers of livestock farms and sectors, livestock breeding complexes, and mechanized cattle raising areas has been improved substantially. Nearly half of them are specialists with higher and secondary education. True, there still remain people with practical experience only among secondary level officials. However, virtually all of them have been retrained through VUZ courses or are studying by correspondence.

The party organizations of production collectives are continuing to intensify their influence on all realms of economic life, participating in the solution of topical problems of upgrading public production effectiveness, organizing control over administrative activities, insuring the strictest possible observation of state discipline, and perfecting the communist upbringing of the working people. Since the 25th CPSU Congress the rural party organizations have considerably reinforced their ranks. They have been increased mainly with leading production workers--mechanizers and livestock breeders. There are 623 party and party-Komsomol groups, and 542 people's control posts at livestock farms and complexes.

We attentively follow the processes developing in primary production collectives and study the interests of the people, their claims, and their requirements. Recently personnel from Yermontauskiy Rayon Party Committee, together with a group of specialists, made a detailed study of the work of the dairy complex of Yerkenshilikskiy Sovkhoz. Two years ago the situation here was far from satisfactory: the livestock breeders were unable to cope with their production program, which in turn lowered earnings and affected the mood of the people. The investigation showed that the complex managers had accepted the straggling, as a result of which the discipline had weakened, absenteeism and drinking had increased, and the feeling of responsibility of some comrades had become dulled. The difficulties were intensified by the weakness of the engineering and zootechnical services. Through joint efforts and with the direct participation of the rayon party committee agricultural section, the situation within the collective was normalized. Today the complex has a party group and the party members are employed at the most important sectors and give a good example to others.

### III

The success of applying essentially new technology in the production specialization and concentration process depends on the good organization of the work and on providing all the necessary conditions for normal work at big complexes or small farms.

The party obkom decided to insure the fuller utilization of internal reserves to increase the production of all types of fodder. Feed production is being specialized. Plans call for expanding the area in leguminous and other crops rich in protein, tuber crops and silage corn, and for upgrading the productivity of meadows and pastures and developing crop rotation systems around livestock breeding bases. Planned work is being done on the oblast scale to upgrade the quality of procured feeds and to improve their storage. An investigation conducted by the people's control organs in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Kurgal'dzhinskiy Rayon indicated that one-half of the stocks of grass meal and feed granules was substandard. Here primitive dugouts are used to store the silage, as a result of which by spring the feed has lost nearly 60% of its nutritive substances. Naturally, the culprits were justly punished. However, the very fact proved the low exactingness toward cadres, which in the final account causes great harm to society. The investigation revealed that in the course of nine sessions during the year the rayon party committee analyzed the question of feed. However, such discussions were superficial and the execution of decisions was controlled on a formal basis.

Guided by the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the oblast party committee is continuing to improve the ways and means of organizational activities and to develop in the personnel a feeling of high responsibility for specific assignments, and intolerance toward shortcomings and the violators of labor and technological discipline.

The system of differentiated redistribution of income among all participants helps to upgrade the effectiveness of animal husbandry and expand production relations under the conditions of cooperative work. Planned assignments for deliveries of goods to the state, and payments to the budget and the association funds are based on zonal characteristics formulated on a strictly objective basis. This encourages the better utilization of productive capital and motivates the cooperated members to steadily increase their volume of animal husbandry output.

It is said that it is the small streams that make the big river. The oblast party organizations, the soviets, and the economic organs pay attention, along with expanding the production of animal husbandry goods by kolkhozes and sovkhoses, to the development of the auxiliary farms of industrial enterprises and construction and transportation organizations, and the private plots of workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia.

The oblast has many strong supporters of auxiliary farms. They include the managers of the Kazzoloto Mining-Concentration Combine. The combine's livestock farms supply the collective with milk, meat, and other products. According to official statistics every year 1,242 tons of meat and 3,354 tons of milk are used in public catering, of these, 680 and 610 tons, respectively, come from auxiliary shops.

Two auxiliary farms have been organized on a cooperative basis in Shortanda, the rayon center. The first association (producing milk) includes the furniture factory, the communal enterprises combine, the Sel'khoztekhnika Rayon Association, the creamery, and the hospital. The second--the meat producing association--consists of the local elevator, the automotive enterprise, the construction organization, and the rayon consumers union. Both farms use essentially their own fodder. Following the development of a network of public catering enterprises, the cities and settlements are accumulating a great deal of food waste, previously unused. Such waste exists in each family as well. Furthermore, the small cities have industrial enterprises engaged in the processing of agricultural raw materials, which also accumulate production wastes.

With the help of propagandists, agitators, and mass-information media, we are promoting in the villages the type of social climate in which kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers who grow their own cattle and poultry become well aware of the fact that they are thus engaged in useful state work. The oblast party committee has a special commission with local branches providing practical assistance to organizations and citizens interested in breeding their own cattle. This year over 30,000 small pigs, and 1.5 million chicks have already been sold to the rural population. The Gosbank provides loans to those wishing to raise animals at home.

The growth rates of output and sale of livestock products are rising. Compared with the same period last year, in the first 10 months of this year the oblast sold the state an additional 3,600 tons of cattle and poultry, 10,000 tons of milk, and 19.8 million eggs. The annual plan will be fulfilled for all indicators.

#### IV

The conversion of animal husbandry to an industrial base and specialization, concentration and interfarm cooperation are based on the latest achievements of science, equipment and technology. Yet the rural workers, the Virgin Land livestock breeders in particular, have great complaints addressed to designers, economists, and scientific institutions. What are the guiding criteria to be used in selecting the production specialization of the farm? Arguments arise also in determining the scale of output and the share of the leading sector among the auxiliary sovkhos or kolkhoz sectors.

The USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production has a great debt to pay to the rural workers. Most mechanization facilities used in equipping livestock farms, complexes and feeding grounds must be built by the Virgin Land farmers themselves. In any farm everywhere one comes across homemade installations, not only in old, but even in new, recently completed complexes. Analyzing the work of rayons in terms of one or another aspect of specialization, there has been no case for the obkom bureau not to discuss problems of material and technical supplies. The farms are short of milk-container pulleys, pasteurizers, disinfectants, and spare parts for milking machines. The basic grain-growing technological processes have been virtually entirely mechanized, whereas the level of comprehensive mechanization at cattle farms has reached 53%, and at hog-breeding farms only 35%.

Work on animal husbandry specialization and concentration affects all agricultural production sectors, crop growing most of all. The best results have been achieved by farms growing a wide variety of fodder crops. On the one hand, this considerably enriches the food rations of the livestock; on the other, it allows greater flexibility in feed production, or in other words it insures the farms against adverse elements. The Pervomayskaya Sovkhoz specialists provided a valuable initiative: they undertook testing in industrial conditions and raising seeds of valuable fodder-crop strains they imported. Today the feed ration of the livestock contains 12 different crops including alfalfa, feed oats, foxtail millet, winter rye, sainfoin, Sudan grass, and sweet clover. Some perennial grasses have been replaced by seasonal crops, for they make better use of winter and autumn precipitation, and consequently even in a droughty summer they provide high yields of fresh feed. The sovkhos experience was studied at the oblast practical science seminar held there.

The primary party organizations have been assigned the main responsibility for the solution of economic and education problems in labor collectives. In the final account, purposeful action and the ability of party members to mobilize the people for the fulfillment of current plans and socialist pledges determine the future development of the farms. "The primary party organizations and party groups," stipulates the CC CPSU decree on improving further ideological work, "must be the centers of daily ideological-

educational work. They must rally the collective, skillfully conduct individual work with the people, encourage their social and labor efforts, upgrade working and living standards, and develop a feeling for the new."

As a result of broadened production scales and expanded interfarm relations, knowledge of psychology and the skill to use methods of pedagogical influence on the people are becoming ever more important. This must be learned. Of late a course on basic problems of psychology, sociology, and pedagogy has been organized at the higher and secondary party training levels for leading cadres.

Together with the oblast organizations the party obkom has done a great deal of work to strengthen the leading units. Today 90% of the managerial personnel of sovkhoses and kolkhoses consist of highly skilled specialists. Sovkhoz directors G. A. Agafonov, V. I. Bannikov, D. V. Burbakh, I. M. Kim, N. N. Kuznetsov, and A. A. Prib, A. A. Tseleznev, director of the experimental farm of the VNIIZKh [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Grain Farming], and rayspetskhoses managers A. A. Kamyshnyy and Zh. Tashetov are enjoying great respect in their own collectives and throughout the oblast. They can resolve even the most complex problems of development of production forces in the contemporary countryside and in animal husbandry, a most important sector.

The collective of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Grain Farming, headed by tireless scientist-party member A. I. Barayev, whose activities were exceptionally highly rated in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book "Tselina," is in step with life. Currently the scientists are working on problems of improving the underproductive farmland of Northern Kazakhstan, particularly the saline lands, which in our oblast alone cover 3.5 million hectares. The agricultural development of such areas would open new possibilities for the development of animal husbandry in the steppe areas along the Ishim River. The institute scientifically substantiated agrobiological and chemical reclamation methods, and formulated recommendations for their application. The party obkom bureau and oblast soviet executive committee passed a decision on the agricultural development of underproductive land. However, so far the project is being implemented on a modest scale. The capacity of our reclamation units is low. There is a shortage of special equipment, three-stage trenching plows in particular; the available equipment is for use with underpowered tractors.

Such problems must be resolved by the central planning organs and corresponding ministries more operatively and skillfully. This will greatly determine the pace and effectiveness of the further intensification and specialization of agriculture in the developed Virgin Lands.

Having become a grain factory, the Virgin Lands must become also a powerful factory for meat, milk, wool, and eggs. A great deal of work remains to be done. The party members and all working people in our oblast are perfectly aware of this and will dedicate all efforts to increase further cattle and poultry herd sizes and upgrade animal husbandry productivity. The Virgin Land was upturned and developed, but its reserves are far from exhausted.



## SOCIALISM, PEACE AND OUR STRUGGLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 70-78

[Article Meir Vilner, secretary general, Communist Party of Israel Central Committee]

[Text] The right to live in peace is a basic human right, the right of every human being. The most important thing which socialism accomplished for all of us is its decisive contribution to the preservation of universal peace. It is above all thanks to real socialism, built in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, that for the past 34 years there has been no world war. Thanks to socialism imperialism and reaction are suffering defeats in local wars (Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, and, before that, Korea). In this respect, the situation in which we find ourselves in the Middle East remains an exception. However, the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, lasting since 1967, can also be nothing but a passing phenomenon.

On the basis of this general conclusion, we must firmly oppose the theory of the "two superpowers." This doctrine is based on the anti-scientific and erroneous definition of a state on the basis of its military power. Naturally, we are far from claiming that the concept of "power" has been obsolete. The question lies elsewhere: in whose hands is the power and to what purpose is it used. On this matter the approach must be based on class. Power in imperialist hands means the threat of the outbreak of local wars and a world war. Power in the hands of socialism means a factor insuring the peace and salvation of mankind from global catastrophe.

The theory of the "two superpowers" is an anti-communist invention, an invention of our class enemies, whose objective is to confuse the class awareness of the proletariat. The fact that such fabrications are repeated by some people means that they simply forget the proletarian class position. Equally, there can be no identical attitude toward NATO and the Warsaw Pact, even though both organizations are military-political groups. We favor the disbanding of both military alliances, while remembering that the Warsaw Pact was established six entire years after the building of the NATO imperialist aggressive group, and was an entirely necessary response.

The real possibility to avoid a global thermonuclear catastrophe stems, above all, from the fact that Soviet Union has reached parity with the United States in the balance of forces. This main event made it possible to convert from cold war to detente and take certain disarmament measures. It was precisely the power and systematic peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that created a base for the prevention of a world war even before capitalism has left the stage of history.

In recent years we have seen symptoms of the rebirth of the cold war. True, last summer the international atmosphere improved following the conclusion of the SALT II treaty. However, imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, is continuing to intensify the arms race. All NATO members passed decisions to increase their military budgets and develop new, deadly armaments and continue work on the neutron bomb.

Tremendous forces and funds are channeled into military objectives. Thus currently there are 50 million men in the various armed forces. Every year military expenditures in the world reach astronomical figures, such as \$400 billion, i.e., over 1 billion dollars per day. One could imagine what mankind could accomplish without such tremendous military expenditures! There is also the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons involving other countries. Let us mention in this connection, in particular, South Africa and Israel. Should this occur control over such proliferation would be difficult.

While military expenditures are rising, according to a United Nations study, by 1990 hundreds of millions of people will be short of ordinary drinking water. An investment of \$3 billion would be needed to supply them with drinking water. However, this sum has not as yet been found, even though it does not exceed military expenditures over a two- or three-day period! The huge military allocations are hindering the solution of problems such as energy, food, ecology, and many other vitally important global problems.

That is why, along with the acknowledgment that radical changes have taken place in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism, and along with the acknowledgment of its power and the victories of the movement for national and social liberation, the communist parties and all progressive forces of all countries must show vigilance and oppose complacency. The struggle between socialism and capitalism is still in its heat. The threat of a global thermonuclear war has not been fully eliminated as yet.

Under those circumstances, strengthening the unity of the international communist and workers movements, the socialist countries, and the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces is of particular importance. It will multiply the forces of peace and progress and considerably increase the chances of preventing a third world war. It will accelerate the global revolutionary process.

Therefore, the basic problem in the struggle now waged between the forces of progress and reaction is that of war and peace. As Lenin pointed out, this is the biggest manifestation of democracy today. It is natural, therefore, that in the ideological struggle currently waged in the world arena the problem of democracy, in its various aspects, is assuming an ever more significant role. This is also reflected in the discussions taking place within the communist movement.

Even before the victory of socialism anywhere, Marx and Engels noted that socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy are opposite concepts, differing in a number of their essential features. From the very beginning Marxist theory refuted the bourgeois theory of democracy in general, and of abstract democracy, which allegedly exists unrelated to one or another class or social system. Under capitalist conditions some important human rights cannot be exercised at all. It would be unnecessary to mention here the right to life, for capitalism triggers wars, while socialism promotes peace. However, the other basic rights as well are not only not insured, but cannot be insured by capitalism. Socialism alone guarantees the vitally important human rights, such as the basic right to work.

All discussions about freedom and about making the exercise of democratic rights not only a theory, but a practice, is mere blabbering as long as the most simple right is not guaranteed--the right to work--and as long as there are millions of unemployed and people are deprived of minimal living conditions. This applies to the other rights, including the right to free education, free medical care, housing, and the real possibility for the working people to benefit from the achievements of culture. All such rights could be guaranteed and, furthermore, implemented only by socialism.

This is yet another merit of socialism, not only in terms of the working class of the socialist countries, but the working people in the capitalist world. The capitalists are forced to take into consideration the social and political gains of the working class in the socialist countries. These historical gains are the source of inspiration to the workers in the capitalist countries in their struggle for the expansion of their rights and raising their living standards. For example, the fact that there is free education at all levels and free medical care for all in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, has a considerable impact on the toiling masses in the capitalist countries. Under the pressure of the workers the capitalists were forced to make concessions. Thus the accomplishments of the socialist countries influence the struggle of the toiling masses in capitalist countries and broaden the realm of influence of socialist ideas. In the socialist countries human rights are not only superior to what could be achieved by any bourgeois country, even with a democratic government. The achievements of the socialist countries contribute to the struggle for the rights of the workers, for human rights, and for the broadening of democratic freedoms in the bourgeois countries.

In the Soviet Union the right of the citizens to participate in social and political life is firmly guaranteed and has been converted from theory to

practice. The broadest possible masses are participating in the administration of the state at all levels and in all areas through their elected officials or directly. The new Soviet Constitution was the subject of a nationwide discussion.

One of the most important advantages of socialism is the elimination of national discrimination and oppression. The socialist system alone can uproot the class foundations of national discrimination. Naturally, certain differences exist in the situation prevailing in the individual capitalist countries. For example, there are differences between the situation in the United States, where a strict system of racial discrimination is retained in a variety of forms, and the situation of country such as Switzerland. However, in all capitalist countries national discrimination is present, one way or another, particularly when it is question of the "colored." Having eliminated the exploiting classes and the very nature of class exploitation, socialism created conditions, not only for the elimination of national discrimination, but for an upsurge in the development level of nations which under capitalist and colonialist conditions were kept in a state of backwardness.

The socialist countries created a new type of man unknown in previous history. Some people are skeptical when the conversation turns to the new man. This applies not only to the bourgeois, but to certain circles within the workers movement.

What does the concept of the "new man" mean?

Above all, it is the opposite of the person typical of capitalism. No one ignores the fact that under socialism as well there still are thieves, swindlers, and so on. However, whereas the new generation raised in socialist conditions is compared with the young people in the capitalist countries, experiencing socioeconomic, political, and moral crises, the basic distinction between them, in all respects, will become entirely obvious. We are speaking of a person characteristic of one or another system and may confidently and proudly note that socialism has created a new man, a person with the highest cultural and moral standards.

One of the merits of socialism in the eyes of mankind is the help which Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are providing to all nations fighting for national and social liberation, or are victims of imperialist aggression. Thanks to socialism, for the first time in history new international relations have been set up, based on the principles of equality among countries. Let us cite a single example: For a while Soviet specialists worked in Egypt, having been invited there--let us immediately emphasize this--by the Egyptian Government itself, and having earned, through their selfless work, the deep gratitude of the people of that country. Following reactionary changes, the Sadat Government asked for their withdrawal. Based on the unconditional respect for Egyptian sovereignty, the Soviet Government recalled its specialists. The exact

opposite occurred in Cuba following the victory of the revolution. Cuba had an American military base, i.e., to call things by their proper names, a part of Cuba's territory had been simply seized by the U.S. imperialist military and the Cuban socialist government demanded of the United States to evacuate it and withdraw its soldiers from Cuban territory. What happened? To this day the U.S. Government is refusing to do so, thus violating Cuba's sovereignty and acting against the desire of the government and the people of the country.

Let us mention yet another matter of particular importance in the age of transition from capitalism to socialism, of late frequently discussed within the communist movement. It is a question of the socialist revolution and the ways for the building of socialism. Several parties tirelessly state that "we shall not accept one or another model of already existing socialism. We want to make a socialist revolution in accordance with the specific conditions of our country." Such statements are the equivalent of trying to break an open door. These are useless debates, for no differences of opinion exist on this subject. Furthermore, each communist party has not only the right, but the obligation to act in accordance with the specific characteristics of its country and people. This is prerequisite for success.

Nevertheless, a big difference remains between the assertion that there should be no imitation or duplication and that each communist party should take into consideration the specific conditions under which it operates, on the one hand, and neglect of the common, the main laws governing socialist revolutions and the building of socialism, on the other. All socialist revolutions have a number of universal common features.

Above all, this involves the question of the political power, which must be in the hands of the working class and its allies, for the task of being the leader in the socialist revolution has been entrusted to the working class.

The second common feature is that the working class is headed by a Marxist-Leninist party as the central and vanguard force within the power system. We have witnessed a number of examples in which non-Marxist workers parties, such as the British Labor Party or Israel's Mapai, had remained in power for many years. The rule by these parties did not change the exploiting nature of the capitalist system. Assuming the power, no single non-Marxist-Leninist workers party of any country, not only failed to make a socialist revolution, but left untouched the system of capitalist rule and class exploitation.

Thirdly, the productive capital, the land, the natural resources, and so on, must become within the ownership of the people and taken over by the socialist state.

Fourthly, all economic and social life must be organized on a socialist basis. This includes economic planning, centralized management of economic development, socialist cooperative ownership parallel state socialist ownership, and so on.

Is there anyone within the communist movement who rejects these stipulations as the general conditions for any socialist revolution? No one does. We do not know of anyone to reject these general stipulations. If such is the case, then it is impossible to convert to socialism without taking the political power from the exploiting classes, establishing the rule of the working class and its allies, letting the state assume ownership of productive capital, and not be led by a Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary, and vanguard party. It is precisely thus that real socialism was built. It is not only inadmissible to deny this historical experience, but it must be studied if any country is to succeed in the revolutionary struggle, for the nature of this experience is universal.

Occasionally, our class enemies and political rivals say that socialism per se is not a bad idea. As an abstraction it looks good. However, the real socialism of the USSR and the other socialist countries is unacceptable. This shows the class position of our enemies.

For example, if we were to compare the living standard of the peoples in the capitalist countries with the material and cultural standards of the peoples of the socialist countries which were previously equal, we could see the main difference. Let us compare, for example, Bulgaria with Turkey. In the recent past they had reached a similar level of development. Today, however, the Bulgarian working class has far outstripped the level of output and the living standard of the working class in Turkey.

Today no one can speak of abstract socialism. Everyone must address himself to the real socialism which developed under specific historical conditions and is developing and strengthening today, when a mighty struggle is being fought between the two worlds--the capitalist and the socialist.

Utopian socialism was not consistent with reality and could not be implemented. Real socialism is already now offering a happy life to the peoples of a number of countries, a life incomparably better than under capitalism and under the system which ruled these countries before the revolution. Real socialism is making a decisive contribution to the cause of universal peace and to the salvation of mankind from the greatest danger of the elimination of hundreds of millions and even billions of people in the flames of global conflagration. This is being accomplished already now, rather than postponed for the more-or-less distant future. Once socialism has won the world over and reached its perfection, and once communism has triumphed, after several generations have been raised under the new system, and when the legacy remaining in the socialist countries from the old system has been entirely surmounted and the capitalist system, whose very existence presents the danger of a new world war, has disappeared, the greatness of socialism will become obvious and unquestionable to one and all.

One cannot favor socialism as an idea while turning one's back to real socialism as built in the Soviet Union and under construction in the other

socialist countries. To denigrate the achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union and of real socialism means to denigrate the idea of socialism in general.

Some say that the entire "trouble" lies in the fact that socialism won in underdeveloped countries. Had it won in Britain or France, it is claimed, the picture would have been different, and socialism would have been built better. Such a formulation of the question is both speculative and non-historical. All these "ifs" are nothing but great foolishness. History does not develop thus. Had socialism not won in countries where it could win it would have been impossible to speak of any transition to socialism through an easier way, with lesser difficulties and lesser casualties and losses in the countries of the capitalist West.

In order to justify their mistrust of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, some people refer to the events of the 1930's. To this we answer that, indeed, at that time there were violations of socialist democracy and of the Leninist norms of party life. However, was this the main feature among everything which was being accomplished at that time? It is not true that at that time the building of socialism went on in the Soviet Union? Was it not then that the moral-political and socioeconomic base which enable the Soviet Union to defeat the sworn enemy of mankind--German fascism--and rescue the world from Hitlerite barbarism, was laid? That is the most important fact.

It was precisely the CPSU that in 1956 condemned the errors and distortions and analyzed both the objective reasons (at that time the Soviet Union was surrounded on all sides by predatory enemies) and the subjective factors governing the development of the cult of personality. These negative phenomena which existed in the Soviet Union have long vanished. Why after so many years bring this back again and again, and is it possible because of this not to trust the CPSU, which has done more for the freedom of the peoples and the freedom of man, for the national and social liberation of mankind, and for universal peace, than any other political force in the world?

One of the most important stipulations of Marxist-Leninist theory is the unity, the integrity of scientific socialism as an outlook. It is impossible to accept part of it and reject another, as impossible as it would be, for example, to separate dialectical from historical materialism.

Of late, some people have tried to separate Marx from Lenin and Marxism from Leninism. Some of them have even gone so far as to call for a "return to Marx." Their sole purpose is to reject Lenin's doctrine. In their view, Leninism corresponded to Russia's conditions at a specific period. Today it might be consistent with conditions prevailing in backward countries only.

Such "theories" cannot withstand criticism, for Leninism is nothing but Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and of socialist revolutions. Lenin

analyzed the new situation on the basis of the concepts developed by Marx and Engels. He discovered how the law of uneven development of capitalism operated within it and drew new conclusions concerning the socialist revolution. Lenin did not reject Marx' doctrine. Instead, he remained loyal to it. He creatively developed and enriched it in accordance with the new circumstances. That is how the term "Marxism-Leninism" appeared. Leninism is the Marxism of the contemporary age.

Do these arguments represent any kind of new phenomenon in the world workers and communist movements? They do not, for there already have existed all kinds of Trotskyites, there was the "Fourth International," and there have been revisionists and opportunists. In Lenin's time, at the turn of the 20th century, there were about 50 movements in Russia's labor movement, and many of their supporters considered themselves Marxists. There was far greater vagueness at that time. Yet what did historical experience show? It proved that the struggle which Lenin and his fellow workers waged against all other ideological currents was vitally necessary, for had the Bolshevik line not won there would have been no October Revolution and socialism would not have won. There is only one correct ideology, only one scientific socialism. Today the communist parties are collectively developing Marxist-Leninist ideology. The more efforts the communists dedicate to the development of theory and the closer they coordinate their policy, the better will the revolutionary process develop in the individual countries and throughout the world.

Today we are living in an entirely different age. The revolutionary movement has already gained great experience. Socialism has won victories which have changed the shape of the world and all victorious socialist revolutions have been guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Some of our ideological opponents are claiming that Marxist concepts have allegedly become obsolete in the age of the scientific and technical revolution. Let us ask them the following: Has the basic antagonistic class contradiction within the capitalist society become obsolete? Naturally, new strata of hired labor have appeared and the stratum of the toiling intelligentsia has thickened considerably, while the class struggle has been enriched with new forms added to its tested and traditional ones. However, all these developments have not changed the substance of the contradictions in the capitalist system. The contradiction between hired labor and capital has remained basic. The objective requirement to improve productive capital and the objective need to reach a higher level of development of human society demand today, even more adamantly than in the past, a radical reorganization of production relations. The capitalist ownership of productive capital must be replaced by socialist ownership. Our ideological opponents think that they are inventing something new. However, the moment Marxism was born its enemies had opposed the doctrine, resorting to a variety of pseudo-arguments. In reality, the Marxism of today has not only not become obsolete but has proved, both theoretically and practically, that it is the only scientific doctrine consistent with



the objective laws of social development. Socialism is not a utopia but a theory which has already become reality in a number of countries throughout the world and for millions of people on earth. Socialism is the future of all mankind.

The Communist Party of Israel is guided by the theory of scientific socialism, the doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and is creatively applying it in the specific circumstances of its country. Clarity of objectives, proper understanding of ideological foundations, and a political program are prerequisites for the success of the communist party as a party serving the interests of the working people, the true national interests of the nation, and the general cause of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The importance of ideological work is immeasurable. Struggling and surmounting difficulties, we have always watched over our principles and defended our ideology and policy.

That is precisely why the Communist Party of Israel continues to wage a principled struggle against Zionist ideology and practice, which represent the interests of the big Jewish bourgeoisie and are against the expectations of the toiling people and the common cause of progress and socialism. We believe that the struggle against Zionist ideology and practice is not only consistent with the class interests of the working class and all working people in Israel and the common interests of progress and socialism, but also that it expresses the true concern for Israeli national interests to a no lesser extent.

That is precisely why the Communist Party of Israel is engaged in a principled struggle against the falsifiers and opponents of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the socialist system in the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity. Above all, we are struggling against anti-Sovietism in all its manifestations, as it tries to undermine the faith of the working people and the youth in the socialist ideals, thus playing into the hands of the enemies of the working people and of the freedom of the nations.

Our party considers the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism in Israel a task of great importance. In recent years interest in ideological problems has increased among the broad public circles, the youth in particular. A large number of people are seeking answers to basic problems of the development of society, national relations, and the nature of socialism on the one hand, and Zionism on the other. The continued occupation of Arab territories and the cruel policy of oppression of the Arab population in the occupied territories have shaken the faith of many people in Zionist ideology and practice.

We emphasize that the Israeli people should not be identified with Zionism. Support of the right of the state of Israel to exist does not mean in the

least support of Zionism. Furthermore, as the ideology and practice of the Jewish pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, Zionism opposes not only the Arab peoples and the common cause of peace, national independence, and socialism, but the true interests of the Israeli people themselves. Zionism blocks their liberation from political, economic, and military dependence on foreign monopolies and imperialist powers. Zionism continues to follow the rule of "together with imperialism and against the Arab peoples," whereas the Communist Party of Israel has always struggled under the slogan of "together with the Arab peoples and against imperialism."

The Communist Party of Israel has been the only political party in the country to struggle against the aggressive force mounted by the governments of Israel against the Arab states.

At the present time the Communist Party of Israel considers the struggle against the occupation of Arab territories seized by Israel during the 1967 aggression and for a peace in the Middle East a strategic task. For this reason, regardless of ideological differences, it is trying to cooperate with political circles and public figures who are in favor of political realism and understand that continued occupation and the absence of peace is dangerous to Israel itself. That is precisely why we are opposing the Carter-Begin-Sadat Camp-David conspiracy. This deal not only does not bring us closer to a total, just, and lasting peace, but makes it more distant and increases the threat of a new war. The increased restrictions and the development of settlements on occupied Palestine land by the Begin Government and the escalation of aggression against Lebanon clearly prove all this.

The Israeli rulers are the supporters of the most sinister and racist forces in the world. The country's leaders were the close allies of the shah of Iran and the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza. Without a twinge of conscience they continue to supply weapons to the racist regime in South Africa and the fascist junta in Chile. Detente is a thorn in the flesh of Israeli reaction. We are convinced that this policy is dangerous to the Israeli people. The struggle waged by our party against the political course of the ruling circles is both internationalist and patriotic.

At the same time, never has the revolutionary process as a whole had such favorable conditions as today. This is due, above all, thanks to the existence and power of the world socialist community and the Soviet Union. This decisive circumstance helps us, the communists of all countries, to radically intensify our struggle for peace, democracy, social progress, and socialism. The experience of our party, which celebrated its 60th anniversary this year, proves that even in the difficult and complex conditions under which we operate, under the conditions of an outburst of chauvinism, militarism, and extreme anti-Sovietism, the communist party can act, strengthen, broaden its influence, and gain allies. Our experience confirms that this is possible when the party is ideologically and politically firm and flexible in its tactics. We shall loyally continue our pursuit of this course.

## ON THE ROAD OF POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL MATURING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 79-86

[Article by A. Grachev and P. Reshetov]

[Text] The progressive youth movement is celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Youth International (1919-1943). The proletarian youth became strong with the creation of the CYP. Its progressive detachments became united on the basis of Marxist-Leninist positions. For the first time it rallied the actions of young people from different countries in an organized international movement, closely linking it with the struggle waged by the communist and workers parties. The CYP offered good training in proletarian internationalism to the leaders of the youth organizations, who thus acquired experience and the skill to work among the masses.

At the turn of the 1940's the revolutionary youth movement entered a new stage of development. The question of creating new youth associations, broader in terms of social and political structure, was put on the agenda. In the period of clashes against fascism and following its defeat, and in the course of the anti-fascist democratic struggle waged by the young people and the students, it was essentially on the grounds prepared by the CYP that the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Students Association appeared, having borrowed the best CYP traditions.

An international democratic movement of youth and students, exceptionally broad in scope and composition, developed in the 1950's-1960's and subsequently, in the course of an active struggle for peace and security of the peoples, against the threatening arms race, and through actions of solidarity with countries and peoples fighting imperialism and for their liberation. Along with the communist youth leagues, it involves the participation of a variety of social democratic, liberal, pacifistic, religious, and other organizations which hold similar views on such most important problems of our time.

The CYP deserves unquestionable credit for the progressive trends which developed in the international youth movement.

The activeness of the young generation and the scale of activities of the various national and international youth and student organizations have increased manyfold over the past decades. The World Federation of Democratic Youth is comprised today of 200 youth organizations from 12 different countries. Over 100 national student unions are affiliated with the International Students Union. Their membership has increased severalfold and the prestige of the young communists among the broad youth strata of their countries has risen. The youth movement has become an important social and political force of our time.

The great traditions of anti-militaristic and anti-fascist struggle waged by the progressive youth and its international solidarity, developed during the existence of the CYP, are expressed in the active struggle for detente and disarmament, mass anti-imperialist movements, and spreading cooperation among the various detachments of the youth movement.

The struggle waged by the democratic youth in the developed capitalist countries for its interests and vital rights, for equality, and for a worthy position in society, has considerably developed in recent years.

The unabated intensity of youth actions in the capitalist world in the mid-1970's was related, above all, to the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and the drastic aggravation of its economic and social contradictions.

Global statistics confirm the continuing "rejuvenation" of our planet, the increased share of young people in the earth's population, and the corresponding growth of their role in social production life. In Western Europe and North America alone, over 80 million young men and women are employed in the production area. The share of young people among working people is 30% in France and the United States, and even higher--40-45%--in Japan. However, those same statistics also proved, at the same time, the number of young unemployed, despairing of finding a use for their forces and capabilities, is also growing in the capitalist part of the world. The headlong increase of the mass of the young people entering independent life and production activity under capitalist conditions has brought about a considerable "rejuvenation" of social strata which clash against the social inequity prevailing under capitalism.

According to official data of the International Labor Organization, over 40% of the multimillion-strong army of people deprived of the possibility to work in the capitalist world are young. Unemployment among young people in the developed Western industrial countries doubled between 1970 and 1976. Currently it totals seven million people. The fact that the young people are turning into a new group of unfortunates has been acknowledged by some leaders of the capitalist countries as well.

Furthermore, as a rule, official statistics include only those who have the right to unemployment aid. No such right has been granted to the variety

of seasonal workers or unemployed school graduates. In Italy and the United States, for example, this situation affects double the number of registered young unemployed. Unemployment is spreading ever more broadly among young people with a higher education. Thus, in Italy over one half of the unemployed youth aged 18 to 28 are with higher or secondary education. Furthermore, a number of young people are finding it difficult to acquire proper vocational training, as a result of which tens of thousands of them become either unskilled workers or, once again, find themselves unemployed.

The big business magnates use the steady high level of youth unemployment as a huge reservoir for manpower which cannot rely on the protection of the trade union leadership which is oriented primarily toward permanent members. The existence of such an essentially rightless army of unemployed makes it possible for the monopolies to attack the living standard of all working people. Furthermore, the entrepreneurs assign the young people to the most difficult and low-paid production sectors, while at the same time increasing their work load.

Particularly difficult is the situation of the majority of young people of various national minorities, agricultural workers, immigrants, and other groups particularly discriminated against. In the United States, for example, because of racist hiring practices and as a result of the low level of education of the Negro youth and the young workers belonging to other national minorities, their unemployment level has reached a catastrophic scale--about 40%. Most young people in the American urban slums and ghettos are doomed to unemployment even before reaching employment age. The bourgeois society acts toward a considerable segment of the youth as if to an alien and hostile force, opposing its requirements, demands, and expectations. "At the dawn of their life the young people have no work or means of existence," a French Communist Party document stated.

Mass unemployment, intensified exploitation, and general worsening of the situation of the working youth are the main reasons for their political energizing in the capitalist countries in recent years. Ever broader strata among this youth realize that the root of the problems they face are indivisible from the class contradictions of capitalism. "The powerful growth of youth action opposing the order of the world of exploitation and oppression," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "is an important factor of the contemporary sociopolitical struggle. It confirms that the obsolete system has no reliable support among the growing generation on earth."

The participation of young workers in strikes is growing. In the United States, for example, annually about two million young people go on strike. In the Common Market countries, compared with the 1960's level, the participation of the young people in this traditional form of class struggle more than tripled in the 1970's. Frequently the working youth resort to independent actions in specific ways. In Paris a mass anti-unemployment demonstration, demanding the right to work and to a skill, involved 150,000 French young men and women. Tens of thousands signed the appeal "Equal Wages for Equal Youth Labor" sponsored by Swedish youth organizations.

The number of joint international actions of solidarity and struggle by the youth of different capitalist countries, opposing unemployment, has risen. In July 1977 a meeting between representatives of communist youth leagues of 12 Western European countries, sponsored by the Socialist German Working Youth, was held in Dortmund, FRG. The appeal to the young people of the capitalist countries of Europe, adopted at the meeting, calls for "combining efforts in joint actions for the elimination of unemployment and fighting those who are responsible for it."

Along with the young communists, who headed the mass actions against unemployment in most Western European countries, other political organizations, particularly young social democrats, are participating in the movement. Thus in January 1978, a mass demonstration was held against unemployment in Brussels, in front the Common Market headquarters building. It was sponsored by the International Association of Young Socialists, who had completed a three-week walk started simultaneously in a number of Western European cities.

The conflict between the democratic youth and the capitalist society is expanding further and further. Prerequisites for the adoption by new youth groups of the positions of a break with the capitalist society and involving bigger strata of the young generation in the struggle waged by the working class for democracy and socialism are developing under the circumstances of aggravated economic difficulties in the capitalist countries and the new trials and tribulations facing the youth. The increased social activeness of the youth is a convincing proof of the conclusion drawn by the 25th CPSU Congress that today "new generations, social strata, parties, and organizations are becoming involved in the revolutionary process."

The new detachments of potential fighters for the democratic and revolutionary renovation of society in the capitalist countries are becoming targets of intensive ideological indoctrination on the part of the ruling circles of the capitalist society, the various bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideologues, and the mass-information media. Under the developing conditions of an ideological weakening of capitalist influence on the majority of the young generation, they are applying maximum efforts to prevent the rapprochement between the broad youth circles and the basic revolutionary force of our time--the working class--and its battle vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties. Both supporters of traditional anti-communism and the various "new" anti-communists, ranging from the "new philosophers" to the "new right," are trying to use in their interest the broadened composition of the participants in the anti-monopoly struggle in order to misdirect the social trend of the youth protest and disorient the youth through the dissemination of a variety of bourgeois, reformist, and extreme leftist concepts and views. Attempts to lead the youth into the false, dead-end ways of the struggle, including extremism and terrorism, play an important role in the tactic used by monopoly capital to influence the youth.

Of late this has been manifested most clearly in the youth and student movements of Italy, the FRG, and France. The provocative tricks of right-wing and "left-wing" extremists pursue the same objective: to pit the mass of students and young working and the ever larger number of unemployed young people, victims of a most severe economic crisis, against the working class and the broad toiling strata, and to promote in the deprived and despairing youth a feeling of hostility and mistrust toward the communist parties and the democratic trade unions.

The ideologues of "left-wing" and right-wing extremism link their hopes to the current stage of aggravation of capitalist socioeconomic contradictions and the spreading among the young of feelings of discontent and disappointment which are essentially inherent in the petit bourgeois segment of the youth, who, having realized the sterility of their "political activism," have taken the path of developing the so-called youth "counterculture." A number of Western researchers, such as T. Rozak, D. Yankelovich and others who have described this complex and contradictory process extending to a considerable stratum of the youth in the developed capitalist countries, have tried to present this as a universal phenomenon, as the next and just about inevitable stage of the spiritual development of the adolescents today. Urging on the new generation toward a "revolution of consciousness and culture," and changes in the style and way of life, they are thus trying to direct as much as possible the attention of the youth away from specific social and political problems and alienate it from the revolution-ary transforming and organizing struggle of the working class.

The tactic of dividing the youth movement and attempts to pit its individual detachments one against the other, to hinder the organization of cooperation among various youth political forces and, above all, to undermine the strengthening positions of the communists--the most systematic fighters for youth's vital interests and rights--is an essential element of bourgeois policy. It is aimed at preventing the spreading of the flames of social protest among the contemporary young generation.

In the struggle for radical positive changes in the awareness of the broad toiling masses and student youth, the communist parties and youth communist leagues rely on the real experience acquired by the youth movement in recent years.

This experience has made it possible for considerable youth strata to acquire the irreplaceable training of exposure to real life and the class struggle, enabling them to test in practice the veracity or falseness of their ideas. The further upsurge of the struggle waged by the working class and the toiling masses in the developed capitalist countries for their rights and against the oppression of the monopolies and capitalist exploitation, the new successes achieved by the members of the socialist comity, the series of national-democratic revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the confident progress of the forces of peace, democracy, and social progress throughout the world, are among the most important landmarks of youth experience in the 1970's.

Patient and attentive work with the youth masses, and struggle for the contemporary youth and the full utilization of their democratic and revolutionary potential in the interests of the working people and of its own is the essential position held by the communists. They are trying to convert the sympathy for and interest in socialism, widespread among the young people, into scientific, Marxist-Leninist, convictions. The rising level of youth political consciousness is manifested in an ever more noticeable withdrawal from the ideology and practice of "left-wing" extremism and facing factual reality and major daily problems, worsening living, working, and recreation conditions, growing unemployment, and the backwardness of the vocational-technical training system and of secondary and higher education. The struggle against these and other vices of the capitalist society is waged by large youth detachments aware of the similarity between their needs and the needs of all working people. This struggle contributes to the awakening of interest in the experience of the combat actions of the proletariat and in its revolutionary ideology. From attempts to play the role of an autonomous revolutionary movement, developing independently of the struggle waged by the working class and, occasionally, against it, imposed by extremist elements, the young people in the capitalist countries are beginning to convert ever more consciously to the positions of supporting the actions of the working people against monopoly oppression.

The youth struggle against unemployment is becoming better organized. In a number of countries, in Italy in particular, in 1976-1977 a variety of committees and leagues began to be organized which are struggling for raising employment and promoting the energizing of the unified movement of young unemployed, with the participation of democratic trade unions and parties.

In our day the aspect of the student movement is changing substantially. After a certain decline in the number of actions which followed the 1967-1970 "explosion," the students in the capitalist countries, having experienced the consequences of the intensifying crisis of the capitalist system, are resuming their active participation in political life. The students are protesting the growing subordination of the educational system to the interests of monopoly capital and are demanding of the authorities higher scholarships and lowering the cost of education. Lowering expenditures for social needs, while at the same time raising appropriations for the arms race, the ruling circles of the imperialist countries will eventually restrict the access to education of the broad youth masses. In the United States, for example, over the past decade budget outlays for education have been reduced by 30%. In Britain, "with a view to saving state funds" the government has reduced by approximately one half enrollment in liberal higher educational institutions and increased payments for attending schools at all levels. An awareness that their interests are those of the interests of all working people is growing among the students.

In recent years the active work of the communist parties among the young people has made it possible not only to strengthen their positions in the



youth and student movements, but to repel the attempts of the reaction to mount new anti-communist campaigns and to undermine Marxist-Leninist influence among the intelligentsia and the middle classes. A number of blows were dealt against the ideology of left-wing petit bourgeois revolutionarism and anarchism. The communists have strengthened their "left flank." The program of the struggle under the new conditions--the conditions of the developing scientific and technical revolution and the considerable broadening of the social foundations of the anti-monopoly struggle--was refined.

The increased communist influence among the ranks of the protesting youth is also manifested in the steady strengthening of the ranks of Marxist youth organizations. As a whole, in the past decade, the youth communist movement has not only strengthened organizationally, but has been reinforced as a result of the new alliances developed in the FRG, Sweden, Portugal, Greece, Austria, and Denmark.

At the same time, however, we must take into consideration the fact that feelings of social apathy and alienation, affecting youth circles, have somewhat broadened the range of young people who, breaking with the concepts imposed on them by the bourgeoisie, are not as yet ready to accept the new ideals and remain on the margin of the labor movement and the struggle for the revolutionary reorganization of society. This situation, UNITA, the newspaper of the Italian communists, emphasized, creates the danger of a "break and conflict between some young people, even though in the minority, and the labor movement and the leading democratic and popular forces of society." The communists do not hide that, as in the past, the danger remains of poisoning the young people, not only with left-wing extremist, but openly rightist (including fascist) ideology.

The tangible decline of the popularity of left-wing radical ideology in recent years by far does not eliminate the gravity of the problem of the influence of extreme leftist views and concepts affecting a considerable segment of the students and working youth in the West. What makes the need for a decisive counteraction to "left-wing" radicalism even more topical is that ever more significant masses of working youth and students are seeking means with which to express their protest against and disagreement with surrounding social reality, seriously considering the ways and means for mounting a truly revolutionary struggle.

The contribution which the youth movement has made to the struggle for the solution of a major problem facing mankind--the defense of universal peace--may be considered as a characteristic indicator of the level of the social maturity achieved by the contemporary youth movement. Problems of the struggle for peace and for international detente and security of the nations, and against aggressive imperialist policy have been, in the course of recent decades, essentially the main direction followed in the activities of many youth and student organizations. This is natural, for the young people react particularly sharply to the threat to their future stemming from the arms race, international tension, and imperialist intrigues.

However, the question is not merely that of the future. The forces acting against peace and detente are violating the rights of the youth and depriving thousands of young men and women of the possibility to harmoniously develop, acquire an education, and work in the interests of society. That is why the youth movement for the intensification of detente blends with the struggle of the working people for their rights and vital interests and assumes a progressive and democratic trend. Cooperation among broad democratic youth movements in most important problems of the preservation and support of the peace, and the struggle against imperialist aggression and all manifestations of fascist arbitrariness and reaction, have become a typical and steadily strengthening trend.

These processes were particularly noticeable in the European youth movement of the 1970's. The leading youth organizations of the European countries actively supported the most important peaceful initiatives formulated by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The struggle for peace, security and cooperation in Europe rallied the supporters of the various political and ideological currents of the democratic youth.

The young communists and social democrats, and the adolescents of different persuasions actively favor the addition of military to political detente and the solution of the most urgent problem facing mankind--restraining the arms race and disarmament. These problems were the topics of the European conference of young people and students on disarmament problems, the most representative such conference held in recent years, held in Budapest on 20-22 January 1978. Here the supporters of the basic political currents within the European youth movement unanimously condemned plans for the deployment of neutron weapons in Western Europe and demanded the adoption of specific measures in the field of disarmament.

The sinister plans of the American military and NATO to impose on the European peoples a new missile of intermediate range, aimed at the Soviet Union and its allies, was sharply condemned by the broad youth strata. Last October, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and International Students Union called for energetic joint actions to oppose the plans of the NATO military strategists to initiate a new, dangerous round of the arms race. "The young people are ever more actively contributing to the efforts aimed at detente, asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and developing extensive cooperation," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out. The participation of the young people in the struggle for peace and detente, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples takes the young generation into the leading ranks of the active participants in the most important political battles of our time and lays the foundations for broadening cooperation and rallying the different youth detachments.

The young people, their status in society, the nature and development of their actions, and the prospects in the development of the youth and student movements are problems which, of late, have become the subject of

an intensive ideological and political struggle in the developed capitalist countries. Essentially, it is a question of the path which will be chosen by the masses of young people and what kind of political reserve--revolutionary or reactionary--the generations which are now entering the arena of sociopolitical activities will turn out to be. That is why the tireless struggle for the youth has been, and remains, the most important sector in the confrontation between the forces of democracy and progress and those of imperialism and reaction.

The political forces related to the obsolete social systems are trying to use the young people to promote their own interests, the interests of the preservation of the capitalist system and of a society of social injustice and exploitation of man by man. However, ever broader democratic youth strata are realizing that it is precisely the working class and its revolutionary parties that could offer them the difficult, yet real path of struggle for a better future for themselves and for all honest working people.

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## WORKING CLASS AGAINST THE ARMS RACE

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[Article by Yu. Vasil'chuk, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] The working class, which is the center of the age, bears the main responsibility for the preservation of life on our planet and the prevention of the threat of an unprecedented world war. Today its political and economic battles have been focused on the struggle for peace. Its immediate interests and final objectives, related to the implementation of its universal-historical mission and humanistic ideals, have become interwoven.

"In the struggle for a lasting peace," L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, emphasized, "today there is no more important task than putting an end to the arms race launched by the imperialist countries, and converting to disarmament."

The particularly topical nature of the struggle for disarmament is closely linked with the changes which have taken place in the very nature of the arms race and the new phenomena in its dynamics. A clear understanding of these changes and an awareness of the particularly parasitical nature of the exploitation of the proletariat in the war industry, and the biggest role of the arms race as a hindrance to socioeconomic progress have become an important prerequisite for the further development of the anti-militaristic international workers movement.

### Nature of the Arms Race and Possibility to Surmount It

The international workers movement firmly rejects the concept of the inevitability of the arms race and a new world war. It condemns the heating up of hostility and hatred among nations, whatever its origin. This line became ever more dominating in the 1970's, when a relatively stable balance of armaments developed in Europe and throughout the world, insuring the equal security of countries belonging to different social systems.

In that period many things acquired a new obviousness. First of all, any consecutive spiral in the arms race cannot change this balance of forces,

for already today the great powers have the capacity to destroy one another several times over. Secondly, the further stockpiling of weapons no longer strengthens, but undermines the security of all countries, for the main danger--an accidental outbreak of a global tragedy--is increased.

Therefore, what is it that is continuing to urge on the arms race at its present scale, and what are its socioeconomic roots?

Starting with an attempt to provide a superficial answer to such questions, the liberal critics of capitalism see as the starting point of the arms race the competition between the leaderships of the basic arms. Indeed, increasing appropriations for one of the Pentagon subdivisions doubles and triples the political pressure of the others, creating a kind of "chain reaction." The nature of the arms race is determined, therefore, as being a competitive offspring of militarism. However, such a view is obviously limited and, in itself, does not explain in the least, in particular, why it was that precisely in the mid-1970's the so-called joint pressure exerted by the supporters of the arms race in the imperialist camp was intensified drastically. As we know, powerful economic forces and monopolies--suppliers of missiles, airplanes, tanks, guns, navy ships, and means to oppose them stand behind each of the branches of the armed forces, competing for state allocations (not to mention the fact that the Pentagon itself is the biggest owner in the United States: in 1974 the value of its property was assessed at \$250 billion, exceeding the property of 50 of the biggest corporations, and reaching 55% of all government-owned property in the United States). Each arm, naturally, "consumes" steel or aluminum, electric power or petroleum, electronic equipment or rubber in different amounts, i.e., it "stimulates" differently the activeness and profitability of the metallurgical, electrical engineering, rubber, and other industrial sectors.

Whereas economic circumstances remain favorable as a whole, virtually all powerful corporations are earning the profits they need from the production of non-military goods. The situation changes radically when the crisis reduces the market for civilian goods, as was the case in the 1970's. The corporations then try to "compensate" this with military orders, using for this purpose "their people" in the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill. By imperialist tradition of seeking a solution to difficulties through militarization, the arms suppliers rally even more closely within the aggressive military-industrial complex, which remains uncontrolled by technocrats and bourgeois democrats, singling out and increasing the influence of fanatics who promote a martial "ultra-patriotic" mentality. Even though only a small part of the monopolies is a part of the military-industrial complex, its lobby has proved to be quite powerful because of the obvious confusion within the bourgeois reformist and social reformist movements, caused by the interweaving of crises and unemployment with the major inflation of the 1970's. Pressure has been initiated to lower social expenditures and save along all lines for the sake of financing military orders. The results of the activities of the military-industrial lobby in the United States are

well known. In Great Britain as well, however, such processes were an important factor for the defeat of the Labor Party. In the FRG the pressure of the militarists has had a noticeable influence on the military policies of the Schmidt-Genscher Cabinet.

The essence of the matter may be found in a conclusion which, unfortunately, has not been reached even by many social democrats, i.e., that the arms race has proved to be an immoral and anti-social direct weapon of the class struggle waged by the bourgeoisie. First of all, the arms race undermines the political mobility of the working class. Maintaining a military psychosis, and aggravating and distorting the ideological-political struggle between conflicting social systems, it helps the bourgeoisie and the military to strike at democratic traditions and forces and at the labor movement. It hinders the growth of the class struggle of the working people. Secondly, the most aggressive Western politicians occasionally cynically consider the arms race as an economic form of the conscious class struggle waged by imperialism aimed at "exhausting" the socialist world. In 32 years (from 1946 to 1977) direct U.S. military expenditures have exceeded \$1.8 trillion. In other words, they have amounted to a fantastic figure which has been extremely burdensome even in terms of the American economy, exceeding all present fixed capital of the U.S. processing industry by a 3.5 factor.

As we know, the Soviet Union has had to counter this under conditions of most severe postwar difficulties. Despite them and other objective historical aspects, the Soviet economy developed sufficiently powerful air force, nuclear and hydrogen weapons, and missile carrying systems and, by the 1970's, reached approximate parity in the power of armaments and all armed forces. Need we point out the cost of this to the Soviet people and to the historically young socialist economy and culture.

Characteristically, the petit bourgeois hegemonists are also trying to inflate the military psychosis and the arms race and use the poverty, privations, ignorance, and suffering of hundreds of millions of people to create military-bureaucratic empires and to suppress democratic and socialist forces. The great-power and hegemonistic aspirations of the Maoists, who increased in 1978-1979 their military expenditures 34% (see RENMIN RIBAO, 30 June 1979) and are preparing an alliance with the bosses of the military-industrial complexes of the capitalist countries, present a great danger. They justify the arms race by referring to the allegedly unavoidable inevitability of the preservation and intensification of the cold war and of local "hot wars," and, therefore, of increased military preparations. In their view the struggle for trust among countries and for disarmament merely means the swindling of the masses, the promotion of illusions, and leading the masses away from the "real" class struggle.

The possibility to take real steps and be successful in disarmament today is the result of deep social processes based on the huge, global rising development of the international working class, both as the main productive

force making the scientific and technical revolution and the main revolutionary force which determines the direction of social changes today. It is precisely this process, whose greatest accomplishment was the creation of the world socialist comity, that contains the source of the growing power and influence of the systematically democratic and peace-loving forces, workers parties, trade unions, and cooperatives which mobilize public opinion in the struggle against the arms race.

The systematic struggle waged by the socialist states and the international working class for friendship and trust among nations and for strengthening the peace factually proves the groundlessness of the war psychosis promoted in the West. Under contemporary conditions this struggle is based on a sufficiently strong foundation which must be taken into consideration by the enemies of detente. Under the influence of the struggle of the working class the democratization of public awareness is inseparably linked with the strengthening of the positions and influence of the forces of peace. The democratic forces of the capitalist countries are raising the question of strengthening peaceful coexistence through the all-round development of good-neighborly cooperation among countries belonging to different systems in all realms of social, economic, scientific, and cultural activities.

Furthermore, the objectively necessary and progressive process of internationalization of social life, the broadening of reciprocally profitable trade and other economic relations, and the development of the global economy intensify the interest of the various social strata in stable international relations and in strengthening trust among countries. Even a considerable segment of the multinational corporations, oriented toward the production of civilian goods, favors today the elimination of foreign trade discrimination and the continuation of detente and disarmament. Finally, the aggravation of global problems facing mankind, and whose solution requires the collective efforts of many countries, is acting to an ever greater extent along that direction (problems of hunger and illiteracy affecting hundreds of millions of people, communicable diseases, shortages of fuel and energy resources and raw materials, environmental pollution, and so on).

Until 1974 the international agreements achieved as a result of the efforts of the USSR and its allies contained the arms race within certain limits, and the burden of militarism had become substantially eased. The war industry monopolies proved to be far from omnipotent. A certain share of direct military expenditures which took place during that period in the gross national product of the United States, Canada, France, the FRG, Italy, and a number of other capitalist countries offered real proof of the increased power of the working class (particularly in Europe), of the strengthening of trust and peace on the European Continent, and the development of detente.

However, in fact, the growth of military expenditures in the capitalist countries began to accelerate as early as 1973, even though initially this

was concealed. Whereas in the 1972 U.S. fiscal year the factual military expenditures for various items exceeded direct military appropriations by 35%, they exceeded them by 43% in the 1973 fiscal year and by 60-65% in 1976. The growth of military expenditures planned for 1977 to 1982 is nearly double that of the pace of overall budget increases. In terms of 1978 prices the production of war materiel in 1976-1979 will nearly double. The implementation of approximately 50 programs with a total cost of \$205 billion was initiated, stipulating the creation of a number of types of offensive weapons. The military is urging the production of a "new generation" of MX intercontinental missiles, Trident nuclear submarines, AWACS military electronics systems, and new mass-destruction weapons such as the neutron bomb and a nerve-paralyzing poison gas, and a "new generation" of B-1 bombers armed with Cruise missiles. A qualitatively new round in the race was planned in the field of Army weapons as well.

Under such circumstances extensive and intensive work was needed which resulted in the SALT II treaty, concluded in Vienna between the USSR and the United States, aimed at applying the brakes to this fatal process. Its historical significance on the level of expanding disarmament possibilities in the future is tremendous. As A. A. Gromyko, CC CPSU Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, emphasized, this treaty does not in itself put an end to the arms race, but represents a tremendous step toward the creation of an atmosphere of reciprocal trust among nations."

#### The Production of Armaments Is a Particularly Parasitical Area of Capitalist Exploitation

In the Leninist theory of imperialism the study of mass-scale war production occupies an important place because of features such as parasitism and decay of capitalism at its highest stage. It is precisely in this area that double parasitism is expressed: on the one hand, the added value created by the working class in the civilian sectors, equaling military consumption, is taken out of the national economy, wasted for anti-social purposes, and destroyed. On the other, as a result of the exploitation of the working class, a very great value and added value are created in the armaments area, represented by means and systems for human destruction. It is also parasitical and a loss to society. In other words, non-productive consumption is expanded by non-productive production.

On the surface production of armaments continues to look like the "most progressive" segment of the capitalist economy. Here the most complex and skilled manpower is the object of exploitation. As a rule, it is equipped with the most advanced and expensive equipment. In 1970 about 40% of all workers employed here were with specialized training (in a number of production facilities, up to 60%). The overwhelming majority of the latest discoveries, developments, and patents created in gigantic laboratories and other scientific centers are directed into this realm of exploitation of complex manpower. Insuring relatively high earnings to the complex manpower recruited here, and subcontracting with many companies, under mass-



unemployment conditions the military-industrial complex is having a demoralizing influence on a certain percentage of the working class. Under such circumstances the progressive trade union organizations do not find it simple at all to struggle for disarmament.

In order to gain a clearer idea of the extent of these difficulties we must take into consideration certain important characteristics of the exploitation process as it takes place in this area.

The creation of added value by monopolies working for war is based on the government's redistribution of values created by the economy at large. This results in the development of the area of state-monopoly capitalism governed by laws distinct from the laws governing the private and state sectors. After a study of the profits of 169 military-industrial companies a Senate committee noted that in 164 of them profits ranged from 50 to 200%; the profits of 3 of them exceeded 500%; 4 had profits in excess of 1,000%; and 1 had a 2,000% profit. The controlling mechanism of equalizing profits in this sector has obviously been wrecked. Furthermore, the abnormally high profitability of the armaments industry is combined with its instability and increased dependence on the bureaucratic machinery.

Activities in this area do not contribute to the scientific and technical revolution as is customarily claimed by militarism, but is converted into a military-technical upturn threatening all mankind, hindering true progress in a number of ways. Today the production of armaments means the parasitical utilization of complex manpower, great discoveries, and the latest technology for the production of means suitable only for the destruction of civilization.

Let us show in greater detail why war production is the most important reason for the decay of many other economic sectors.

First of all, military procurement orders radically destroy the direct criteria of enterprise effectiveness and productivity. Producing goods for the civilian sector the enterprises try to be economical and lower production costs to a minimum. In military production, frequently, the objective is principally different: to raise costs since the higher the cost of a given weapons system, the higher the gross output and company profits become. The immediate objective of the production process itself is the maximum waste of resources (because in losing military orders such enterprises are frequently unable to withstand the competition, cause losses to their corporations, and even request state subsidies). As we know, there is no separation between military and civilian production, and they are frequently combined within the same enterprises. For this reason production effectiveness criteria are undermined in civilian production as well.

Secondly, since the level of production competence does not become in the least the basis of effective company work, replaced by the front office's skill to "establish relations" with state organizations assigning military

procurement orders, the processes of corruption and decay of the state apparatus becomes sharply intensified. Characteristically, the export of arms has also become the export of similar corruption. As we know, prime ministers, ministers of defense, or deputies become targets of corruption.

Thirdly, due to the reduced level of scientific organization of labor and increased production costs (i.e., the standard of civilian production becomes undermined), caused by the specific nature of war production, it becomes vitally important to the company to shift the burden of such costs to the consumer. This is achieved by raising prices. Thus militarism directly triggers and provokes the rise of prices, not only of military, but of civilian goods as well.

Furthermore, burdening the machine-building industry with the production of armaments, militarism hinders the technical retooling of the entire economy and, particularly, of agriculture. It forces companies and enterprises to purchase machinery at far higher costs. This requires either very high income (i.e., raising the prices of food and other mass consumer goods) or permanent state subsidies. For this reason major state subsidies and loans to civilian sectors (agriculture in particular) and food price increases are the inevitable other side, or the irreversible extension of military appropriations. We know that they are depicted by bourgeois propaganda as "increased concern" for the interests of farmers and consumers, whereas in fact the state is only patching the tears in the economy, caused by military orders.

The parasitical and corrupting influence of military production, following all these lines, is a major factor in lowering the pace of the growth of labor productivity, which according to U.S. governmental data dropped from an average annual level of 3.3% in 1948-1966 to 2.1% in 1966-1973, and 1.2% in 1973-1977.

Briefly, war production does not create, but hinders the creation of a relative added value.

Let us particularly note that this law is manifested also in the drop of scientific production and social effectiveness. In 1978 military research and development conducted separately from civilian production absorbed \$15 billion--40% of all U.S. expenditures for science.

Finally, war production and the activities of the armed forces are one of the most essential reasons for the energy and raw material crises. A B-1 type bomber consumes as much as three million tons of the highest octane gasoline per year. Yet in 1974, all city buses in the United States used together about one million tons of fuel!

Military consumption of fuel accounts not for 5 or 10, but possibly up to 20-25% of the overall global petroleum consumption. There is also the little-known fact that a shortage of even 3-4% of fuel already forces

restrictions of its sale to the population and, correspondingly, creates conditions for monopoly price rises of gasoline, increases the cost of energy production and of all energy-intensive types of output, substantially accelerates the inflationary growth of prices, and hinders the growth of production and the lowering of unemployment. In 1975 alone the energy crisis prevented the United States from producing goods worth \$40 billion and accounted for about 13% of the unemployment. For all industrial capitalist countries together it caused the unemployment of three million people.

According to American experts the solution of the energy problem by the United States should cost nearly \$800 billion in new expenditures. And so, what happens? Even the social democrats "shy" from insisting on the lowering of fuel, energy, and valuable raw materials for military use.

The toiling masses, and the organized labor movement above all, must realize that war production is both a parasitical area of state-capitalistic exploitation and a source of decay of the state-monopoly capitalist economy. Opposing militarism, the working class develops this awareness. The implementation of its duty to mankind and its struggle for general democratic interests of improving production (to the extent to which this is possible under capitalism) means also the fulfillment of the working class duty toward itself.

#### The Struggle for Disarmament--A Prerequisite for Securing Social Gains

The most difficult among the immediate tasks of the class struggle of the proletariat--the preservation and expansion of socioeconomic gains--could be practically resolved only through the upsurge of reproduction. How do military outlays influence the overall pace of economic growth? How do they affect the possibilities for an economic struggle? According to the American economist [K. Boulding], as a result of such expenditures, over a long period of time, the overall growth rates of the U.S. economy have averaged 2%, i.e., nearly one-half of a possible rate without an arms race. According to Soviet author A. A. Poduzov, militarism lowers the annual growth rates by no less than 1.5%. Year after year the developing losses pile up. In the United States they account for 11-12% of the gross national product (for more details see "Problemy i Protivorechiya Amerikanskoy Ekonomiki" [Problems and Contradictions of the American Economy], Nauka, Moscow, 1978, 615 pages).

It is no accident that the countries with the highest level of military expenditures in their national income (the United States and Britain) have long been countries with the lowest rates of economic growth. The negative effect which military expenditures have on the growth rates in countries with a lower labor productivity is even more obvious. Here this eliminates from the start the possibility to increase the public and private consumption of the entire working population.

With a reduced growth of output and increased stress of state budgets, major military appropriations result in growing disturbances of the domestic monetary circulation and to inflation, creating the accelerated rise of prices, particularly for food products and other consumer goods for the working families.

**Increased Cost of Mass Consumption Goods and  
Services Between 1966 and 1976 (Percentage)**

| Goods and Services   | United States | FRG | France | Japan |
|----------------------|---------------|-----|--------|-------|
| Foodstuffs           | 183           | 141 | 223    | 250   |
| Clothing and Shoes   | 153           | 150 | 185    | 235   |
| Rentals              | 185           | 180 | 215    | 216   |
| Heating and Lighting | 184           | 207 | 228    | 175   |
| All Consumer Goods   | 175           | 155 | 200    | 230   |

Inflation worsens the situation of the families not only directly but indirectly by intensifying overproduction crises, perhaps because the growth of prices alone substantially restricts the possibilities of state-monopoly capitalism to fight crises and unemployment, for the use of traditional anti-crisis measures is made extremely difficult by the fast rise in prices, foreign trade deficits, and world monetary upheavals. The long-term socially useless waste of 6 to 10% of the gross national product also involves far greater outlays which on the surface may seem unrelated to militarism.

The defenders of militarism intensively disseminate a prejudice according to which outlays for the production of armaments improves the condition of the economy, whereas in fact they exhaust the national economy and periodically promote increased unemployment. As a result of the crisis, in 1975 alone the industry of seven capitalist countries (United States, Canada, Great Britain, Italy, France, the FRG, and Japan) underproduced goods variously assessed at between \$700 and 990 billion, while wage losses suffered by the working people from unemployment and underemployment reached \$270-310 billion (estimates of the Institute of International Labor Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, based on international statistical data). Such losses are approximately double all U.S. losses from the war in Vietnam (\$425-452 billion as estimated by Senator Mansfield). The interconnection between military expenditures and the crisis was manifested in the fact that militarism encouraged crisis processes while the crisis intensified the monopolies' pursuit of military orders.

To a large extent the social gains of the working people are restricted by the fact that militarism is a reason for narrowing and distorting world

trade. The broadening of foreign trade is of obvious importance to increasing the number of jobs and reducing unemployment, and promoting the accelerated economic development of all countries, particularly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Thus it has been estimated that presently trade between socialist and capitalist countries provides the West for jobs for over two million people, i.e., more than are directly employed in U.S. war production. Thus, for example, in the 1970's trade between the USSR and the FRG provided employment to 500,000 West German workers, reducing officially acknowledged unemployment by approximately one-half. Need we point out that the existing possibilities in this matter deprive of all grounds the notorious "fears" of unemployment should there be a conversion to civilian production? The attempts of the militaristic circles to block the development of such trade relations by banning trade in a number of goods, limiting credit, and using a variety of discriminatory measures, not only hinder the use of said opportunities but hinder the development of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation and greatly obstruct the further progress of detente and disarmament.

The militaristic deformation of trade has no less severe consequences, particularly to countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in connection with the growing pressure of the armament merchants. Between 1950 and 1977 the United States sold armaments totaling \$18.7 billion to Iran, \$14 billion to Saudi Arabia, \$7 billion to Israel, \$1.6 to South Korea, \$1.3 billion to Greece and Taiwan, and so on. All in all, during that time armaments worth \$126 billion were either sold or given. Armament deliveries are growing with every passing year and the sum total of orders for new deliveries in 1977 had already exceeded \$49 billion.

This flood of weapons heats up the atmosphere in a number of areas and forces the local governments to waste unaffordable amounts of money for the armed forces, rather than using them to develop the economy and way of life and culture of the populations.

The burden of military expenditures is incomparably higher than the economic aid given by the West to such countries and greatly hinders the struggle against hunger and poverty, illiteracy, and various diseases afflicting a tremendous percentage of mankind. It raises inflation to fantastic levels and increases crises and unemployment. Most importantly, the armaments of NATO countries are used against the same people of the importing country (as was the case in Chile, Iran, and Nicaragua).

In this respect there is a feedback as well. Unquestionably, armament exports are advantageous to the monopolies. However, they do not provide in the least the economy of the United States and of other countries with the income which would truly improve the balance of payments and create jobs. Most of the income is actually covered by state "aid" from taxpayers' money, i.e., at the expense of the domestic working population. Foreign military expenditures annually result in foreign exchange losses to the United States totaling not \$2 billion (as W. Rostow claims), but

according to American statistics \$4.7-5.1 billion. In turn, the deficit in the balance of payments, increased by such losses, hinders the adoption of anti-crisis measures and is used as an "argument" for the policy of "restraining" wages. The burden of direct military appropriations is felt by the workers personally through increased taxes (see table).

Direct Military Outlays per Capita  
(in dollars)

| <u>Country</u> | <u>1969</u> | <u>1977</u> | <u>Country</u>  | <u>1969</u> | <u>1977</u> |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Belgium        | 66          | 253         | Italy           | 44          | 78          |
| Great Britain  | 100         | 201         | Luxembourg      | 23          | 80          |
| Canada         | 85          | 144         | The Netherlands | 80          | 241         |
| Denmark        | 72          | 217         | Norway          | 95          | 295         |
| France         | 123         | 256         | Portugal        | 35          | 52          |
| FRG            | 90          | 263         | Turkey          | 19          | 64          |
| Greece         | 47          | 120         | United States   | 393         | 523         |

(Source: "The Military Balance 1978-79," London, 1978)

For purposes of comparison let us note that in the United States annual federal outlays for education approximate \$350 per capita; an average of \$170 is spent on health care. As much as 90% of these funds are also paid out through the taxation of working families.

Military appropriations are one of the major reasons for the contemporary crisis in the production of spiritual goods: education, culture, science, health care, and other areas of development of the toiling person. In the second half of the 1970's virtually all bourgeois governments began to pursue a policy of economizing on all such requirements, while at the same time increasing military appropriations. The familiar slogan of "guns instead of butter" may be rephrased today as "missiles instead of universities."

Justifying this anti-social course, the bourgeoisie is trying to convince, above all, the workers themselves that they would even improve their position (allegedly, the saving of governmental outlays would lower taxes, while military expenditures would open new jobs in war production). Characteristically, dissatisfaction with taxes has become the main reason for a certain emergence of right-wing parties on the foreground in Europe.

Tireless efforts are needed to explain--again, above all, to the working class--that the development of education, culture, and health care is vitally important today both in terms of expanded reproduction of complex, i.e., skilled, manpower of the new generation of working people, and for maintaining the living conditions of the senior generations. The annual cost of VUZ training today has risen in the United States to \$2,000 to 4,000; a simple blood test or treatment of a tooth, as much as \$25; a 10-day stay in hospital is over \$2,000. In terms of state appropriations for education (per capita) the United States is in fourth position in the world; it is 10th in health care, 13th in the number of children per teacher, 17th in the size of population per physician, and 29th in the number of citizens per hospital bed. As a result, the richest capitalist country is 25th in the world in terms of the average life span.

The military orientation of appropriations is the greatest hindrance to the solution of the employment problem. This is particularly clear in the United States. According to Illinois University scientists, a rechanneling of funds from the military area to education, health care, environmental protection, and so on, would make it possible, as early as 1980, not only to open jobs for 5 million people now employed in war production, but to open an additional 6.7 million jobs, 2.8 million of them for higher education specialists. In turn, this would be a particularly big incentive for increased employment in material production.

The aggravation of the urban crisis and the problem of poverty are also directly linked with military requisitions. The influence of militarization is clearly visible in the policies of the government of the developed capitalist countries of freezing and reducing the growth of outlays for social needs, including pensions and aid to the needy (the aged, the poor, the unemployed, the disabled, and so on), and the needs of the cities in which the bulk of the needy have concentrated. In the United States the army of people whose income is below the "poverty level" declared by the government is not declining, covering 25.5 million Americans. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in order to raise the incomes of these poorest of families above the said "level," no more than \$11.4 billion would be required. This is precisely the amount which must be spent to build a single batch of B-1 bombers. To eliminate hunger the United States would require \$4 to 5 billion. This is the cost of the program for the building of C-5A military transport airplanes.

Unemployment, poverty, acute housing shortages, worsened quality of communal services and public transport, a higher crime rate, shortages of schools, and inaccessibility of medical help became interwoven in the course of the development of the crisis of the big cities, which was manifested so acutely in a number of capitalist countries. The public nature of the modern economy of huge cities is totally inconsistent with the capitalist (private ownership) nature of the organization of urban services, and the appropriation of land and consumer goods; the state-capitalist form of socialization of some of the national income does not

eliminate this contradiction in the least. Thus in the particularly difficult crisis of the 1974/75 fiscal year the U.S. Federal Budget extracted from the population of New York about \$24 billion, of which the city received back for its own needs only \$3 billion, while \$9 billion went to the military budget which is a source of subsidies and grants to the producers of weapons and the petroleum monopolies. Yet the lobby of the military corporations and the militarized states (such as California and Texas) are "proving" that the crisis of the big cities is the result of excessive and "generous" social expenditures.

Let us sum it up.

The problem of the crisis-free reorganization of war into civilian production is today the major scientific and propaganda task of the anti-militaristic movement headed by the working class. Bourgeois propaganda finds nothing better than to try to mock the studies conducted in this direction as utopian, since a 3% annual growth of real military expenditures has already been planned for the next few years by the developed capitalist countries. However, by virtue of this fact, the formulation of a constructive alternative to a war economy becomes no less, but conversely, even more topical. This is a necessary prerequisite for galvanizing the masses who could defeat such militaristic "planning."

It is self-evident that the solution of this problem is closely related to major internal upheavals and foreign political changes, which would be considered by the ruling class itself as more convincing reasons than any type of abstraction.

It is important to note, however, that the feasibility of this alternative is unquestioned, from the economic viewpoint, even under contemporary capitalist conditions. The natural difficulties which arise on the way of the so-called "peaceful reconversion" are entirely surmountable on the basis of the already existing system of state economic control (including the powerful lever of state appropriations) and of providing a vast mass market for civilian commodities. The possibility for the creation of such a market, consistent with the interests not only of the toiling masses, but the bulk of the monopolies themselves, which suffer quite tangible losses in their merciless rivalry against a handful of military concerns, is no fantasy. Despite the entire complexity of the problem it has already found a solution in the practice of state-monopoly capitalism (let us recall, perhaps, the experience of Roosevelt's "New Deal"). This problem has become ripe and is looking for a solution today as well, with the new increase of the army of unemployed, the growing poverty in urban centers, and broadening militarism which corrodes economic life, leading to the energizing of particularly reactionary trends and intensifying the gravitation toward a "strong man's" regime. Faced with the present ratio of forces in the world (and in its own countries) today imperialism finds it far more difficult than half a century ago to come out of its crisis upheavals through fascism and war. Despite tireless attempts to use, one way



or another, precisely such channels, concealed or open (the arms race is an obvious proof of this), it faces today the objective need to acknowledge the principles of peaceful coexistence in international politics and to formulate a large-scale plan for the development of social production forces.

Unquestionably the development of the main productive force of society--the toiling man--must be the focal point of such a plan aimed at straightening up the fatal militaristic list. It is noteworthy that it is precisely this direction that distinguishes the most meaningful works of even bourgeois scientists such as the Illinois project we mentioned. This is also essentially the purpose of a project formulated in 1971 by S. Mellman (United States) aimed at increasing employment by 9.5 million new jobs, and of the "peace budget" submitted in 1975 to the Chicago national conference on the reduction of armaments (7.2 million new jobs, as against a loss of 2.4 million jobs in war production). Soviet students of the capitalist economy have also considered a number of problems of conversion of war production.

Progressive forces, workers parties, and trade unions are actively working in this direction. They are formulating their programs with democratic socioeconomic alternatives to the policies of state-monopoly capitalism. This must become the main link between the struggle for the immediate and the final objectives of the labor movement. Such programs, formulated, above all, by the communist parties, are focused today on the most vital problems of the struggle against unemployment, crises, and inflation, in whose solution any serious step taken toward disarmament is of prime importance. Aware of the most important international and national duty of the proletariat--terminating the arms race--the communist parties are offering the shortest possible way to the solution of the most urgent problem of our time and, at the same time, for the unification of all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism.

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## BIGGEST LIE OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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[Review by B. Sukhorukov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Die Bedrohungslüge. Zur Legende von der 'Gefahr aus dem Osten'" [The Lie on the Threat. On the Legend of the "Threat from the East"] by G. Kade. Pahl-Rugenstein, Koln, 1979, 294 pages]

[Text] In 1979 the Pahl-Rugenstein publishing house (FRG) came out with the book "The Lie on the Threat. On the Legend of the 'Threat from the East.'" The myth promoted by imperialist propaganda for the past six decades is considered by the author--the progressive West German researcher and public figure Gerhard Kade--as the lie of the 20th century.

Who stands behind this monstrous lie? Who inspires it? To whom is it addressed, and what are its consequences? These are the main problems to which the reader's attention is drawn. This big lie is the offspring of imperialism. It was invented for the purpose of discrediting socialism in the eyes of the masses and thus to facilitate the struggle against it. Its purpose is not merely to undermine universal peace. The reaction is trying to hinder social progress in the capitalist countries themselves.

Along with the author's text the book includes a selection of documents which account for a good two-thirds of the work. Refuting the lie of the century about the "Soviet threat," Gerhard Kade calls to the witness stand history itself, thus making his analysis tremendously convincing. The historical facts contained in the book carry a powerful charge of exposure of those who stubbornly resort to this lie.

The following review was based on Gerhard Kade's book.

Day after day, and month after month, for over 60 years, ever since the first socialist state appeared on the map of the world, influential forces in the capitalist countries have been disseminating the myth of the "threat from the East." Repeated with maniacal persistence, this lie, Gerhard Kade points out, is accepted on faith by many people in the West. Imperialist propaganda is insinuating to the philistine that "Western civilization" is

threatened by the military power of the Soviet Union. "The Kremlin's ultimate objective," asserted in the 1950's the French author Raymond Aron, fruitful producer of anti-Soviet writings, in his book "Between Limited and Total War," "is to conquer the West through its power, and consequently to destroy Western civilization" (R. Aron, "Zwischen begrenztem und totalem Krieg," Der Monat, 1950, p 462). The NATO military are heating up in all possible ways the atmosphere of animal fear, tirelessly claiming that the Soviet Union is just about to attack Western Europe and that one morning, as the people wake up, "the Russians will already be here." In 1977 a Munich periodical presented to the bewildered readers six pages of revelations by military experts to the effect that "in the case of an unexpected attack" the Red Army could reach the Rhine in 48 hours (see p 147). Slightly over 25 years have passed between the two "revelations." However, throughout this time the enemies of peace have not been idle. "With enviable regularity the lie of the 'Soviet military threat' is found as an argument in debates and votes on problems of military expenditures in parliaments; for over five years, like a dark cloud, it has been hanging over the Vienna talks on reducing forces and armaments in Europe; the theme of the 'threat' was formulated in the course of the Soviet-American talks on limiting and reducing strategic armaments, with a view to hindering the achievement of specific results. Finally, debates on the manufacturing of the neutron weapon and its deployment in Europe proved that the myth of the 'threat' is scheduled to play its role precisely when the taxpayer must be persuaded of the need for yet another new system of mass-destruction weapons" (p 11).

It would be hardly possible to put together all "revelations" on the "Soviet threat," persistently promoted by the bourgeois press in the post-war period alone. A small selection, cited by the author, nevertheless gives an idea of the disseminated disinformation. In the hands of the capitalist press the lie of the "threat" has become something like a permanently smoking censer which it has been swinging over the decades!

"Virtually all American cities are under the threat of a strike by Soviet bombers" (newspaper MUNCHNER MERKUR, 28 November 1952).

"Moscow is ready for a super blitzkrieg--an American view point on Soviet armaments" (newspaper DIE VELT, 31 January 1953).

"The Soviet Air Force is an instrument of war of considerable power. No reliable shelters in NATO countries" (newspaper VORWARTS, 14 October 1955).

"The Red Navy threatens our security" (newspaper VORWARTS, 5 June 1957).

"Soviet missiles threaten the United States" (newspaper NURNBERGER NACHRICHTEN, 1 December 1957).

"Any city on the American coast could be turned into ashes" (Senator Morse) (NURNBERGER NACHRICHTEN, 5 December 1957).

"Moscow has a reserve of 350,000 units of chemical weapons" (DIE VELT, 2 August 1969).

"Soviets on the Florida coast--the Pentagon fears another Cuba" (newspaper RHEINISCHER MERKUR, 8 August 1969).

"Disturbed balance of power--growing military pressure of the Soviet Union" (RHEINISCHER MERKUR, 21 May 1971).

"The Soviet Navy is superior to the United States Navy" (newspaper SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 30 July 1971).

"Retired general reports on the offensive plans of the Soviet Union" (DIE VELT, 12 August 1971).

"A spurt to the Rhine in three days" (periodical STERN, 29 August 1971).

"Moscow has the NATO flanks in a pincher" (DIE VELT, 29 August 1971).

"The Soviets are leading in air armaments" (newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 20 October 1971).

"The USSR--an interventionist state" (MUNCHNER MERKUR, 11 January 1972).

"Second German surrender--the Soviets are continuing to increase their armaments" (newspaper BAYERNKURIER, 26 February 1972).

"The Soviet are becoming ever more powerful. While the East is rearming Western defense efforts are weakening" (newspaper CHRIST UND WELT, 28 April 1972).

"The Kremlin marshals are accelerating the development of a blitzkrieg doctrine" (SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 13 October 1972).

"A strategy of blitzkrieg against Europe" (newspaper DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 2 September 1977).

"Western advantage reduced to naught" (DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 6 September 1978).

"Attack prepared by Red Navy" (DIE VELT, 30 August 1978).

"General Haig: 'Soviets planning offensive war'" (newspaper KIELER NACHRICHTEN, 14 October 1978).

What influence could such "information" have on the perception of the reader? Let us recall here the bitterly ironic words of the famous German playwright Heinrich von Kleist, written at the beginning of the 19th century, yet obviously contemporary:

"The people deem to be the truth anything repeated thrice";

As well as:

"What the people do not know does not concern them."

We gain a certain idea of the contemporary mores of the sensationalist bourgeois press whose purpose, according to its supporters, is "to inform the people truthfully," from the statement by Walter Scheel, who not so long ago was president of the FRG, cited by the author. Once, at a ceremony, he pointed out that "the citizen is given detailed information about anything. However, who informs him about information itself? . . . Most of the interrelations among phenomena escape him. True information, needed by a democracy, must, precisely, explain the interconnection linking separate events. In the final account, sensation means disinformation, for it destroys the interconnection of things. Interconnection is more important than various details . . ." (pp 7-8).

Data culled from a public-opinion poll taken in 1976 among the West German population by the Allenbach Demoscopy Institute (FRG) enable us to judge of the results of the "educational" activities of bourgeois mass-information media. To the question, "Does the population trust the statements of the Soviet Union concerning peaceful intentions and friendly feelings?" (Let us note parenthetically that the very formulation of the question contains a negative aspect.) Fifty-nine percent of those surveyed answered that today there were no more grounds to trust Russia than in the past. Soviet policy had remained the same and merely its methods had changed. . . . Among all polled age groups the greatest readiness to put an end to mistrust was shown by the postwar generation. True, here again 49% stated that "The Russians cannot be trusted." Furthermore, 35% said that without NATO "The communists would have long ago attacked the FRG and would have included it in the Eastern bloc." An even higher number, 46%, expressed the opinion that "It is NATO's duty to preserve the peace in the West" (pp 87-88).

The atmosphere of hysteria promoted by imperialist propaganda on the subject of an imaginary "Soviet threat" is capable of spreading over some workers, above all those engaged in war production. There have been cases, G. Kade notes, in which the production councils of military concerns have demanded of the governments "not to allow any lowering of expenditures in the fulfillment of armaments programs" (p 88). Practical experience indicates that during all the prewar and postwar stages the aggressive circles have extensively resorted to this poisoned weapon in order to divide the working people and thus strengthen their class domination more easily.

#### A History of Lies

Yet even a brief study of the historical facts of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state or, simply stated, life itself, totally destroy

the fables concerning the "marshals in the Kremlin," engaged, night and day, in "drafting plans for a blitzkrieg" against the West, and the "arms race pursued by the Warsaw Pact countries" with which the Western countries cannot catch up, and so on, and so forth.

In reality, the myth of the "threat from the East" fabricated by imperialism is nothing but disinformation and a means for waging psychological warfare against the cause of peace and socialism. G. Kade writes that, "The fact that, along with the politicians and military strategists, it is above all the military concerns that are interested in 'heating up,' from time to time, the lie of the threat, is the least unquestionable. However, the history of capitalism is rich in examples proving that the thirst for profits has concealed far greater adventuristic departures from the truth. . . . To any observer the lie of the 'threat from the East' would be nothing but a clumsy justification of ever new rounds in the arms race. . . . Does anything bigger stand behind this lie?" (p 11). First of all, we should study the origins of the lie of the "threat" and only then, having proved that there is something more at stake than simply an argument used to justify the arms race, only then, the author emphasizes, could we assess to its full extent the danger of this lie as one of the manifestations of the psychological warfare waged by imperialism against progressive social ideas and real socialism, in which such ideas have acquired flesh and blood.

Naturally, those who have had to study and, perhaps, even observe postwar history, and look into the contradictions separating the two global systems will immediately trace the beginning of the psychological warfare to the period of the cold war. The sources of the myth of "threat" will be sought where the arms race assumed an entirely specific shape. Unquestionably, today a number of other varieties of psychological warfare are used by imperialism against the forces of progress and peace, such as the dissemination of slanderous rumors, instigations, threats, provocations, manipulations of public opinion, subversions, corruption, espionage, and so on. Following the defeat of fascist Germany they were given priority and used by world reaction in the course of the cold war. It is also true that the lie of the "threat," in its most frequently used aspect today, i.e., with emphasis on military "threat," appeared when reliance on NATO's military superiority was abandoned.

All this is true. However, the very question has a longer history. Its beginning, the author notes, may be traced, for example, to the day and hour when the envoy of her majesty the queen of Great Britain to Soviet Russia cabled his government. This was in September 1918. The cable read: "Unless an immediate end is put to Bolshevism in Russia civilization throughout the world will be threatened." It was through such cables that the myth of the "threat" originated. Here it was presented in as cynical a way as possible, also marking the beginning of the waging of psychological warfare against socialism.

In support of his conclusion G, Kade quotes from the book by American publicist L. L. Matthias, "Inside The USA," published in the FRG in German in 1964: "The United States launched a crusade against Russia soon after the October Revolution. Furthermore, the war began with a bloody military campaign: British, French, Italian, Greek, Romanian, Serb, Japanese, and American forces invaded Russian territory . . ." (L. L. Matthias, "Die Kehrseite der USA," Reinbek, 1964, p 85). Gerhard Kade agrees with this assessment. He adds that, "launching an interventionist war, the 'allies' used as its justification one of the variants of the thesis of the 'threat from the East.' Preference was given to the theses of the "Red menace," 'export of revolution,' and so on, which are looser and psychologically perhaps more effective than the argument of the 'military threat,' which furthermore would be unable to withstand even a partial investigation. In subsequent periods, such as the eve of World War II, the postwar period (the cold war era), including the current period of detente, world reaction has made use of its own myth of the 'threat from the East,' emphasizing its military aspect, as being the most effective" (see pp 13-14).

History is aware of many examples in which references to an imaginary "threat from the East" have been and are used by the most reactionary circles of monopoly capital to prepare and mount aggressions. G. Kade recalls the following cases: In his notorious address to the German people, on 22 June 1948, the day when fascist Germany launched its sudden and treacherous attack on the Soviet Union, Hitler tried to justify the aggression by stating that it was precisely the Soviet Union that, allegedly, "always tried to impose its rule on our and other peoples of Europe, not only through ideological means, but above all by military force" (pp 116-117). Himmler, another Nazi leader of a lower rank, stated in his 19 June 1942 speech to the leaders of the SS Reich division, i.e., after the crushing blow which the Soviet Army had dealt the German forces at Moscow, also tried to justify the war unleashed by Germany with the "threat from the East": "Last year, had the Fuhrer failed to make the decision to seize Russia, a few months later Russia itself would have attacked us" (p 111).

Quite soon after the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany imperialism resumed its ideological warfare against the Soviet Union on an unparalleled scale. The war was waged not only ideologically, but politically and economically, using the same old myth of the "threat from the East." Subsequently, this was described as the cold war. Its initiator, as had been the case 25 years previously, was W. Churchill. In 1946, in Fulton, Missouri, he delivered his infamous speech in which he called upon the West to "fight the Russians." The "communist parties or fifth columns," he said hysterically, "everywhere present a threat to Christian civilization" (p 120). Among those who were present and applauded the speaker was U.S. President Truman.

Subsequently as well, whenever convenient, the initiator of the cold war was ready to convert it into a hot war. In January 1979 the West German reactionary newspaper DIE VELT, which could certainly not be suspected of

any sympathy for the Soviet Union, wrote that, as the recently declassified D. Eisenhower documents revealed, "It was not in 1948 alone that Churchill wanted to force the Soviet Union to make concessions, threatening it with an atomic war." Subsequently, in April 1955, in the so-called "round table talks" in Sicily, he complained, recalling 1948, that "as long as they (the Russians) did not have the bomb we had a major chance. However, many people were unwilling to understand this" (p 121).

G. Kade states that such calls were backed up by attempts launched at that time to restore the atmosphere of a "crusade" in the FRG as well. Preference was given, actually, to the old forms of anti-Soviet propaganda used both immediately after the October Revolution and during the time the fascists felt at home in the country. In the mouths of the West German militarists the false slogan of the "threat from the East" assumed the meaning of "threat to Western civilization." Here are samples of such propaganda: March 1952: "Against its will the entire West was forced to rearm because of the Soviet threat" (p 124); May 1954: "We know what Russian communism is, we also know what it means to become a Russian satellite; this dictates the need to save a Christian-based culture" (p 123).

These words, as bombastic as they were hypocritical, belonged to Adenauer. They were expressed precisely at a time when, both internally and externally, behind the back of their own people, the imperialists were promoting plans for the militarization of the FRG. That is why they needed the myth of the "threat."

The same theme of the need to "defend Christian civilization" from the "threat from the East" was persistently heard in the period of remilitarization of West Germany as well, even though in the somewhat different edition of "threat to the free world." It was precisely the militarists who, among the other reactionary forces, were interested in the myth of the "threat." G. Kade emphasizes that this fact is supported by documents. In the reports of the Federal Association of German Entrepreneurs (the book includes extensive excerpts from such reports covering the 1952/3-1975/76 period) expressing what is known as the collective thinking and will of big business leaders, the lie of the "threat" is visible throughout. Its purpose is to justify a new upswing of concerns producing modern armaments and the super profits which rushed like a stream into the bottomless pockets of the monopolists (see pp 184-202).

Gerhard Kade notes that, "In the initial years following the founding of the FRG it was a question, essentially, of adapting war production to the structure of the West German economy and creating strong points for the military-industrial complex underway" (p 184). However, the 1954/55 report already "welcomed" the "defense" measures pursued within the framework of NATO, considering the "threat to the free world" (p 186). In subsequent years the myth of the "threat" assumed an ever clearer shape in the reports with references to "corresponding conclusions drawn by higher NATO organs"



(p 191). Thus the 1964/65 report briefly mentions the fact that the symptoms of "a certain detente" are felt in the world. This is followed by the claim that it would be "totally erroneous, taking this situation into consideration, to weaken our defense efforts as long as a state of universal controlled disarmament has not been reached" (p 198).

In this connection, how not to recall that the theme of "control" (allegedly insufficient) has served the military-industrial complex of the imperialist countries, throughout the postwar years, as one of the main "arguments" against all measures aimed at reducing armaments. To this day this argument is being intensively "exploited" by the opponents of the SALT II treaty, including in the American Senate.

The historical events of the past 60 years make it possible to trace the evolution experienced by the ways and means of the struggle waged by imperialism against the forces of peace and social progress. Also evolving was the text of the myth of the "threat from the East," invariably used by people like Churchill and Adenauer, and other supporters of the cold war, the author points out.

Thus in recent years the opponents of detente have begun to resort particularly frequently to the thesis of the "Soviet superiority in armaments." Its official role is based on attempts to justify in the eyes of the masses the arms race urged on by imperialist reaction. The relative parity of strategic armaments which was reached by the turn of the 1970's between the USSR and the United States does not suit the military strategists in the least. They would like to achieve military superiority in order to dictate to the Soviet Union and it allies their own conditions for "peace." It is within such a context that we should consider the plans intensively promoted by the imperialist circles of raising the level of NATO nuclear armaments by deploying in Western Europe about 600 American "Euro-strategic" missiles aimed at the USSR, in addition to the already deployed ones.

Naturally, the bourgeois press also carries sober views conflicting with the worn out claims of the aspiration of the Soviet Union to achieve "military superiority." This can be largely explained by the contradictory processes developing in Western political life. Thus answering the question of the American TIME magazine correspondent, in June 1979, FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said: "I have been in political life for over one-quarter of a century and throughout this time I have frequently heard talks, sometimes even alarming ones, on the subject of the rising military superiority of the East. So far this has not happened. . . . For this reason, today I have no inferiority complexes concerning the military power of the East." In an interview on British television, in October of that same year, speaking of the new Soviet peace proposals and their importance to military detente in Europe, Willi Brandt, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, expressed the view that "when they (the Soviet Union--the reviewer) speak of equality in the field of military technology, that is

precisely what they have in mind." He added that, contrary to this approach, the Americans "believe that the United States must mandatorily be stronger than the Soviet Union, and that this is a law of nature."

This is the real explanation of the "superiority" thesis.

Going back to G. Kade's book, we shall cite yet another proof which sheds light on the subject. "Actually, who is threatening whom, and who is, in fact, resorting to threats?" asked THE WASHINGTON POST in its 4 January 1977 issue. "Since 1945 alone, the United States has threatened to use or has used military force in foreign political actions in a total of 215 cases" (p 40). In a section which could be entitled "They Themselves Are Saying It," the author has put together statements--some 25 of them--which consciously or subconsciously expose the lie of the "threat" as a means for heating up militaristic hysteria. The authors of many of them are noted Western military experts, political figures, publicists, and members of the military. G. Kade points out that the occasional objective assessments are drowned in the flood of slanders and disinformation.

The falsehood of the argument of the "threat from the East" is particularly visible in "historically" comparing some facts. The author presents a documentary table (p 258) compiled on the basis of Western sources. Even though the table contains certain inaccuracies, it provides a clear answer to the question of who, in fact, is threatening: "In the postwar arms race, the tune has invariably been set by the United States and its NATO allies. As to the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact members, on each separate occasion they were forced into accepting the challenge" (p 12).

Gerhard Kade justifiably assumes that the concept of "arms race" is misused in characterizing the process of strengthening the defense power of the socialist countries. "This concept," he specifies, "presumes the existence of equal starting conditions and equal economic and social prerequisites for the development of armaments and comparable interests between the two sides participating in the process, along with many other factors. This does not characterize in the least the true course of history in recent decades" (p 21).

It is precisely the slanderous campaigns promoted by imperialism and the myth of the "threat from the East," as their structural elements, that truly threatens the peace. This myth has already acquired a long history, so long that it threatens to become not only the biggest but the most persistent lie of our century.

#### The Real Reason for the Lie

It would be unnecessary here to describe, stage by stage, the entire course of the psychological warfare launched by imperialism, as the author does. Let us agree with him, however, that such warfare has always included the element of the status of a "war before a war" (see p 15). The book by

W. Schlamm, one of its active propagandists, excerpts of which are cited by G. Kade, contains the significant admission that, "The inner meaning of the conflict between communism and the West is so striking that no one dares to mention it out loud. It is that communism is blossoming under the conditions of peace, aspiring toward peace, and triumphing in a peaceful environment. . . . Conversely, unless it wishes to perish, the West must believe in its resolve to wage war" (W. S. Schlamm, "Die Grenzen des Wunders" [On the Verge of a Miracle], Zurich, 1959, p 185). Schlamm refers to ideological warfare. However, historical experience teaches, G. Kade emphasizes, that imperialism is capable of reducing the distance between ideological confrontation and armed conflict to the length of a child's step.

The past decades offer a number of examples of the way the imperialist circles have been forced to raise the tension of ideological and political confrontation after the forces of peace and progress have forced them to assume defensive positions in the international arena.

The ideological activeness of imperialist propaganda has been raised to a new level, particularly after the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was a major success for the forces of peace and social progress. The real reason for the increased activity of the Western ideological services did not remain unnoticed by many bourgeois researchers. For example, a quite accurate statement was made on this subject by G. Wettig, scientific associate at the Institute for the Study of Eastern European and International Problems, in Koln (FRG). G. Kade cites his words, touching the heart of the matter: "The less decisions could be reached (in the confrontation between East and West) by resorting to political pressure and the use of armed forces, the more important becomes the search for means which would make it possible to influence the awareness of large population groups and to control this awareness" (p 27).

Adverse changes in the international arena are forcing the imperialist bourgeoisie to fight with greater energy for the minds of the people. This struggle is both internal and external. G. Kade illustrates this conclusion by citing excerpts from an interview with American philosopher N. Chomsky given to the Italian bourgeois newspaper IL MESSAGGIERO, in April 1977. "In the 1960's," the American professor said, "control over the population weakened greatly in the capitalist countries, in the United States above all: initially political movements of the masses appeared, ideologically breaking with the state and refusing to obey it. Quite recently such a thing could not even be imagined. A very serious crisis developed which had mandatorily to be surmounted. In order to be able to pursue their energetic and aggressive course of capitalist development, the governments were forced, somehow, to inspire the population of their countries to return to its former state of passiveness and obedience" (p 28). The seemingly suitable means for achieving this objective was found in the unleashing of the "human rights" campaign. According to N. Chomsky, "In this case it is a question of a domestic political tool. . . . The best

way to make the public passive and obedient is to convince it again that the United States is fighting for human rights" (p 28).

Chomsky's assessment of the official role of the "human rights" campaign fully applies to the fabrications of the "threat from the East." Both are trends in the psychological warfare waged by imperialism against the socialist world. This lie has both an external and an internal purpose (suppressing social contradictions, fanning anti-communist hysteria, and so on).

The search for "new" means with which the reaction hopes to gain the so-called loyalty of the masses are also characteristic of the FRG ruling class. The fanning of anti-communist hysteria has been, and remains, one of the basic weapons of the ideological arsenal of the big capitalist parties--the CDU/CSU. In the first two postwar decades, with the help of social demagogy and the mass frightening of the West German petit bourgeois with the infamous "Red menace," and similar other false slogans, they were able to remain in power. The book shows a facsimile of a poster used by the CDU in the 1953 Bundestag elections.

It reads in bold letters: "Since all Marxist roads lead to Moscow . . . vote CDU."<sup>1</sup> Over a quarter of century has passed but traditions, including reactionary ones, are durable. In the course of the last parliamentary elections the same parties conducted their campaign under the no less false and provocative slogan of "Freedom or Socialism." Once again, they were defeated. Gradually, under the influence of the peaceful foreign political course of real socialism and its accomplishments in building a new life, changes are taking place in the minds of the petit bourgeoisie, which accounts for a substantial stratum in the capitalist countries.

In his book G. Kade documents the fact that, in reality, demagogic references to the "threat from the East" conceal the fear of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the prospect for the further development of socialism and the development of its constructive possibilities. It fears that the socialist example is becoming ever more attractive to the millions of unemployed in the capitalist countries, to those deprived of true civil rights, and to the young people demanding justice and equality (see p 62). For this reason, the reactionary imperialist circles are relying to an ever greater extent on the arms race they are engaged in presently, accompanied by the myth of the "Soviet threat," as a universal means. Imposing upon the socialist countries new rounds in the arms race, imperialism is trying to force them to spend resources for purposes having nothing in common with the essential tasks of the socialist social system. It is precisely fear, the fear of a class doomed by history to death, that forces its members to cling to the myth of the "threat from the East."

As a whole, the policy toward real socialism in the past, long segment of the 20th century has been reduced by imperialism to its short fabricated formulas: initially, "nip in the bud"; then "sweep off the face of the

earth"; finally, "throw back" from the lines it holds. The entire world knows, G. Kade says, that these threats were no mere words (see p 61). The formulas were backed by action: foreign intervention against the Soviet Republic, fascist aggression against the Soviet Union, and cold war. The myth of the "threat from the East" was used as ideological cover.

As in the past, today imperialist reaction as a whole, above all the forces of the military-industrial complex, stand behind the lie of the "threat from the East." By "repeating three times" this lie, they are trying to mislead world public opinion by ascribing to the Soviet state aggressiveness, i.e., precisely the quality inherent in them. Such forces would like to present their military preparations as allegedly necessary, justified militarization of the economy, and subordinate to the interests of their own profits all social, political and spiritual life. C. Grey, the American military expert, states that, "The military-industrial complex is developing according to its own laws. It is not interested in the least in reality, and it is not a question of the fact that the leading economic managers in the capitalist countries believe the thesis of the 'threat.' All that matters to them is to stimulate their business with this frightening ghost!" (see NEUE ZEIT, No 2, 1978, p 6). Naturally, they never ignore their basic objective--the struggle against real socialism, which is having a powerful influence on the entire liberation movement in the contemporary world. This, above all, is the reason for the lengthy survival of the myth of the "threat from the East."

The author reaches the firm conclusion, substantiated with scientific accuracy and humanistic passion, that is precisely imperialism and its offspring--the military-industrial complex--who are poisoning the atmosphere of international detente and hindering the solution of key problems of the contemporary world. Their actions contradict the interests of mankind.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. Photographs of other posters are included. Today these are documentary proofs exposing the sinister forces which, for decades, resorted to the "lie of the century" in achieving their sinister objectives:

A 1919 poster of the government of the Weimar Republic depicted a raging bear standing on its hind legs. The caption was: "The homeland is in danger! The Bolshevik wave is threatening our borders . . . ." Meanwhile, however, the young Soviet republic was rallying all its forces to expel the interventionist forces from its territory.

In 1933 an exhibit of anti-communist posters was opened in Munich. One of them showed the tower of a castle on fire (apparently symbolizing the burning of the Reichstag). The bony hand of "Bolshevism" holding a torch was drawn above the castle.

READY TO BE A RANK AND FILER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 106-114

[Article by Major General Aviation, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor V. Serebryannikov]

[Text] The capital of a once great empire did not seem to have lost its former charm. The more so since in the darkness falling over Vienna in that autumn evening of 1932 had turned invisible the marks of bullets on the walls of the buildings--a memorial of the bloody shooting at the anti-fascist workers demonstration. Two people met at a crossroads in the city at the hour when theaters, movies, and the numerous entertainment establishments opened their gates. One of them was dressed like a merchant. He had handsome features and an expressive face. His expansive gestures revealed him to be a southerner. The second was tall and broad shouldered. He looked like a Scandinavian. Both, however, spoke German. No more than a few brief sentences were exchanged. Silently they turned into a quiet passage lined by aristocratic homes.

No one--neither the indifferent tourists nor the Viennese busily pursuing their own affairs--could even guess that the younger seeming of the two was the Bulgarian Ivan Vinarov. The other one was Yan Karlovich Berzin, chief of the Reconnaissance Administration of the RKKA [Workers' and Peasants' Red Army] staff.

At that time, he made frequent trips abroad despite the tremendous risk. Berzin deemed it necessary to study the rapidly changing political circumstances on the spot, to acquaint himself with the conditions in which his assistants worked, and personally to congratulate the deserving among them.

This particular assignment, however, had been made necessary by special circumstances. Following his talk with Ivan and a short rest spent in a secret apartment, he was once again on the road, on his way to Germany, where alarming events were ripening. The working class was divided. The social democratic leadership ignored the communists' appeals for the creation of united anti-fascist front. The storm troopers were raving, killing left-wing activists and dispersing workers meetings. The ruling

circles, bankers, and manufacturers were supporting Hitler ever more openly. By himself, Berzin thought, this ex-corporal and hero of the Munich taverns was a political nothing. However, he was backed by the omnipotent concerns of Germany, the United States, and Britain, whose owners were ready to do anything for the sake of strangling the first bulwark of socialism on earth.

Naturally, Yan Karlovich was not clairvoyant. He could not know, at that time, how difficult the future would be for us, and what tremendous and irreversible consequences our victory would have, any more than he could presume that his only son Andrey, then a school student, impatiently waiting to see his father, would die at the front and the Berzin line would come to an end. However, Berzin realized, more clearly than many of his contemporaries, that the country had to prepare itself for a new attack launched by world reaction, as well as the fact that it was precisely here, in the center of Europe, that a new and most dangerous hotbed of war was developing, and that Hitler's advent to power would make the threat of this war real. All this forced him to take a new look at the tasks of the administration of which he was in charge. Maximum attention had to be paid precisely to Germany, and it was precisely here that the main forces had to be directed.

Also clear was the fact that, as always on the eve of a big war, an invisible yet quite stubborn battle would develop--the struggle between the intelligence services of the enemies to be. When the guns would start firing, a great deal would depend on who would win in that clash. Berzin and his administration were faced with the task of helping the Soviet government to prevent or even postpone the war and prevent the aggressor from involving in it the USSR in disadvantageous circumstances. And, once the enemy's attack became inevitable, to warn the Red Army command in advance and to assist in better preparations for future battles.

This meant more sleepless nights in the spacious office of the administration's house and more and longer parting with closest friends and assistants. The brief radio communications would be totally unable to avoid concern for those with whom so much had been experienced! Well, such is the job of a chief of intelligence. He was no longer a novice in Cheka work and was aware of the difficulty of his future life when he accepted his appointment by Feliks Edmundovich.

The iron knight of the revolution had the ability to brilliantly identify among his fellow workers people who could bear the inhuman burden and the tremendous responsibility, people who could be asked to carry out most difficult assignments, knowing that they would not let him down. Dzerzhinskiy did not err in Berzin's case. When they met in Petrograd, Yan Karlovich was already a tempered fighter, one of those who made the golden stock of Lenin's Bolshevik guard. Later, in 1922, filling in the form of the all-Russian census of members of the RKP(b), Berzin was to write that, "I have taken part in seven strikes, in nine street political

demonstrations, in innumerable mass rallies and meetings, every year, in May Day celebrations, and seven times in armed uprisings and partisan actions." It was precisely in reference to such revolutionaries that in a letter to his family F. E. Dzerzhinskiy wrote: "There is in the soul of these people a sacred spark which gives happiness even on the stake." Had Berzin been asked what would make him happy, he would have probably answered briefly and simply: The revolution. His legendary path was merely a particle of the hard and glorious path of the Russian proletariat on the borderline between two ages. Thinking of the unusual fate of Yan Karlovich one can imagine with particular clarity why the revolution is the holiday of the exploited and oppressed.

Ya. K. Berzin's real full name is Peter Yanovich Kyuzis. He was born on 25 November 1889 in Kligen Village, Yaunpilsskaya Volost', Rihzskiy Uyezd, to a farmhand. Yan Karlovich recalled that a rebellious spirit was always present in their home. The young Peter was tremendously influenced by his elder brother Yan, a carpenter, who joined the revolutionary movement early in life. All Kyuzis' children--both sons and daughters Kristina and Paulina--became communists.

Even in primary school Peter displayed brilliant ability, as a result of which he was able to enter the Baltic Normal School in Kudiga. Vainly did the educators try to raise their students as loyal servants of the autocracy and protect the young minds from the "dangerous" currents of the time. The events taking place beyond the walls of the seminary could not fail to excite the future rural teachers, who were essentially the offspring of peasant and farmhand families. At the end of 1904 an unparalleled strike movement spread throughout Latvia and the strikes began to assume a political nature. In the Baltic area, as throughout the country, peasant troubles spread.

In the autumn of 1904 the young Peter Kyuzis became one of the organizers of an action mounted by the seminary students against the barracks system and the reactionary teachers. It was precisely then that he was entered in the list of the unreliable. Soon afterwards Kyuzis was in contact with the clandestine social democratic circle. At night he read Marxist leaflets and pamphlets, and the newspapers ISKRA and TSINYA ("Struggle") under whose influence his revolutionary convictions developed.

In the spring of 1905 Peter Kyuzis spent his Easter vacation with his parents in Yaunpils. He found great changes in the town. A new revolutionary power organ--a peasants' executive committee performing the role of soviet--had replaced the old volost' administration. Peter plunged into revolutionary work and was a member of a battle detachment in clashes with punitive forces and gendarmes. Many years later, recalling his youth, Yan Karlovich was to say: ". . . At that time I lived with the ecstasy of revolutionary romanticism." The young revolutionary learned his first lessons in political struggle among the Latvian workers whose exploit of 1905 was so highly rated by Lenin. The Latvian proletariat, Vladimir Il'ich



pointed out, "was in the vanguard of the armed uprising. More than anyone else it helped to raise the movement to its highest level, i.e., that of an uprising. More than anyone else it involved in the great revolutionary struggle against czarism and the landowners the Latvian agricultural proletariat and the Latvian peasantry" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 19, p 306).

It was precisely in the period of the uprising that Peter Kyuzis took the most important decision of his life: at the end of 1905 he joined the Bolshevik party.

A state of seige was declared in Latvia and government terrorism was increased. The punitive forces pursued the detachment in which Peter fought. Fighting the enemy and covering the withdrawal of his comrades, Kyuzis was heavily wounded and captured by the cossacks. The adolescent was saved from the inevitable death sentence only by the fact that he was not even 17. . . .

Many years of jail followed. Comrades secretly smuggled to Peter the works of Marx and Lenin. Berzin was later to recall that he undertook the real study of revolutionary theory precisely in jail.

In 1909 Peter Kyuzis came out of jail a tempered and firm fighter. He became one of the party work organizers in Riga.

Soon afterwards the twenty-year-old revolutionary was already named in the reports of police sleuths as "one of the best known social democratic workers." As though confirming this enemy rating, in the summer of 1911 the fourth electoral district in Riga unanimously elected Peter Kyuzis as its delegate to the congress of the Latvian Social Democratic Party.

Czarist security was able to find the fearless revolutionary. Once again he was in jail and exiled in Irkutskaya Guberniya. In 1914 Peter organized a daring escape from Siberia. It was then that he changed names and procured himself documents in the name of Yan Karlovich Berzin.

He returned to Riga to propaganda work at enterprises and the organization of clandestine mass rallies and meetings.

Forced to hide, in 1916 Yan Berzin moved to Petrograd and became a fitter in a plant. Thanks to his outlook, firmness, and unbreakable will for struggle, the young worker was able to earn prestige and respect in the capital's party organization. In February 1917 Yan Karlovich, a member of the party raykom, participated in the battles against military cadets. Following the overthrow of czarism, Berzin headed the Latvian party press in Petrograd and was an editor of the newspaper PROLETARIAT TSINYA. In the unforgettable October days Yan Karlovich was member of the Bolshevik committee of Vyborgskiy Rayon. Subsequently, in the course of an investigation he answered the question of his participation in the Great October with extreme modesty: "In Petrograd I carried out various central committee assignments."

Stormy and troubled times came. The counterrevolution, extensively helped from the outside, was doing everything possible to turn back the wheel of history. One conspiracy followed another. On 7 December 1917 the All-Russian Special Commission (VChK) was set up, under the chairmanship of F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, to defend the gains of the revolution. The party assigned to it its most decisive, firm, and inflexible fighters, for, as Lenin emphasized, the very nature of the activities of the VChK required decisiveness, speed, and, above all, loyalty (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 37, p 173). One of them was Ya. K. Berzin. . . . Once again there were most intensive days and sleepless nights, and clashes with the SR, who had mutinied in Moscow and Yaroslavl'.

The Soviet Republic was maturing and strengthening. Happy news was coming from the fronts ever more frequently. In December 1918 Berzin learned that the first Latvian soviet government had been set up. On 3 January 1919 Red Latvian Rifles entered Riga. Yan Karlovich yearned for his homeland with all his heart. He reached Riga in March 1919. There were unforgettable meetings with his comrades from the clandestine period and his relatives. It was a pity that his mother did not live to see the happy day. Soon afterwards Ya. K. Berzin became deputy people's commissar of internal affairs of Soviet Latvia. However, the building of socialism in Latvia did not last long. On 22 May 1919, with the support of the German interventionists, once again the counterrevolutionary detachments rushed into Riga. Wild reprisals broke out. About 11,000 of the best sons and daughters of Latvia perished in the bloody slaughter, among them Berzin's friends and fellow workers. That day, rifle in hand, he joined the ranks of the Riga workers battalion.

"What position would you like to assume?" the commander asked. "I am willing to be a rank and filer," answered the deputy people's commissar. He was severely wounded in the hard, uneven battle. In the field hospital one of the bullets was not removed from his cranium and Berzin kept it for the rest of his life.

Barely recovered, Yan Karlovich returned to the front in the ranks of the Red Army, from which he never parted, remaining its soldier to his last breath.

Fighting developed at Pskov in the summer of 1919. Ya. K. Berzin--chief of the political department of the 11th Division--advanced in the front ranks of the attackers. Subsequently, as chief of the special section of the VChK of the 15th Army, he was in Narva with a leading detachment, crossing the river to block the way of Yudenich's troops. In that battle only 13 men were left alive from the entire detachment.

On 2 December 1920 Ya. K. Berzin received a coded message from Dzerzhinskiy. He was being summoned to Moscow. Yan Karlovich put himself at the disposal of the registration administration of the RKKKA. Berzin already knew what the administration was. It was the name given to the intelligence administration of the Red Army.

Soon afterwards he became the chief of the administrative department and, subsequently, assistant and deputy chief of the RKKA staff intelligence administration.

Berzin had to learn his new duties from scratch, on the front line, as he had once studied military affairs while engaged in combat. In 1922 he took his first long trip abroad--to Berlin, Prague, and Warsaw. He had to change his appearance: he wore a fashionable suit and sported a pince-nez. He took the name Dvoretzkiy.

The following entry was made in Berzin's official record: "Question: What countries have you studied and how? Answer: Western countries, as part of my duties. . . ." In March 1924 34-year-old Ya. K. Berzin was appointed chief of the intelligence administration.

The Soviet state was going through a difficult stage of development. The destroyed economy was being rebuilt. The international prestige of the USSR was strengthening. Diplomatic relations had been established and trade was developing with many countries. However, this did not make the capitalist encirclement any less dangerous. Defeated in their attempts to overthrow the Soviet system with the help of the White Guard armies they subsidized, open intervention, and economic blockade, now the imperialist circles were relying on the breakdown of the state of workers and peasants under the conditions of the new economic policy, from within. Foreign intelligence agencies energized their subversive work against the first socialist country. Meanwhile world reaction had not abandoned for a minute its plans for a new anti-Soviet intervention.

All this demanded of the Leninist party, Soviet government, and Red Army command the highest possible vigilance and good knowledge of the rapidly changing political circumstances throughout the world. Under those circumstances the intelligence organs assumed the tremendous responsibility of being the eyes and ears of the Red Army and its sentry guard. At the time that Berzin was appointed to the administration Soviet military intelligence was only being organized and was taking its first steps. "This was something new and difficult requiring not only an iron will and strong nerves but a clear head, crystal-pure honesty, unparalleled flexibility, and absolute loyalty and obedience to the party," wrote V. R. Menzhinskiy on the establishment of intelligence and counterintelligence organs in our country.

The people standing by the cradle of Soviet intelligence-- F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, V. R. Menzhinskiy, Ya. K. Berzin and others had not only to organize the obtaining and analysis of intelligence data. The basic principles governing the activities of our intelligence organs had to be formulated. The party had no experience as yet in such work. Furthermore, unlike the situation in many sectors of government construction, it was impossible to use the experience of corresponding institutions in other countries or of the old specialists. It was obvious, therefore, that the

tasks, functions, and methods of intelligence work by the socialist state had to be entirely different from those of the capitalist special services with which it was to engage in an uncompromising conflict.

Berzin always considered the collective of the administration a part of the party and his work as part of the all-party work. He considered that precisely the party's leadership was the guarantee for successful work in this difficult project assigned to him and to his comrades.

Despite his crushing duties, the chief of intelligence found time to carry out extensive and varied social work. He could be frequently seen at the Khamovnicheskiy Raykom in Moscow. Assigned by the Moscow Party Committee, he spoke in factories and plants. At a party meeting Yan Karlovich was asked whether he was able to upgrade his political standard despite the tremendous amount of work assigned to him. "The very work I am doing," he answered, "forces me to improve my standards. As to the international circumstances . . . I could say that I am familiar with them, for these are matters pertaining to our immediate work. In the field of domestic socialist building I do not consider myself separated, since I am in touch with the masses through my party work."

Yan Karlovich's primary concern was the selection, training, and upbringing of cadres. The people to whom he paid attention were, above all, plant workers and members of the workers intelligentsia who had displayed high ideological maturity and loyalty to the Bolshevik party. Many of them had been active participants in the struggle against autocracy and heroes of the October Revolution. They had proved themselves in the front of the Civil War. The new cadres, most of whom had to be trained in the course of the work itself, as one of Yan Karlovich's students recalls, Berzin raised in a spirit of true internationalism, daring and independence in resolving problems arising in the course of practical work.

Berzin's notes and thoughts on the tasks of Soviet agents and on the rules governing their behavior have been preserved. Intelligence, he wrote, requires not simply daredevils but unusual people with outstanding minds, with imagination, capable of finding their way independently and quickly in most complex circumstances, take absolutely correct and precise decisions on the instant, even when totally isolated and finding themselves in a seemingly hopeless situation. The administration's chief frequently told his comrades: "The agent must have the warm heart of the patriot, a cold mind, and nerves of steel." He himself was that kind of a person, and so were his closest friends and associates: Oskar Stigga, Lev Manevich, Khristofor Salnyn', Karol' Sverchevskiy, Vasiliy Davydov, and many others.

In their choice of people the administration's personnel relied on the party organizations and the advice of Central Committee personnel and of heads of Soviet organs. That is how U. D. Khadzhi Mamsurov was recommended to Berzin. He was a young Oset Red Army man who had distinguished himself in the clashes against bandits in 1922 in the North Caucasus. Mamsurov

soon became one of the most capable members of the administration. Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General Mamsurov dedicated his entire outstanding life to the cause of strengthening our homeland's defense and security.

Unquestionably, one of Berzin's greatest successes was the fact that he could detect the future brilliant intelligence agent in the young and talented scientist Richard Sorge. The Sorge intelligence organization successfully operated in Japan for quite some time and helped the Soviet command to obtain most valuable information.

In accordance with the cadre-training system developed by Ya. K. Berzin great attention was paid to Marxist-Leninist training. As in everything else, here as well the chief of the intelligence administration gave a personal example. Stealing time for classes, he attended the Proletarian University.

Within a short time the then small collective of the administration became a united combat family. This again was largely owing to the chief of intelligence, who was a true communist and, consequently, a collectivist. "I worked under his leadership many years," recalls one of Berzin's fellow workers. "However, I remember him as my chief least of all. To us he was a senior comrade, with his heart open to us. Regardless of rank we talked with him, sharing intimate thoughts, receiving from him a charge of good spirits and revolutionary energy. He was extremely modest and simple. Meanwhile whenever he said, always calmly, evenly, 'This should be done,' everyone understood, 'This must be done.' 'Berzin said,' and we were ready; 'Berzin said,' and we would confront any danger. His authority was absolute."

His fellow workers called Berzin "The Old Man." It was quite strange to give such a nickname to a person under 40. This was partially due to his prematurely gray hair--a bitter mark from his stay in death row. There was more to it, however. The personnel, many of whom were Berzin's age expressed their profound respect for the person. Let us recall that Feliks Dzherzhinskiy was known to his closest associates as "The Old Man."

One evening an operative conference in "The Old Man's" office had ended late at night. He was standing alone by the map. His face was that of a typical worker or fisherman, with gray hair, cut short. His blue, twinkling eyes became serious. After a brief silence, Yan Karlovich said: "I trust you, comrades, as communists, and I am convinced that wherever you may be you will always and in everything remain communists and will not surrender your positions."

In 1931 the Japanese military invaded Manchuria and reached the borders of the Soviet Union. The hotbed of a new world war appeared in the Far East. Taking into consideration the increased danger of an attack on the part of Japan, the VKP(b) Central Committee and Soviet Government took urgent measures to strengthen the forces of the Special Red Banner Far East Army

(OKDVA). In April 1935 corps commissar Yan Karlovich Berzin was appointed deputy to OKDVA commander V. K. Blyukher, whom he had known since 1922. "The Old Man's" battle comrades, assigned to the Far East on Blyukher's request, were of great help to him also in China and during the conflict along the Chinese Eastern Railroad. On the occasion of Yan Karlovich's appointment as USSR people's commissar of defense, K. Ye. Voroshilov wrote: "A loyal Bolshevik--a rare, modest fighter, deeply respected and loved by everyone who has ever known him, Comrade Berzin has dedicated all his time, efforts, and experience to the most difficult and responsible assignments entrusted to him. . . . I am confident that in his future work as well Comrade Berzin will entirely justify his deserved prestige as one of the best people in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. . . ."

One year later the national-revolutionary war in Spain broke out--the first major battle between the forces of peace and democracy and fascism. The Soviet people came to the aid of the Republic of Spain. On the request of the republican government food, armaments, and, above all, volunteers and military specialists, were sent to Spain. Hundreds of Red Army officers, its best command cadres, were assigned as advisers to the republican army. They were headed by General Grishin--Yan Karlovich's latest alias--in his quality as chief military adviser.

Berzin's headquarters was an old three-story house near Valencia. It was here that he worked on the operative plans and met with the military specialists coming from the USSR.

Marshal of the Soviet Union R. Ya. Malinovskiy recalls his arrival in Spain: "Soon afterwards I went to the Soviet embassy and then met with adviser Yan Karlovich Berzin about whom I had heard a great deal of good things. 'The Old Man,' as he was still known, looked somewhat tired (he had many things to worry about!), even though he tried to conceal it."

Yes, there were troubles and difficulties. . . . The interference of fascist Germany and Italy in the affairs of the country increased with every passing day. German aviators from the Condor Legion were roaming the skies like pirates. In the war ministry and the general staff there were many officers and employees who disliked the Soviet military specialists and secretly opposed their activities. Anarchists and Trotskyites were disorganizing the ranks of the republican forces. A fascist "fifth column" operated behind the lines. However, how warmly and sincerely were the Soviet tankmen and fliers welcomed by the simple Spanish people, workers, peasants, artisans! How bravely yesterday's miners and metal workers, longshoremen, and students fought for freedom! The fighters-internationalists, including Latvians--Yan Karlovich's compatriots--fought in the same ranks.

At Berzin's side were his loyal assistants Mamsurov, Orolovskiy, Vaupshasov, and Sverchevskiy. They headed the Old Man's international detachments operating behind enemy lines. The cartridge factory in Toledo

was burned down and a train carrying Luftwaffe fliers was derailed. Bridges were blown up. General Grishin's students, who were later to lead their famous partisan units in the forests of the Ukraine and Belorussia, fought at Estremadura, Zaragoza, and northwest of Huesca.

In June 1937 Yan Karlovich returned to the homeland. He was awarded the Order of Lenin for successfully carrying out party and government assignments. Yet another exciting event occurred: on 9 June 1937 Berzin resumed his duties as chief of the intelligence administration of the Red Army. Yan Karlovich plunged into the work with tremendous energy and Bolshevik zeal. He now had more detailed knowledge of the circumstances in the Far East, where he had spent about one year, and experience in the struggle against fascism in Spain.

The contribution which Yan Karlovich's fellow workers made to the victory over the enemy in the Great Patriotic War is greatly owing to their teacher and educator--the commander of the invisible front. During the war the Soviet agents carried out their duty honorably. Many of them were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

Occasionally an official report written in an official style could tell something about a person no worse than a character certificate, recollection, or eye-witness story. We are looking at the report submitted by Ya. K. Berzin, chief of the intelligence department of the USSR People's Commissariat of Defense to K. Ye. Voroshilov, USSR commissar of defense: "At the end of March 1937 a group of 72 Spanish children was accepted. . . . The children were sent to rest at the Artek All-Union Pioneers Camp. . . . For said group of children . . . we undertook to build a special children's home. . . . The school is located ten minutes away from the home and the children cross no streetcar lines on their way. . . . "

Here is another document: A statement presented to Ya. K. Berzin from his 15th Army comrades on the day of his departure for Moscow. "Truly saddened by your unexpected departure, not only as a rare and irreplaceable commander, but particularly as one of our most respected comrades, we also deem it our duty to express frankly and openly, without flattery, as communists, that your humane attitude toward everyone, and your knowledge, experience, frankness, simplicity and firmness have always served as an example to us both in our daily and party work. With your departure we lose a comrade who, whatever the circumstances, could indicate the true way to be followed not only by agents, but by all honest and idea-minded communists. We hope . . . that in your new position you will continue to be our senior and sincerely respected comrade."

It was probably not a simple matter for the chief of army counterintelligence to display humanism in the course of the fiercest civil war battles. However, it was precisely this quality that Yan Karlovich's fellow workers considered most important. Yes, such was Berzin when, in the course of

suppressing a mutiny, without thinking he jumped into the river to save a drowning Red Army man, and when he was concerned with the Spanish children. Humaneness and a tremendous spiritual generosity were not merely features of his character. They were its essence. Whatever work he was assigned and in whatever difficult struggle he was involved, Berzin carried out the more humane mission on earth . . . he was a communist.

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CSO: 1802



## IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST ART

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 115-118

[Review by G. Fridlender, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the books by Clara Zetkin "Kunst und Proletariat. Herausgegeben von H. Koch" [Culture and Proletariat. Compiled by H. Koch], Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1979, 340 pages, and "O Literature i Iskusstve" [On Literature and Art], Goslitizdat, Moscow, 1958]

[Text] Dietz Verlag, the party publishing house of the SED, has published a collection of articles by Clara Zetkin, the outstanding Marxist theoretician and great public figure in the German and international labor movements, and close friend and collaborator of V. I. Lenin (1857-1933) entitled "Art and Proletariat." The publication of this collection, which is part of the "Series for the Study of Marxist-Leninist Sciences of Culture and Art," is of major scientific and political significance.

As early as 1955 Genschel, the Berlin publishing house, undertook to collect the articles by C. Zetkin on problems of culture, art, and literature, scattered among a variety of social democratic publications of the turn of the century, occasionally inaccessible to the contemporary readers, and which had never been collected within a single work. This publication became the base of the collection of articles by C. Zetkin "On Literature and Art," published soon afterwards in the Russian language. These two works alone, which contain only part of C. Zetkin's legacy of culture studies, convincingly prove the considerable contribution which this outstanding German revolutionary had made to the development of Marxist aesthetics. However, it was only after the publication of the collection of the C. Zetkin, compiled by H. Koch, did the importance of the place which C. Zetkin's works held on problems of culture and art in the history of Marxist-Leninist aesthetic thinking and literary criticism of the turn of the century become obvious.

C. Zetkin was an ardent proletarian internationalist, and a passionate and convinced fighter against imperialism and war and against fascism. Since early youth she profoundly admired the selflessness and heroism of the Russian revolutionaries.

"If ever the history of the struggle for the freedom of the peoples of the world has come across men and women who are able to combine within themselves the greatness of the heroes of antiquity with the selflessness of Christian martyrs, these would be the Russian revolutionaries," C. Zetkin wrote as early as 1903. Angrily objecting to publications by German revolutionary social democrats in the bourgeois press hostile to the Russian revolution, she wrote: "To contribute to a newspaper which insults these men and women who are among the noblest and best peoples of all nations and times, and in the face of whose accomplishments we cannot but experience a feeling of reverence . . . is inadmissible not only for a socialist, but in general for any decent person" (pp 55-56). C. Zetkin's unreserved support of the Russian revolution contributed to her steady interest in Russian culture. This enable her to assess at an early period Lenin's greatness and to become a zealous supporter and propagandist of the ideas of the October Revolution.

C. Zetkin paid very close attention to problems of culture from the very first years of her revolutionary activities. However, her interest in such problems particularly intensified at the turn of the century when, on the one hand, the adverse consequences to the development of culture of the entry of capitalism in its final, imperialist stage were defined particularly clearly and, on the other, when problems of socialist culture and literature began to assume a live, a vital practical significance to the international proletariat under the conditions of the approaching socialist revolution and, particularly, after the October Revolution.

"Our entire program," C. Zetkin wrote in 1920, describing the tasks of the German communists, "is also a program in the field of culture. . . . All our decisions, whose objective is to awaken the revolutionary activeness of the proletariat, are part of the tremendous program in the field of culture. Through our entire activities we are laying a firm and solid foundation for enhancing the culture of the broad masses." "The higher the spiritual and moral values which guide man are, and the higher the level of his knowledge and manifestation of his forces and talents, the higher becomes the measure of revolutionary power, revolutionary knowledge, and will for revolutionary action which he could dedicate for the sake of the overthrow of capitalism which enslaves the human soul and the building of communism" (pp 136-137).

Elsewhere she writes that, "Today bourgeois culture, despite its individual striking partial accomplishments, is unable to combine within a single organic synthesis scientific conclusions on nature and society in order to formulate a unified outlook linked with life and filled with social energy. . . ." The development of bourgeois art presents a similar picture. "It is no longer the artistic expression of great social feelings and experiences, thanks to which it could become an effective means for the education of the people. Art has become a business, a capitalist enterprise whose purpose is to bring good profits. Working on a canvas, the painter must be guided by the instructions of the merchant in artistic

goods. Poets and writers must take the market into consideration and the customers of their publisher. Such is the case in all fields of artistic creativity.

"Pseudo-art arises as a profitable capitalist enterprise. The bourgeois society creates producers of such pseudo-art. . . . Through the power of hunger it bends the talented, converting them into the servants of tastelessness and lack of culture. However, the bourgeois society also creates consumers of pseudo-art consisting of stupified pleasure-thirsty upper classes and uneducated broad lower classes. It creates the capitalist-exploiter who identically spiritually distorts both the artist and his public. The most profitable of all pseudo-arts in the capitalist countries is pornography, pornography on paper, on canvas, in marble, in literature, and on the stage" (pp 157-159).

On the basis of K. Marx' revolutionary doctrine, C. Zetkin mercilessly criticized in her works the decadent trends in bourgeois art. Passionately defending the realistic tradition in domestic and world classics, she dedicated a great deal of time and effort to the education of the young forces in the new, socialist art, in which she displayed profound interest and exactingness.

The collection under review consists of three sections. The first contains C. Zetkin's articles and speeches of the 1897-1926 period on problems of communist party and Comintern cultural policy. Her address at the social democratic party congress, in Hamburg, in 1897, is of particular interest in understanding the positions which C. Zetkin developed at an early time on problems of culture which soon afterwards took her closer to the thinking of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. "The best socialist literature must be for the proletariat!" Such was the heading and the key theme of this brilliant speech. Largely anticipating Lenin's ideas, which have now become programmatic to communists the world over, C. Zetkin already then firmly stated that the proletarian reader needs a truly profound and serious party literature which would insure its all-round spiritual growth, educate it, and lead it. That is why the creation of a socialist literature addressed to the broad toiling masses, raising them in a spirit of communism, tolerates no superficiality. It must be a most serious and responsible part of the party's work.

The articles included in the first section comprehensively reflect C. Zetkin's character as an irreconcilable fighter of the opportunism and revisionism of the leaders of the Second International, and the talented and outstanding theoretician and propagandist of revolutionary Marxism. Some of the materials deal both with overall basic problems of the German and international movements of the 1890's-1930's and problems of the women's and adolescents' communist movements. Despite their variety of topics, C. Zetkin invariably returns to problems of culture and the arts, for she considered such problems inseparable from the basic theoretical content of Marxism, the very nature of the revolutionary struggle of the

proletariat, and the task of upgrading its ideological standard and broadening its ideological range.

The second section includes works especially dealing with problems of art and literature. Included are her famous pamphlet "Art and Proletariat" (1911) after which the collection was named, and articles and reviews on literary topics. Most of them were initially published between 1889 and 1912 in the newspaper EQUALITY, which, at that time, thanks to C. Zetkin's talent and able leadership, became one of the most spirited printed organs of the German revolutionary social democrats. Among C. Zetkin's works published here let us note, above all, articles on F. Schiller, J. G. Herder, F. Reiter, F. Vreiligrat, H. Balzac, G. Ibsen, and B. Bjornsen. Even though these articles were written, as a rule, as the occasion presented itself, in accordance with anniversaries, they cannot be considered in the least as the products of accidental, casual circumstances. Each of them vividly reflects C. Zetkin's analytical mind and critical talent, and her constant live interest in the fate of classical literary heritage and the development of contemporary German and all European literature.

C. Zetkin's articles on literature prove her attachment to the progressive democratic traditions of German spiritual culture. The articles on Schiller, Herder, Reiter, and Vreiligrat frequently contain names of others outstanding in German literature and philosophy, from Lessing and Goethe to Wagner, and from Kant to Hegel and Feuerbach. Like K. Marx and F. Engels, C. Zetkin considers the heritage of progressive German culture inseparably a part of the heritage of the German working class. At the same time, her works creatively and originally raise a number of specific theoretical questions of Marxist aesthetics and literature: The problem of the correlation between realism and tendentiousness and of realism and naturalism, the question of idea mindedness and nationality in literature, the question of the importance of international revolutionary traditions to literature, and so on. Based on the experience of German democratic literary criticism, which she deepens and reinterprets in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism, C. Zetkin successfully combines the historical evaluation of the creativity of the writer, intensified by an interpretation of his works and the formulation of a number of common problems of the theory of art with a profound analysis of the symptoms of decline and decay of contemporary bourgeois culture and with dissemination of the ideals of socialism and socialist art.

Like her fellow workers K. Liebknecht, R. Luxembourg, and F. Mehring, C. Zetkin highly rated the liberation, anti-serfdom and anti-bourgeois pathos of Russian literature. "What is it that distinguishes the realistic . . . the social criticism of Russian literature." she asks in one of her articles, "from the literatures of other countries? It is the social aspect to which it gives a primary role, the social feeling, the thoughts, the will filling the works of the Russian thinking people in the epoch of czarism with great revolutionary power and significance, having a firing, a revolutionary effect" (p 174).

The third section of the book is an excerpt of C. Zetkin's recollections about Lenin: the story of her familiar talk with Vladimir Il'ich on problems of culture and cultural heritage in the USSR. The record of this talk made by C. Zetkin has long been part of the gold stock of universal Leniniana. This is entirely natural, for it contains Lenin's most important theoretical instructions on problems of culture and art on which to this day the Marxist-Leninist parties base their activities. Lenin's irreconcilably critical position toward various types of "left-wing" pseudo-revolutionary innovation, his words that "art belongs to the people," and his program for cultural construction, based on the highest possible respect for the broad popular masses and on the desire to comprehensively awaken and develop their forces and talents were not expressed to C. Zetkin accidentally. As her articles and addresses show, Lenin quite legitimately considered her particularly close on such matters and it was this that inspired him to formulate these thoughts, of such great importance and value to us, in the course of his talk with this outstanding German revolutionary, linked with Lenin with a profound reciprocal understanding and many years of common revolutionary work.

"Art and culture are not homunculi which could be manufactured in a test tube according to prescriptions of aesthetically inclined smart alecks" (p 174), is the manner in which C. Zetkin describes, elsewhere, the basic lessons she drew from her talk with Lenin. To Lenin the real implementation of communism "was the equivalent to creative self-proof of the organized masses. This meant a process of development, establishment and growth. It meant the progress of planned education and self-education. . . ." A necessary prerequisite for this is the constant cooperation and interaction between mental and physical work. "Prerequisites for such cooperation are the new methods which are given to us ready-made, but which gradually develop on the basis of social practice, as do the new forms of life and relations among people. Hence the need for showing as attentive an attitude as possible toward all embryos of the new social life and new ways and means of social labor, education, system of relations among people, and so on. Hence also the need for strict and consistent control so that the forces released by the proletarian revolution may develop in a truly communist direction" (p 173).

We already pointed out that in 1958 a small collection of articles by C. Zetkin "O Literature i Iskusstve" was published in the USSR. Unfortunately, it did not include a great deal of the very rich theoretical legacy of C. Zetkin.\*

A new and more complete Soviet edition of the works of C. Zetkin would be quite timely and useful. It would be of great interest to our readers who honor deeply the memory of the outstanding German socialist, passionate

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\*C. Zetkin's pamphlet "Art and Proletariat," and an excerpt from her article "Poet of the Revolution," criticizing decadent art, were recently reprinted in an extensive collection entitled "V Zashchitu Iskusstva" [In Defense of Art], Moscow, 1979, pp 45-56.

struggle for the emancipation of toiling women, and who wrote her name in ineradicable letters in the history of the international communist movement and the treasury of progressive social thinking of the 20th century.

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## MOTION PICTURE AND THEATER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 118-119

[Review by V. Komissarzhevskiy of the book "V Kino i Teatre" [At the Motion Pictures and the Theater] by Ye. Surkov, Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1977, 495 pages]

[Text] Ye. Surkov's book carries on the continuing argument, the type of argument in the course of which even though the truth may not always appear, in any case, a number of views on things fresh to our theater and cinematography are revealed.

The critical temperament of the author is thirsting for a discussion which seems to be the secret engine of his thoughts. He fiercely and convincingly argues against Nietzsche and Garaudy and disagrees with philosophers and artists of his own age, however high their prestige may be, such Brecht and Lunacharskiy. In his article on Ibsen's "Brand," the author emphasizes the equivocal and, to a certain extent, critical attitude of Ibsen himself toward his character--the maximalist creature who has forgotten on the icy mountain peaks of spiritual elitism all humanity and compassion. Let us point out that the excellent staging by director Arnol'd Linin at the Latvian Artistic Academic Theater imeni Ya. Raynis convincingly proves the concept of the critic, who 10 days before the opening had suggested a similar solution.

Exceptionally instructive, from my viewpoint, is the argument between Ye. Surkov and the authors of "Ocherki Istorii Russkogo Sovetskogo Dramaticheskogo Teatra" [Essays on the History of the Russian Soviet Drama Theater], who allowed a somewhat non-objective assessment of playwright Aleksey Fayko, who was the first, in the play "Man with a Portfolio" to put in the limelight a dangerous character such as Granatov, the scientific turncoat; the critic justifiably sees in this character the clever Gratsianskiy in Leonov's "Russian Forest." The author displays not only an excellent memory but great carefulness, which is so much necessary in the recreation of the history of our stage and of the world's theatrical culture as a whole.

Comparing the various viewpoints on one and the same subject, listening to the rhythm of replicas, narratives, frames, and dynamics of settings, Ye. Surkov addresses himself to the motion picture by S. Gerasimov "At the Lake," L. Leonov's prose and theater, Shakespeare, or Brecht, trying not only to go deeper in the interpretation of these phenomena, but to understand how this was done, what its origin was, and why is it that we need it today.

Is there unity in this multitude of voices? Do we find in the book the "lock," to cite Tolstoy, which would clasp together (this Tolstoyan term is frequently used by the author) all the aspects of a complex installation? Yes!

Ye. Surkov cites from the article of the young Engels on the subject of Thomas Carlyle's book: "All man has to do is to know himself, to make himself the yardstick of all aspects of life, to assess them according to his nature, to organize the world in a truly human fashion, in accordance with the requirements of his nature, and then he will resolve the puzzle of our time."

It is precisely Engels' thought that represents most accurately the position of the author himself, enabling him to develop a system of evaluations "according to his nature," and to understand one or another phenomenon in art by comparing it with the "puzzle of the time," and, above all, to see the captivating objective of "organizing a truly human world." In such a case, everything stated in the book which may seem unconnected or accidental finds itself within this magical Tolstoyan "lock."

This immediately correlates seemingly totally different things, such as, for example, the motion picture directed by Tolomush Okeyev "The Fierce One," an early work by Leonid Leonov on Genghis Khan's bloodstained associate Tuatamur, G. Kozintsev's filming of Shakespeare's "King Lear," or, for example, the views of Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset on art. Is such an alinement possible? Judge for yourselves: "People and Wolves" is the title of the chapter on T. Okeyev's film. A wolf, rescued and raised by Kurmash, a Kazakh boy, attacks the one who saved and raised it. Is this insurmountable cruelty? No, it is simply the world in which both wolf and boy lived, and in which the human yardstick could not as yet be applied to everything. Cruelty must disappear the way Chingiz's evil wolf does, the way Leonov's Tuatamur does who was born with a clot of blood in his hand and who spread "fire and fear from Khorosan to Astrabad."

"On the barren poor land, where not a single tree grows, amidst huge dead boulders, under a sky covered by cold, black clouds, we glimpse peasants dressed in rags and famous soldiers, people are killed or, moaning, demand salvation and justice . . . . What is this century--the 10th? the 15th? I do not know," writes Ye. Surkov, discussing G. Kozintsev's "King Lear," for such anti-human evil is alive in the 20th century as well.



Art must fight this evil. This is its vocation, its meaning, its objective. As suggested by Ortega y Gasset, the Spanish existentialist philosopher, should it try to prove that the "aesthetic pleasure is derived by the new artist out of . . . victory over 'the human,'" demanding that each one of his "masterpieces" prove the "concretizing" of this victory, and the "strangled victim," i.e., strangled humaneness, art betrays itself, stops being art, and becomes a most dangerous means of destruction, assuming its legitimate place in the arsenal of anti-humanism. "The organization of a purely human world" includes the story of the purity of the soul of the young Lena Barmina, who like Nina Zarechnaya lives by the Koldov Lake in the motion picture by Gerasimov, but which like the lake itself acquires an entirely different destiny, as well as the moral exploit of Nyura Salova, who with her "I forgive" in the play "Wedding Day" by V. Rozov, asserts the new highly human laws of moral freedom, the famous chairman Trubnikov--M. Ul'yanov--who fiercely lived for healing the earth's wounded by the war, and Leonov's Fedor Talanov, who had conquered all the bad in himself and who, for the sake of someone else and for the fatherland, accomplishes the seemingly impossible. The price of the tragically beautiful complexity--the changing of the world thirsting for justice and good is shown in the book also in the story on Ibsen's "Brand," in thoughts on Shakespeare's "Hamlet," and on Chekov's characters, who yearned for a beautiful life at the side of beautiful trees, and Brecht's theater whose clear objective is the renovation of life: "A critical attitude toward a river consists of straightening its bed, toward a fruit tree, of grafting it, and motion in space of creating new means for ground and air transport, and to society, of transforming it" (Brecht).

That is how I see the "lock" in Ye. Surkov's book and such is, behind it, the position of the critic.

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## PAGES OF AESTHETIC HERITAGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 119-125

[Review by A. Vishnevskiy of a series on prime sources of aesthetics. The following books (chronologically) are included in this series published by Izdatel'stvo Iskusstvo: "Estetika" [Aesthetics] by Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, and Adam Smith; introductory article and commentary by B. Meyerovskiy and I. Narskiy, translated by Ye. Lagutin and F. Vermel', 1973, 480 pages. "Iskusstvo i Zhizn'" [Art and Life] by William Morris; selected articles, lectures, speeches, and letters; compiled and with introductory by A. Anikst, translated by V. Smirnov and Ye. Kornilova, commentary by R. Usmanova, 1973, 512 pages. "Estetika" [Aesthetics] by Voltaire; articles, letters, preface, and thoughts; compiled, with introductory, and commentary by V. Bakhmutskiy; translated by L. Zonina, N. Naumov, and E. Linetskaya, 1974, 392 pages. "Russkiye Esteticheskiye Traktaty Pervoy Treti IXX Veka" [Russian Aesthetics Treatises of the First Third of the 19th Century]; compiled, with introductory, and annotated by Z. Kamenskiy; in 2 vols, 1974, vol 1, 408 pages, vol 2, 647 pages. "Izbrannyye Esteticheskiye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works on Aesthetics] by N. G. Chernyshevskiy; compiled by A. Ushakov with introductory and commentary by U. Gural'nik, 1974, 550 pages. "Izbrannoye" [Selected Works] by N. A. Dobrolyubov; compiled by A. Ushakov, introductory and commentary by U. Gural'nik, 1975, 439 pages. "Esteticheskiye Opyty" [Experiments in Aesthetics] by Shaftesbury; compiled, translated, and with commentary by Al. Mikhaylov, 1975, 543 pages. "Estetika i Kritika" [Aesthetics and Criticism] by Giuseppe Mazzini; selected articles; compiled, translated, and with introductory and commentary by V. Bibikhin, 1976, 479 pages. "Estetika i Poetika" [Aesthetics and Poetics] by A. A. Potebnya; compiled, introductory, and notes by I. Ivan'o and A. Kolodnaya, 1976, 614 pages. "Kriticheskiye Razmyshleniya o Poezii i Zhivopisi" [Critical Thoughts on Poetry and Painting] by Jean-Baptiste Dubeau; preface by L. Reinhardt, translated by Yu. Stefanov, commentary by Yu. Stefanov and S. Osherov, 1976, 767 pages. "Estetika Amerikanskogo Romantizma" [Aesthetics of American Romanticism]; compiled, introductory, and commentary by A. Nikol'yukin, translated by Z. Aleksandrova, A. Zverev, A. Mulyarchik, V. Rogov and V. Kharitonov, 1977, 464 pages. "Fantazii ob Iskusstve" [Fantasies on Art] by V.-G. Vakenroder; introductory by A. Dmitriyev,

translated by S. Belokrinitskaya and V. Rogov, commentary by Al. Mikhaylov, 1977, 263 pages. "Osnovaniya Kritiki" [Foundations for Criticism] by Henry Home; introductory by I. Narskiy, translated by Z. Aleksandrova, and commentary by E. Leont'yeva, 1977, 615 pages. "Ispanskaya Estetika" [Spanish Aesthetics]; Renaissance, baroque, Enlightenment; compiled and with introductory by A. Shteyn, translated by M. Abezguaz, T. Vetrova, P. Grushko, P. Korenevskiy, Ye. Lysenko, A. Sadikov, E. Chashina, and V. Yurist, commentary by A. Shteyn and N. Braginskaya, 1977, 695 pages. "Ervin. Chetyre Dialoga o Prekrasnm i ob Iskusstve" [Ervin. Four Dialogs on Beauty and Art] by W.-F. Solger; introductory by V. Shestakova, translated by N. Bernovskaya, commentary by Al. Mikhaylov, 1978, 432 pages. "Etika i Estetika" [Ethics and Aesthetics] by Giacomo Leopardi; (moral essays. thoughts by Italian on romantic poetry. From the diary of thoughts); preface by B. Reizov, compiled, with commentary and translated by S. Osherov, 1978, 470 pages. "Estetika i Sotsiologiya Iskusstva" [Aesthetics and Sociology of Art] by G. V. Plekanov; introductory by Mikh. Lifshits, in 2 vols, 1978, vol 1, 631 pages, vol 2, 439 pages. Editorial collegium of the series "History of Aesthetics in Monuments and Documents": M. F. Ovsyannikov (chairman), A. A. Anikst, V. F. Asmus, K. M. Dolgov, A. Ya. Zis', M. A. Lifshits, A. F. Losofev, and V. P. Shestakov]

[Text] In the past few years Izdatel'stvo Iskusstvo has published about 15 books laying the beginning of the implementation of an important and long-considered project: the creation of a series of documentary primary sources on the history of aesthetic thinking. Some stages in its development, starting with the Age of Enlightenment, were traced in the initial works within the series "History of Aesthetics in Monuments and Documents." So far, however, these are merely fragments which lead us to anticipate a wealth of content of the future series when, in the course of time, it will acquire its missing links.

However, it would be unfair to say that the works published so far merely provide an anticipation. The main thing has been defined: the publication of the primary sources is the essential direction which is truly needed for the enrichment of socialist culture along its inexhaustible and always topical way of study and critical mastery of the best traditions of social thinking of the past, and of its superior forms which have played a role of historical grades and ideological prerequisites for the appearance of Marxist-Leninist dialectics. On the grounds of art aesthetics and philosophy, these steps of the past retain their significance today, not simply as topics for academic studies; properly understood, in accordance with their significance, they could enable us to clarify the origins of the theory of realism in art as occasionally immature, yet largely accurate outlines. Reworked and developed in the laboratory of Marx' brilliant philosophical thinking, they gained a new, an enriched life in the scientific theory of the social ideal, the ideal of communism, and its corresponding aesthetics of socialist realism.

This series of books, which promises to cover many stages in the development of human thought, has not been published accidentally today. In itself, the classical heritage of world culture is inseparable from the Marxist-Leninist theory. Under mature socialist conditions, however, interest in this heritage and in its study and interpretation becomes particularly great. It is precisely today that more profoundly and extensively the Leninist concept has been realized in its entirety: "One can become a communist only when he has enriched his mind with the knowledge of all the wealth created by mankind" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 305). This immortal Leninist legacy sheds a vivid light on the nature of many topical cultural undertakings in our country, which include the series of monuments on the history of aesthetic thinking, along with publications, such as, for example, the recently completed 200-volume "World Literature Library." They matched the increased cultural requirements of the new Soviet reader--the builder of the communist future.

A number of works within this series are a first publication in Russian of monuments to the aesthetic thinking of the Age of Enlightenment--the works of 18th century English and French philosophers. This includes treatises by Shaftesbury, combined in his volume "Aesthetic Experiments"; Francis Hutcheson's "Study of the Origin of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue," including selected essays on aesthetics by David Hume and Adam Smith (the text of the former partially borrowed from previous Russian editions, while the curious experiments of the latter are published for the first time after the October Revolution); the definitive treatise by Henry Home "Foundations for Criticism," which is the main aesthetic work of this Scottish author. Treatises by French members of the Enlightenment, previously unknown to the Russian reader, include Jean-Baptiste Dubeau's "Critical Thoughts on Poetry and Painting." Let us add to this list the collection of excerpts and statements by Voltaire--a publication based on a different principle: anthology or selected passages.

Imbued with the highly humane demand for a sensible world structure, uncompromised fearlessness of principles, despite their entire historically inevitable one-sidedness, the monuments of the Age of Enlightenment exude the charm of the fullness of perception of the sensory world, sharpness of the mind, and still not hardened sensualistic or directly materialistic views. Regardless of philosophical schools and shades, systematically, with driving frankness, their authors express their support of the realistic foundations of art as mirroring the world, totally unaware of the subsequent turns of the problem of relations between the object and the subjective in the artist, and between reality and artistic creativity. In them the latter is invariably presented as the imitation of nature--the great idea which illuminated the minds of the past since the times of the ancient "mimesis," whose dialectical content is frequently found in said works to an amazing extent, despite the prejudice concerning the "mechanicism" of the ideas of the Enlightenment.

". . . All beauty is truth," said Shaftesbury at the dawn of the Enlightenment. Among all the beauties, pursued by the artists, most attractive is

the "beauty taken from real life and real passions," even when nature, in its creations, "appears ignorant." ". . . We admire the beauty of the world precisely thanks to this order of lower and higher objects, for the beauty of the world is based on contradictions: the general agreement established on the basis of different and disparate principles." Taking one step further toward a more profound understanding of such laws, Shaftesbury noted: "New forms develop and when the old ones break down the matter of which they are made is not uselessly wasted. . . ."

Shaftesbury's aesthetic views are imbued with conscious realistic motifs. He is convinced that "it is absolutely necessary for the real artist to reject anything excessively learned, whimsical, or intentional. It is absolutely necessary to remain within the limits of what is natural, worthy of trust, and leading to our acceptance . . . ." The artist must study the "poetic and moral truth" in order to be able to reflect in his works the "high and most noble human nature" and the "genius of the century he is painting."

What remains behind is not necessarily forgotten. Suffice it to recall the old literature of the Enlightenment to which this series takes us, to note deep perceptions and a developing understanding, long before our age, of problems of art, not confused by excessive reflections. Such insights are a kind of "bridge" from one age to another, linking the thoughts of the past with the theoretical interests of the present, enabling us to assess the extent to which they were turned toward the future and the precision with which they reflected the natural attachment of the human mind to the truth of content and rightness of form in art.

After the poetic Shaftesbury, the strict Hatcheson proclaimed the principle of unity and virtue and discovered the indisputable inner "feeling of the beautiful," based on the "universal agreement of the people," pitting the selfless feeling of beauty and harmony against interests and profit. In accordance with the logic of his theory he ingeniously defined poetry as the "truthful depiction of mores or characters as they exist in nature. . . ."

Influenced by his age, Adam Smith, the father of bourgeois political economy, also did not avoid aesthetic interests. Some of his posthumously published works deal with this topic. In one of them Smith states that the 18th century was worthy of emulation, both in terms of artistic creativity (to use a modern term), and as a social, human contact. He eloquently writes about music, which is frequently referred to in his thoughts: "Better than anything else music imitates the feelings and passions which bring people together and bind them together within society. . . . However, it is not easy for music to imitate the passions which divide the people, which are anti-social, hateful, unrestrained, and vicious."

Henry Home, Smith's contemporary, writes in his "Foundations for Criticism," like Smith, about the "norm" or "measure" of taste, which in his view

rests on the "conviction shared by all mankind." ". . . Had there not been a unanimity of taste, the arts could not assume such an important place in the world," he believes. However, how to find such a natural measure? Home asks, plunging into the labyrinth of antinomies of taste, familiar to all aesthetic literature of the Enlightenment.

Home's guiding star is the testimony of his feelings. Yet the ideas of sensualism and materialism are even more decisive, compared to those of his compatriots, in the French Enlightenment as the basis of their aesthetic views. Jean-Baptiste Dubeau, the author of "Critical Thoughts on Poetry and Painting," has proclaimed the testimony of feelings to be a more accurate criterion than all learned judgments of critics which list the merits and shortcomings of works of art. Despite common areas of the science of 18th century rationalism, the polemics of Dubeau, the educator, is addressed against the "arrogance" of the mind and its claim to supreme normative power. He advises the mind "to bow to the sentence of the feeling," and for judgment to justify the assessment of the feeling. According to Dubeau, without conflicting with the mind, the real force of the feelings dominates it, the way the sensory principle of material human nature is superior to the speculative and the rational. ". . . Truths gained through feelings are not so deceptive as those achieved through judgment." The power of prejudices is as much stronger than the mind as it is insignificant compared with feelings.

The skillful poet or painter, in Dubeau's view, "has the special talent which enables him to see the infinite variety of reality." The creative force which inspires the artist and raises him above himself comes to him from the outside, i.e., from nature, and has no other source. The uncompromising directness with which Dubeau asserts the objective nature of art is one of the rare examples of a considered and productive prejudice: it enclosed the natural shoots of the ideas of artistic realism. Dubeau is just as straightforward in his consideration of art as the attractiveness of the depicted object. Here he relies entirely on the response of some kind of "inner feeling, described as a sixth sense," or "simply a feeling": it "has no visible organs," being a "particle of ourselves."

This thought lies at the brink of the nature-philosophy trap in which Dubeau falls, following Hatcheson, and which seems not to elevate him above the general level of his age. Nevertheless, it contains an undeveloped, a naive hint at the human significance of the idea, well familiar to the Enlightenment, of the universal agreement among people, so rich in profound historical meaning. What immediately attracts us to the aesthetic literature of that age and is clearly prominent in it is the persistence with which the best minds, turning to a principal thought from various sides, claimed that truth in art is the truth of the objective world embodied in the "beautiful." ". . . In the aesthetic life of the people," writes a Soviet critic, "even under the oppression of slavery, serfdom, and capitalism, they are shown the possibility of another, a better person, more worthy of his social nature, one with nature and with himself. It was

precisely in the form of the "beautiful" that the people saw the vaguely realized ideal of their social being--unity between subject and object and between the material world and human activity. Such is the deepest content of the aesthetic literature of the past and the reason for the tremendous interest in it on the part of every thinking being" (Mikh. Lifshits, "Karl Marks. Iskusstvo i Obshchestvennyy Ideal" [Karl Marx. Art and Social Ideal], Moscow, 1972, p 363).

The thought remains valid in the subsequent stages, not excluding the age of romanticism. In literature this trend is described as "Fantasies on Art" by V.-G. Vakenroder, one of the leaders in the change in thinking created by the French Revolution, which as Engels said struck "like lightning" the atmosphere of stagnation and chaos which prevailed in the old Europe on the threshold of the new century. Few have been more expressive than Vakenroder, a contemporary of the storming of the Bastille, the young genius who died at 25, reflecting the dawn of romanticism and the atmosphere of its first stage. Nowalis, the pioneer of the Jena school, Tieck, the Schlegel brothers, and Vakenroder created their "fantasies" in age when, behind the threshold of the Enlightenment and the revolution, the leading minds of Europe were concerned with the division between the non-material, spiritual freedom and the necessities of material life; a time when a person, according to Vakenroder, reaches in art the highest "concentration of feelings," yet no longer knows how "his feelings correlate with the real world." It is as of then that a new great balance sheet is started in the history of thinking and art showing gains and losses.

Some 20 years following Vakenroder's thoughts the time of the first theoretical settling of accounts took place with romanticism and of its conversion into an idea into the "moment of dialectics" in the development of German idealistic philosophy, which took Hegel to the threshold of aesthetic synthesis. "Ervin. Four Dialogs on Beauty and Art," the main work of K. W. F. Solger, is the monument of this transition. Its most important component is a critical interpretation of the romantic theory of irony, presented in Russian for the first time in the present edition.

The initial publications in Russian of the aesthetic works of past philosophers may be considered as discoveries promoting the education and enlightenment of the Soviet reader. They are close to editions within the same series structured as collections of articles, essays, short treatises, and excerpts covering entire periods of the history of aesthetics and the theory of art of individual countries. Such documentary anthologies include "Russian Aesthetic Treatises of the First Third of the 19th Century," "Spanish Aesthetics," Renaissance, baroque, Enlightenment, and "Aesthetics of American Romanticism." The variety and comprehensiveness of the content of the materials collected within these volumes makes them difficult to review.

Nevertheless, we must pay attention to a collection of very rare Russian works on aesthetics and art, long vanished from view, showing the journal

and academic battles between classics and romantics at the turn of the 19th century. "We feel part of the age of ferment and crisis. The obsolete legends of the past are crumbling down, yielding to a new future desired by all," states N. I. Nadezhdin in the speech "On the Contemporary Trend of the Fine Arts," which has not been reissued since 1833, and in which this scientist and rarely perspicacious critic presents his best side. A romantic who, however, tried to rise above the conflict between romanticism and classicism, Nadezhdin was a radical supporter of art which demands "total similarity with nature." He called for "taking the fine arts to the deepest turns of life," and praised Balzac for having "found the secret for presenting the philosophy of contemporary history in minor scenes of household life." Nadezhdin sums up his thought by saying that "at its highest level, creative activity is nothing but the reproducer of events, competing with the spirit of life which flows within nature."

A forerunner of the realistic school, fighter for a national literature, but as we know unable to appreciate Pushkin, nevertheless Nadezhdin understood the classical ideal as "the visible beauty of the material world," a "streamlined proportionality, noble appearance, and refined charm"--qualities which we habitually associate with the distinguishing features of Pushkin's realism.

Pushkin's poetry, at whose cradle were interwoven the countercurrents of the classical and the romantic struggling to overcome each other, rose high above these opposites, opening the way to the collective genius of 19th century Russian literature. Pushkin's teachers in secondary school, who taught him prose and aesthetics, were the romanticist A. Galich and classicist P. Georgiyevskiy. The works of both are included in the collection. The former, a Russian follower of Schelling, who studied in Germany until 1812, is the author of "Experience in the Science of Elegance." The second, who subsequently became famous as a scholast, did not promote in the least, while Pushkin was in school, the stupid ideas of splendid classical balance based on the "mysterious combination of the natural with the sensible." We find in his understanding of taste as "refined sensitivity, guided by the mind, educated to the highest level" an echo of the themes close to Pushkin's artistic beliefs. "Simplicity is a prerequisite for loftiness," believed Georgiyevskiy, entirely like Pushkin, rejecting in poetry everything artificial and confused. "Genius means perfection of the mind," and the strict law considers as excellent in art only that which is considered such "by general agreement," and the "general opinion or feeling."

It would be easy to link such firm ideological themes of the views on art prevailing in Pushkin's time with views later expressed by Herzen, Belinskiy, and Chernyshevskiy, and the aesthetics of the Russian revolutionary democracy--the highest stage of domestic aesthetic thinking before Marxism and Lenin. The collections within this series contain reprints of the most important aesthetic works of N. G. Chernyshevskiy and selected critical articles by N. A. Dobrolyubov, enabling the reader to become acquainted without difficulty with the treasury of their immortal ideas.



The series contains a collection of thoughts on the poetry and morality of Giacomo Leopardi, the outstanding Italian lyricist and spokesman for the situation of the artist placed between the heroics of classics of the Enlightenment and the romanticism of despair, typical of his age. The series includes--obviously with a lesser justification--selected literary-critical articles by Giuseppe Mazzini--the spokesman of the Italian petit bourgeois revolutionism and democracy of the 19th century. It also contains articles, lectures, speeches, and letters by the English romantic painter and socialist writer William Morris.

This publication is included within the series as a documentary expression of the feelings of protest which were born spontaneously in the stifling atmosphere of the "workshop of the world," which 19th century England was. Yearning for the original completeness of man--the naive artist--reactionary from the historical viewpoint, even though presented in the spirit of socialist hopes, as we know, it made Engels smile. He considered Morris a political dilettante, a Gemutssozialist (a socialist with a sentimental coloring--the author). Engels did not doubt that such "children's diseases" of the romantic view in socialism will, happily, be healed before the movement is joined by the masses. Indeed, at that time there were no masses following the sects of the socialists of the time on the other side of the English Channel.

No less important, however, was the fact that under the conditions of Victorian England Morris' views blended with a bigger and still existing tradition of protecting the artistic crafts and folk art, which were being destroyed by unbridled "commercialism"--the growing pressure of capitalist production. Unlike the wrong attacks mounted against the Renaissance by some current Western critics, Morris and his teacher, John Ruskin, blamed this great age in art, not because of its support of perspective or classical inventiveness, but for the real historical fact that it was precisely during the Renaissance that the anonymous yet free (from industrial slavery) artistic craft, close to popular tradition, took one way, while the artistic-genius, the brilliant creative individual serving the powerful of the world, went the other way. Morris' ideas were not simply an elegy for the beauty of the past and the selfless art of the medieval craftsman--the creator of beautiful things by his own free will. As a person open to the idea of social justice, Morris felt that the huge economic machinery which had developed around him would become, itself, the blind destructive force of the existing system. Modern society, Morris predicted, despite its anarchic nature will lead to a new social system. Yet when and how would this occur? When instead of a small handful of educated people, unable to support a general interest in art and in the monuments of the past, new forces arise and social life is reorganized in such a way that anyone may acquire the possibility, while sensibly working and having adequate leisure time, to realize, finally, that the beautiful ancient buildings and other works of art inherited from previous ages and demanding protection from deliberate or accidental destruction, are an inseparable part of themselves, part of their own human life? This understanding would

come to the people, as Morris timidly thought, not before "the ripe time comes"; at present, even were people to realize their losses, they would be unable to prevent them." How quickly this time came! How quickly the mole of history dug its tunnel! Only two decades after Morris' death, the masses took up the matter seriously. In October 1917 the following appeal of the soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies could be read of the walls of homes in revolutionary Petrograd:

"Citizens, the old owners have gone, and have left a tremendous heritage. Now it belongs to the entire people.

"Citizens, protect this heritage, protect paintings, statues, and buildings--the embodiment of your and your forefathers' spiritual strength.

"Art is the beauty which talented people have been able to create even under the oppression of despotism and which proves the beauty and power of the human soul.

"Citizens, do not break a single stone. Protect monuments, buildings, old objects, documents--all this is your history, your pride. Remember that all this is the ground on which your new people's art will grow."

The advent of the age of proletarian revolutions gave scope to Lenin's thought whose spirit imbues the lines of this outstanding document. The aesthetic nature of the appeal, surrounded with the atmosphere of the first post-October times, is the aesthetics of socialism, presented with inordinate power in simple words. To this day their content is an inseparable part of the social consciousness.

The stages in the history of human aesthetic thought are of universal significance to the extent to which they represent stages of development leading toward Marxism and toward the Leninist revolutionary view of the meaning and conditions of the social struggle and their reflection in art. Marxism drew a firm line between the classical ideology of the past, rich in sources which fed the theory of scientific communism, and the vulgar ideology with its surrogate decisions, typical of the stage of decline of bourgeois culture, containing a sequence of theoretical novelties, abundantly created by the epoch of imperialism. It would be erroneous to consider such solutions as having no significance or interest. On the contrary, they are worthy of close attention and demand their adequate understanding and interpretation. However, this duty of critique and science does not make true what occurs on the other side of the line, established and substantiated by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The leveling off of ideological boundaries, and the adoption of an indifferent attitude toward all theoretical postulates and conclusions or trends and forms of spiritual life in the past and the present, whether in science, art, politics, or aesthetics, could be the work only of someone who is ready, consciously or subconsciously, to mix truth with error and neglect the true criteria in assessing the facts of social life and social consciousness.

In other words, it is a question of the requirement of a class approach, of party mindedness in ideology and theory.

This requirement is met by the recently included two-volume work of critical articles by G. V. Plekhanov in the series on the aesthetics and sociology of art, selected among the best works of the first Russian Marxist. According to Lenin's familiar assessment, "One cannot become a conscious, a true communist without the study--precisely, the study--of everything written by Plekhanov on the subject of philosophy, for it is the best in the entire international Marxist literature" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 42, p 290). No less great is the significance of Plekhanov's works on the history of Russian social thinking and, above all, on the ideas of Belinskiy, Chernyshevskiy, and Dobrolyubov. One of the volumes contains his critical works on the aesthetic theories and literary views of the great Russian revolutionary democrats.

In the history of Russian Marxism and the workers movement the turning to the theoretical struggle is linked with Plekhanov's name. However, like his political position, Plekhanov's theoretical position had its limits: we know that frequently it was quite different from Lenin's line. His materialistic understanding of history was not free from error. However, the weakness of his views on some problems of aesthetics and the general theory of art did not lower the tremendous importance of his criticism of bourgeois decadence and modernism in art, which is among the brilliant passages of Plekhanov's polemics, well represented in the work. This strong direction followed by Plekhanov's aesthetic thinking agreed with Lenin's party position even in the post-October period, when the leader of the revolution firmly rejected all attempts to transfer the products of the decline of bourgeois culture and art on Soviet grounds.

It could be said that Plekhanov's two-volume work marks the basic line, the culmination of the purpose of all published parts of the series. Its publication properly underscores the idea that the series on the history of aesthetics cannot be arbitrary in content and that the choice of one or another work is no matter of indifference. Here both comprehensiveness and randomness would be unsuitable. Without a planned, principled self-limitation such a publication would lose its ideological function and educational purpose. The limits and framework of the series, we believe, are determined precisely by the classical tradition of social thinking. In addition to the already published works, this great tradition could be represented by the works of the philosophers of antiquity and the humanists of the Renaissance, Montaigne and Vico, who participated in the famous "debate between the ancients and the modern" in France, in the 17th century, the authors of the Encyclopedia, Diderot and Lessing, Herder and Winkelmann, Schiller and Rousseau, Schelling and Novalis, Schlegel and Jean Paul, Goethe and Hegel, Mehring and Lunacharskiy, and other outstanding philosophers and artists, and with them tens of "second-level" outstanding authors whose works are frequently imported because of a specific aspect of the development of a thought, providing that all of them are linked within

a historical chain which leads to the Marxist-Leninist theory on the grounds of aesthetics and the theory of art. The gradually developing composition of the series follows, as a rule, this line of topics.

Concern for the structure of the series and the ideological determination of selections is today the most important task of the publishing house. Going back to Lenin's thought on the role of the heritage, it is based on the understanding that socialist culture is a "legitimate development of the stock of knowledge developed by mankind under the oppression of the capitalist society, the landowning society, the bureaucratic society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, pp 304-305). ". . . Only a precise knowledge of the culture created by the entire development of mankind," Lenin said, "and only by reworking it, could a proletarian culture be built . . ." (ibid, p 304). It is no accident here that he speaks not merely of mastering, but of "precise knowledge," and "reworking." However, Lenin's thought goes even further. It directly raises the following question: What must be borrowed from the old school, from the old science? What had mankind accumulated that is needed by the people? How to cull from the old culture that which communism needs? "Does this mean that we must be able to distinguish between that which was necessary to capitalism and what is necessary to communism?" Lenin asked (ibid, p 306). In his view, mastering the legacy means, above all, the selection and evaluation of what was best in it, what is necessary for communism, "the development of the best models, traditions, and results of existing culture" (ibid, p 462) from the viewpoint of the Marxist outlook and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. "Marxism gained its universal-historical significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat by the fact that Marxism did not reject in the least the most valuable gains of the bourgeois epoch, but conversely mastered and reworked everything valuable developed in the course of over 2,000 years of development of human thinking and culture" (ibid, p 337).

Clearly, it is not a question of a heritage in general, but of its "most valuable accomplishments," of what contains life in the inherited culture and its classical tradition, which properly understood in its true content could and should help us in a Leninist way "to learn communism." Thus Lenin's idea enables us to understand what is desirable in terms of the composition and selection of works undertaken by Izdatel'stvo Iskusstvo with the series "History of Aesthetics in Monuments and Documents." It has a true compass to guide it. Obviously, it would be proper for the publishing house to draw up and announce its full program and composition of the planned series, with a view to giving it, in the course of time, a nature complete in terms of ideological and historical meaning, both in terms of the selection of topics and works, and of ages and authors.

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 17, Nov 79 pp 125-127

[Text] Review by T. Krupina, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Zhiznenny Uroven' Rabochikh Rossii (Konets IXX-Nachalo XX v.)" [Living Standards of the Russian Workers (End of the 19th-Beginning of the 20th Centuries)] by Yu. I. Kir'yanov, Nauka, Moscow, 1979, 287 pages.

The study of the prerequisites of the Great October Revolution necessarily demands a characterization of the economic position and living standard of the Russian proletariat. Yu. I. Kir'yanov's monograph covers this important topic. The author focuses his attention on four most important problems: Wages, workers' nutrition, housing, and time budget.

The book is a thorough historical-economic study based on tremendous specific data showing the nature of the "shameful," as V. I. Lenin said, economic situation of the workers in czarist Russia.

The monograph proves that for the bulk of the workers the length of the fixed working day was 12 to 14 hours in the 1870's-1880's, and 9-10 hours in 1913. The length of the working day in Russia was substantially higher than in many Western European countries. At the turn of the 20th century it was 11-11.4 hours in Russia compared with 9 in Britain, 9.75 in the United States and Denmark, 10.5 in France and Sweden, and 10.75 in Germany. Many workers were forced to work overtime.

In the mid-1880's the workers spent in production 15 or more hours (including overtime, lunch break, and commuting); on the eve of the World War I it averaged 13 to 14 hours. The time unrelated to work slightly exceeded the time needed for sleep and restoration of the strength. This in particular was a reason for the illiteracy of some of the workers (50% of the country's workers were illiterate in 1897 and 36% in 1918).

In both the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries (until October 1917) the wages of most Russian workers were described by

Lenin as low and pitiful (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, pp 278, 299; vol 22, pp 24-25). Study of workers' budgets between 1908 and 1913 proved that a considerable percentage was negative (31.2-45% of the family budgets). Many workers were unable to have families. Frequently workers were forced to take children out of school and put to work "to fill in the missing part of the budget," not only in large, but in medium-sized families. Very indicative in this respect are data on ratios among students in primary (three-year) schools in Moscow at the end of the 19th century: the first grade was attended by 48% of the children, the second by 35%, and the third by 17% only.

The low level of wages resulted in quantitatively and qualitatively entirely inadequate nutrition norms of workers and their families.

The author's conclusion is that the size of the wages earned by most workers could not insure even the normal reproduction of manpower. The small raises in nominal wages extracted from the factory owners as a result of persistent strikes were virtually reduced to naught as a result of the increased prices of staple goods and higher labor intensiveness.

No less striking are data cited by the author as to the housing conditions of the Russian proletariat. In 1914 only 1-9% of married workers in Moscow had separate apartments; 38 to 48% had one room; in Kiev, in 1913, 31% of the workers lived in a single room. Usually five to six or more people shared a single room. The conditions of workers barracks, dormitories, or other premises, frequently located in basements, were hygienically horrifying. Workers had no right whatever to housing, either allotted by the entrepreneurs or leased from them. Workers could be thrown out on the street at all times, at the will of the factory or house owner. The right to housing, currently codified in the USSR Constitution, was given to the working man only by the October Revolution.

Revolutionary social democrats and Bolsheviks rated the living standard of the Russian proletariat throughout the capitalist epoch as low.

A certain increase in the wages of individual working class detachments, achieved at the turn of the 20th century, were explained, as the author emphasized, by the upsurge of the proletarian class struggle and, above all, the 1905-1907 revolution. The author proves that it was precisely as a result of the revolution that improvements were made in the working-time structure at industrial enterprises and the working day was shortened. He draws the attention to the fact that considering the increase of labor intensiveness, and overtime in the balance of changes in the length of the working time meant that the factual achievements were far more modest than appeared to be "on the surface."

The study by Yu. I. Kir'yanov is a convincing argument opposing various types of "behavioristic" concepts of the labor movement in Russian, which deliberately lower the vital aspirations of the Russian proletariat. In

reality, as the author proves, the characteristic feature of the Russian working class, which at the turn of the 20th century occupied a hegemonic position in the liberation movement, was the rise of its material and cultural needs. However, it was precisely then, as a result of market fluctuations, increased exploitation, living costs, the war, and so on, that the instability of the economic situation of the working class intensified. The author considers the growing gap between the factual economic situation and the needs of the proletariat, confirming not only the latter's relative and absolute impoverishment, one of the reasons for the steady upsurge of the revolutionary workers movement in Russia in the pre-October period.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the starting point and decisive prerequisite for radical changes in the living condition of the working class in our country. This interesting and meaningful book enables us to assess more profoundly the significance of the Great October Revolution and the achievements of real socialism.

Review by N. Yermoshkin, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Obshchestvo bez Budushchego" [Society Without a Future], facts, figures, documents, and testimony offered by the press on contemporary capitalism; Plakat, Moscow, 1979, 88 pages.

This book may have no more than 90 pages, which however contain numerous facts, figures, photographs, documents, and testimony by the press on contemporary capitalism, which expose the criminal nature of this final exploiting system on our planet. Put together, they represent an indictment of the society of the callous trampling of human rights, monstrous militarism, nurtured by the military-industrial complexes of imperialist countries, the predatory nature of the monopolies, which ignore everything in their pursuit of profit, and organized crime covering the Western world.

In the last decade the faults of the system doomed by history have multiplied manifold. The further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism has made its mark on its economy, politics, ideology, and culture. No single capitalist country has avoided its impact. The conclusion of the 25th CPSU Congress was that capitalism is a society with no future.

Its historical doom and anti-national nature are manifested particularly emphatically in social contrasts. The 500 biggest U.S. corporations, representing the interests of an insignificant minority, account for over 2/3d of the output and over 3/4ths of all profits in American industry. In Britain 1/4th of the entire national property is in the hands of moneybags accounting for 1% of the country's population. The bosses of France are 25 financial and industrial groups. Naturally, those who belong to this financial elite claim that they are working not for themselves but for the public good and that the money, the fantastic capital they take out of society, are merely symbols, figures, even though significant, on computer

tapes or memory banks. As to such "symbols," the modern big owner frequently is simply unable to spend them physically should he even want to do so. However, capitalism gives weight and power under the so-called "pluralist democracy" in a society of "equal opportunity." All this is accompanied by shameless demagogy concerning the "socialization" of capitalism and "human rights."

In fact, as is properly noted in this work, contemporary capitalism has mounted an onslaught of unparalleled scale against democracy and the rights of the working people: not the right to work, but the right to unemployment; not "freedom of the individual," but cruel persecution of all dissidents; not "equal opportunity for all," but crying contrasts between wealth and power, on the one hand, and poverty and rightlessness, on the other. Such is the real state of things in the capitalist world" (p 38).

The suppression of bourgeois democracy and democratic freedoms is a historically determined phenomenon. In his time, V. I. Lenin wrote: "In both foreign and domestic policy imperialism is striving toward violations of democracy and toward reaction. It is unquestionable, in this sense, that imperialism is the 'negation' of democracy in general, of all democracy . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 93). True, today this is accomplished in a more refined way, frequently through money and skillful demagogy. However, imperialism does not shy from resorting, as in the past, to naked police or military force.

At the very dawn of American capitalism, Abraham Lincoln noted that, "All of us proclaim our support of freedom. Yet using this word we rarely invest it with the same meaning." In another of his speeches he added: "Freedom is above property and man is above the dollar." The author cites numerous clear proofs of the power of money in contemporary capitalist society. One hundred years ago, that same Lincoln spent \$1.5 on his electoral campaign, treating his supporters to a barrel of cider. In 1976, however, according to official data, the nominees of the bourgeois parties for the American presidential elections spent \$78 million. The Democrats won, having spent on their nominee \$12.8 million more than the Republicans. It is natural in this case that 100,000 American millionaires, financing the success of one or another candidate, stand a considerably greater chance of helping their man take the power compared with the 7 million unemployed, who in this major political show play the role of silent extras. No less vivid are facts exposing the false nature of bourgeois democracy, cited in the book, borrowed from the political practice of other countries ruled by omnipotent capital.

Assessing the book as a whole, let us note that Izdatel'stvo Plakat has prepared and published an interestingly presented (numerous photographs, clearly presented data, and so on) and topical work.

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