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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 2, January 1980



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No. 2, January 1980

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

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1980

NEW DOCUMENTS OF VLADIMIR IL'ICH LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 3-6

[Documents prepared for publication in "Leninskiy Sbornik" [Leninist Collection], Vol 39, by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism]

[Text] The documents published in the journal reflect V. I. Lenin's comprehensive activities on the creation of a proletarian party of a new type, and the unification of the efforts of the nation in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

In a letter to V. M. Smirnov (October 1903), one of the ISKRA correspondents, describing the situation prevailing in the Social Democratic Party of Finland, Lenin emphasizes the importance of its struggle for democratic demands, "without identifying itself in the least with the bourgeoisie and without concealing its socialist objectives." The letter includes specific recommendations to Smirnov on the content of his articles for ISKRA. The letter was discovered in Finland's state archives in 1975.

V. I. Lenin's tireless activities in opposition to the war, militarism and the arms race are shown in the article "Rearmament and the German Reichstag" (May 1913). The article was published in PRAVDA and signed "N. N." Its authorship was established through research. The article exposes Germany's Junker government, which, as Lenin said, tried to "push" through parliament a new law raising the size of the army by 20 percent, and in this connection increasing armaments, and consequently population taxes.

Letter to V. M. Smirnov¹

1 October (19)03

Dear Comrade!

We received your letter and both articles (on the events in Finland and the first half of the congress of the Social Democratic Party). Since information on the congress of the Finnish Social Democratic Party has already been somewhat delayed, the article on it will be published in issue number 49 of ISKRA, which will be issued no later than 15 October, New Style.² The article on the events in Finland will have to be postponed, and I am returning it to you so that you may update it for its publication in issue number 50 (number 51 at the latest) of ISKRA.³ I believe that the second half of this article, pages three-four, could be deleted and the opening changed to match the new end.

As to the article on the congress, it would be desirable to have its follow-up sooner.⁴ For this reason you should discuss in greater detail the matter raised by you concerning the "incautious statements made by the Finnish Social Democrats at their congress concerning the Finnish Sejm."⁵ This is a most important matter of principle which must be clarified in full. To the best of my understanding, some of the workers are ready to withdraw from the bourgeois Finnish struggle for a bourgeois Finnish constitution. Should this be the case, ISKRA should explain this matter from the Marxist viewpoint, and prove the need for the Social Democratic Party to support the bourgeois struggle for freedom as well, while not in the least identifying itself with the bourgeoisie or concealing its socialist objectives. We should have to add a note to this topic. Or else, would you be able to send us the follow-up even as late as 6 October? It is also necessary to include the text of the resolution on the acceptance by the Finnish Workers Party of the Social Democratic program in its entirety, for the part of the program you cite is merely a skeleton program, which in itself is not social democratic in the least. Should this be due to censorship, it should be stipulated once again.

We would be very grateful to you for an article for ZARYA. Deadline--approximately 15 November. The time of publication of issue number five of ZARYA is still unknown, as some of the articles are being set to print.⁶

A pamphlet on the "Finnish defeat" would be quite necessary. Particularly a popular pamphlet, not too big, yet extensively describing the entire course of the struggle. We would extensively disseminate it among the masses. In my view, it should cover the first period of the struggle, ending with this summer. Subsequent events will be described separately in the course of time.⁷

In conclusion, I must express to you, dear comrades, the gratitude of the ISKRA editors for your regular contributions. We consider it extremely

important and valuable to properly inform the Russian working class of events in Finland and thus promote surreptitiously and systematically a drawing together and merger between the Russian and Finnish social democratic workers parties.

With social democratic greetings, for the ISKRA editors, N. Lenin (V. Ul'yanov).

PS. You may directly write to the editors and send articles from abroad to the following address:

Mr Vladimir Oulianoff
10 Chemin prive du Foyer. 10. Secheron.
Geneve, Suisse.

I have already asked the mailing department to send you ISKRA copies regularly.

Therefore, as before, we are relying on contributions from you for each ISKRA issue, i.e., desirably to be received by the 7th or 21st of each month (New Style), and no later. It would also be desirable for the manuscript to be less tightly written (double spaced, with broad margins and, furthermore, on one side of the sheet only), as we have no time to draw up a final draft, yet editing is necessary.

Rearmament and the German Reichstag

(From Germany)

The German Government is most urgently "pushing" through parliament a new law increasing the size of the army (from 544,000 to 659,000 in peacetime, i.e., by nearly 20 percent!!). The manufacturers of shells and ammunition have been able to promote "among the people" (meaning the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois press, which sells out to whoever pays better) a "patriotic" mood, considering--please believe it!--the "Slavic" threat.

Yet, where should the money for this new increase in armaments be found, when in Germany the people are already groaning under the burden of taxes and the cost of living? A great deal of money is needed: a full billion marks, i.e., about 500 million rubles. How far more sensibly could such money be used--to help the working people and ease their position, only if . . . if the working people had not been the hired slaves of the capitalists who so superbly profit from "patriotic" armaments!

Aware of the fact that a new tax increase is impossible, the German Government has decided to collect this billion through a special property tax. Initially this was to affect anyone possessing 10,000 marks (slightly less than 5,000 rubles), or more. However, not only the social democrats, who are always calling for taxes to be paid by the rich, but many bourgeois

parties as well objected, fearing the petit bourgeois voters. For levying attacks on a property worth 5,000 rubles (land, house, workshop, etc) would unquestionably be burdensome to the small peasant or artisan.

The government obliged somewhat: first of all, it determined not to levy a tax on property worth less than 50,000 marks (with the exception of those earning a 5,000 mark income). Secondly, it decided to establish progressive tax rates for the rich. Unfortunately, such progression is extremely low. In fact, following is the rate of property and size of the tax:

<u>Property in Marks</u>	<u>Tax in Marks</u>
50,000 (about 25,000 rubles)	75 = 0.15%
100,000	250 = 0.25%
500,000	2,850 = 0.57%
1,000,000	7,100 = 0.71%
10,000,000	127,000 = 1.27%
100,000,000	1,477,000 = 1.47%

A millionaire would pay no more than 7,100 marks, i.e., about 3,500 rubles. However, the capitalists have raised a ruckus even against these rates. The German reactionary and bourgeois press is shrieking that this is no longer a tax, but property confiscation (?!), and that such a measure would facilitate, you see, the social democrats in the implementation of their final objective, i.e., the expropriation of the capitalist class, and so on, and so forth. Allegedly, the social democrats will learn from the German Government how to levy from the rich a really high tax! Is this not comical?

Let us point out that Junkers (the name given in Germany to the reactionary landowning nobility. We would call them diehards or Purishkevichs⁸) have nevertheless been able to extract "benefits," thanks to the servility of the German Kadets and Octobrists to the German "right." The Junkers demanded that the value of their property be determined not on the basis of its market price, but its capitalization--5 percent of the "net income" (i.e., by multiplying the net income times 20). Obviously, the sole purpose is to cheat the officials.

The market price is a specific value and forging it would not be easy: there are witnesses, there are records, there are notary publics.

Yet, the diehards themselves "determine" their "net income," declaring it as one-tenth of what it is.

Even the government became fed up with the suggestions of the nobility and suggested a four percent capitalization (i.e., a multiplication of the net income by 25). This would have increased the tax by over 300 million marks. However, the German Kadets and Octobrists "rescued" the brothers of Purishkevich and defeated the government's motion!

N. N.

Written on 30 May (12 June) 1913

Published in PRAVDA, No 130, 8 June 1913

Reprinted from the newspaper

FOOTNOTES

1. V. M. Smirnov (Paul'son): party member since 1900. Carrying out the assignments of the Petersburg RSDWP committee, he carried to Finland, via Sweden, clandestine publications from abroad. He established permanent domicile in Helsinki in 1903 and his apartment was a clandestine party drop. V. I. Lenin lived there from 1905 to 1907. In 1917 and the beginning of 1918 he contributed to the Bolshevik newspapers VOLNA and PRIBOY, published in Helsinki. Starting with the end of 1918 he switched to Soviet and diplomatic work.
2. The article "The Regular Congress of the Finnish Social Democratic Party," was published in issue No 49 of ISKRA of 1 (14) October 1903.

The second congress was held from 17 to 20 August 1903 in Forsa, a small settlement. It was attended by 96 representatives of 48 workers' unions. The congress adopted a party program, gave it the name Social Democratic Party of Finland, and elected a central party board.
3. The article "The Events in Finland" was published in ISKRA, No 50, 15 (28) October 1903.
4. ISKRA did not publish a follow-up of the article on the congress of the Social Democratic Party of Finland.
5. V. I. Lenin referred to the section in V. M. Smirnov's article "The Regular Congress of the Finnish Social Democratic Party," which stated that the authors of the resolution on the electoral right, adopted by the congress, allowed in their criticism "several incautious expressions" concerning the Sejm.
6. ZARYA was a Marxist scientific-political journal, published in 1901-1902 in Stuttgart by the editors of ISKRA. A total of four issues (three volumes) were published.
7. Referring to a law passed by the czarist government on military service, which triggered agitation in Finland.
8. V. M. Purishkevich was a big landowner, fierce reactionary-member of the Black Hundred, and monarchist. His name became a synonym of anything reactionary in Russia.

AT THE CC CPSU, USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM, USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
AND AUCCTU

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 7-11

[Decree on the further strengthening of labor discipline and reducing cadre
instability in the national economy]

[Text] The decree passed the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU
notes that as a result of the selfless toil of the Soviet people for the
implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the country's
economy is developing dynamically. The material and cultural standards of
the people are rising systematically. Qualitative changes are taking place
in production and favorable conditions are being created for displaying the
capabilities of every person and for manifestations of initiative and
creativity and professional growth.

In present-day conditions, with the increased scale of output, greater
complexity of economic relations and accelerated scientific and technical
progress, the importance of every hour and minute of working time, the
strict observance of internal rules, and the development of stable cadres
at each production sector, is increased. However, in practice, some
economic management organs, heads of associations and enterprises, and
party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and soviets of people's
deputies do not take such requirements into consideration and fail to pay
the necessary attention to strengthening the labor discipline, improving
labor conditions and insuring high-level production organization and
rhythmical work.

Substantial labor losses and violations of the normal work of enterprises
occur as a result of the unjustified recruitment of people from enterprises
and establishments by the local organs for a variety of project unrelated
to the production activities of such enterprises and establishments. Many
public organizations hold meetings, conferences, seminars, rallies, sports
competitions, reviews of amateur art performances, and other measures
during working time.

The party organizations do not always take effective measure to upgrade the
individual responsibility of economic managers for strengthening the

discipline and insuring order in production. Some associations and enterprises have become accustomed to internal labor regulations, and no principled party assessment is given to absenteeism and work-time losses. Violations of labor and state discipline worsen work results and lower labor productivity and quality of output.

The CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU consider that the most important task facing the party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs and economic managers is considerably to improve organizational and political-educational work aimed at strengthening labor discipline, eliminating work-time losses in production, insuring the rational utilization of manpower resources, and shaping stable labor collectives. This work should be considered one of the main directions for the implementation of the party's economic and social policy, upgrading production effectiveness and developing a communist attitude toward labor.

The party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organs must adopt a comprehensive approach to resolving problems of strengthening the labor discipline and effectively utilizing working time in associations, enterprises and organizations. They must make a profound study of the local situation, and formulate and implement corresponding measures. The unjustified recruitment of workers and employees for various types of agricultural, construction, procurement and other operations should not be allowed. It is necessary to energetically sum up and disseminate the experience of collectives which, as a result of organizational and political-educational work, the application of scientific and technical achievements, improvements in the organization of labor and production, and intensified moral and material incentive of the working people, are achieving better utilization of working time, strengthening labor discipline and reducing cadre instability.

Labor discipline indicators must be included in the basic work indicators in assessing activities of labor collectives, summing up results of the socialist competition and awarding and confirming the title of communist labor collective.

Taking into consideration the importance of the progressive forms of labor organization and wages in strengthening labor discipline and upgrading labor productivity, ministries, departments, heads of associations, enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and party and trade union organizations must implement measures for the systematic conversion to collective forms of labor organization and wages; they must systematically help the brigades to improve their work in the choice and placement of cadres; upgrade the role of production brigade and brigade leaders' councils; improve material and technical availability of labor facilities and power equipment, and improve the organization of labor and wages; involve more extensively labor collectives and public organizations in the solution of such problems.

The heads of associations, enterprises, organizations, and party and trade union organs must insure the formulation of clear regulations governing the rights and duties of every worker. They must promote the strict and qualitative implementation of their production functions and official obligations. They must increase the responsibility of heads of shops, and sectors and of shifts, and of foreman and brigade leaders in strengthening the labor discipline and observing internal rules and labor laws. The activities of subunit managers must be assessed on the basis of the fact that they are responsible as much for the condition and strengthening of labor as for the fulfillment of planned assignments. The role of labor collectives must be enhanced in strengthening the discipline and strictly observing internal rules. Their influence on every worker must be enhanced. Measures for social, material and disciplinary actions against violators of labor discipline must be adopted in accordance with the decisions passed at workers' meetings, production brigade councils and brigade leaders' councils. The work of comrade courts and of councils for the prevention of delinquencies must be improved, and cadre workers and labor veterans must become actively involved in their work.

The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations must pay greater attention to the promotion of conscious discipline and the organization of stable labor collectives; such problems must be regularly considered at meetings. Cases of tolerant and liberal attitude toward violators of labor discipline must be uprooted firmly. All available measures of influence stipulated in the labor legislation must be used for such purposes. Individual work must be increased with new members of workers' collectives who fail to meet their output norms (normed assignments). The significance of socialist labor discipline must be extensively discussed within the network of party and economic training, Komsomol political education and other mass propaganda and agitation methods. Pride in one's profession and enterprise must be promoted among the members of the collective, along with intolerance toward any manifestation of disorganization, lack of discipline and slackness. The level of dissemination of the achievements and practical experience of leading workers and labor heroes and veterans must be raised.

The executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies must intensify their control over the job placement and use in production work of young people, graduates of general educational schools, over the implementation of measures to strengthen the ties between schools and industry, and improve labor training and the upbringing and vocational guidance of secondary school students. Measures must be formulated and implemented to insure the further development and improvement of the efforts of the network of population job placement bureaus. The experience of cities in which the population is kept informed of manpower requirements of associations, enterprises and organizations, and where job placement is assisted by the local labor organs, must be applied more extensively.

The party, soviet and trade union organs, and ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations must formulate and implement

measures aimed at reducing the use of manual labor and improving its conditions through the extensive utilization of internal reserves, following the experience of Moscow and Leningrad, the Latvian SSR and the Zaporozhskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and Chelyabinskaya oblasts. Greater attention must be paid to the young workers, particularly those in their first job. They must be helped to increase their vocational skills and become involved in the affairs of the collective. The system of vocational-skill promotion, based on the experience of the Volga Automotive Plant imeni 50-Letiya SSSR and of other progressive enterprises must be applied. Commissions for work with the youth must be set up. The movement of sponsors must be developed. Their prestige must be enhanced and they must be trained in the foundations of pedagogical knowledge. It is recommended to the presidiums of supreme soviets of union republics to institute the honorific title of "honored youth instructor."

Soviet and economic organs are asked to insure the comprehensive construction of industrial and non-industrial projects, to develop a housing fund of enterprises, close to the enterprises themselves whenever possible, and to take measures to improve amenities and reconstruct hostels. Hostels must be built essentially in the style of hotels and must be convenient for the use by young families. The creation of housing-construction cooperatives at associations, enterprises and organizations must be planned. Associations, enterprises and organizations are allowed to engage in the construction of individual housing for workers, using bank loans in accordance with regulations. It is recommended to engage in the construction of such homes with the direct labor participation of workers and employees.

The heads of associations, enterprises and organizations have been given the right, coordinated with trade union committees and in accordance with the recommendations of labor collectives, to channel bonus funds into granting free material assistance and partial repayment of bank loans for cooperative and individual housing construction by workers who have worked at a given association, enterprise or organization no less than five years, or two years for newly married couples. Should a worker resign on his own volition without legitimate reasons, or for violations of labor discipline, the incentive funds granted as free aid or for the repayment of bank loans must be refunded to the associations, enterprises and organizations within a five-year term.

The councils of ministers of union republics, the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, ministries and departments are asked to streamline the work systems at associations, enterprises, establishments and organizations providing population services, set working hours which would be most convenient for the working people, and extensively use for such purposes split work schedules.

The decree stipulates that in the 11th Five-Year Plan workers who benefit from annual paid leave totaling 15 work days and are employed in basic and

auxiliary production work at associations, enterprises and organizations in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, communications, geological survey organizations, and organizations of the hydrometeorological service, shall be granted additional leave for uninterrupted service, applicable to workers categories not entitled to such leave, as follows: One day for the first three years of work; one day for each subsequent two years or work, but not to exceed three days. The length of service on which such paid leave shall be based shall be counted as of 1 January 1980. Workers and employees who have been absent without legitimate reasons (or have come to work intoxicated) may be deprived entirely or partially of such additional leave for the corresponding year.

It has been stipulated that leave without pay may be granted to workers and employees only with the permission of the head of the enterprise, organization or establishment, or the manager of the production unit, and ratified through a corresponding order.

It has been resolved that in the 11th Five-Year Plan supplements to old-age pensions for uninterrupted work by workers and employees of no less than 25 years for men, and no less than 20 years for women with children, who have worked at the same enterprise, establishment or organization, shall be raised by 10 to 20 percent, should they also have the right to an addition to their pension for overall labor service. Under such circumstances supplements not exceeding 10 percent of the pension shall be paid out over and above the stipulated maximum amount of the pension.

It is deemed expedient to stipulate that workers and employees have the right to invalidate a labor contract concluded for an indefinite time by giving one month written notice to the administration. No uninterrupted service record may be retained for a second resignation in the course of a calendar year without legitimate reasons. Corresponding ukases have been adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on said matters.

The councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, and the executive committees of kray, oblast and city soviets of people's deputies have been asked to adopt specific measures aimed at improving work with individuals who avoid socially useful labor. The economic and soviet organs have the task of improving the work of cadre departments (bureaus) of associations, enterprises and organizations.

Together with ministries, departments, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU have been asked to systematically to study and analyze the effectiveness of the implemented social, economic and legal measures aimed at strengthening the labor discipline, insuring the fuller utilization of working time, and reducing cadre instability.

The respective ministries and departments, and the newspapers, periodicals, publishing houses and creative public organizations must vividly and

convincingly prove the economic, moral and social significance of labor discipline. They must extensively disseminate the experience of labor collectives whose activities are characterized by high conscious discipline. An attitude of intolerance must be developed toward any manifestation of disorganization and lack of discipline. Greater attention must be paid to the creation of high-quality works of art and literature and motion pictures vividly depicting labor heroes and veterans, labor dynasties and leading workers in socialist production.

The CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU express their firm belief that the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and economic organs will insure through active and systematic organizational and mass-political work the further strengthening of labor discipline at all levels of the national economy and improve the utilization of manpower resources. The solution of these problems will contribute to the successful development of the socialist economy and the new upsurge in the material and cultural standards of the people. It must be taken up by all working people and each labor collective.

5003

CSO: 1802

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

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 12-17

[Interview with L. I. Brezhnev]

[Text] [Question] How do you, Leonid Il'ich, assess the current international situation, particularly in the light of the latest steps taken by the American Administration?

[Answer] Our party's systematic and creative pursuit of a course of peace, detente and disarmament, and of the implementation of the peace program formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, has made a great deal of achievements possible. Taking a broad view, the main success has been the breaking of the tragic cycle of world war--brief peaceful respite--and world war again. We, the Soviet people, and our friends--the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, and anyone who continues to fight for peace, detente and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems--are justifiably proud of this historical result.

However, unfortunately, by the turn of the 1980's the international circumstances became considerably more complex. The peoples must know the truth as to who is responsible for this. I shall answer without reservations: The blame falls on the imperialist forces and, above all, on certain circles in the United States. On those who see in detente an obstacle to their aggressive intents, to promoting a militaristic psychosis, and to intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations. Those who have developed the deeply rooted habit of unceremonious conduct with other countries and act in the international arena as though everything was permissible to them.

It has been clear for some time that the leading circles in the United States and some other NATO countries have charted a course hostile to the cause of detente, a course of a spiraling arms race leading to the increased threat of war. The beginning of this was laid as early as 1978, at the May meeting of the NATO Council in Washington, where an automatic increase in the military budgets of NATO members through the end of the 20th century was approved. Of late militaristic trends in U.S. policy have

also been expressed in the acceleration of new long-term armament programs, the establishment of new military bases far beyond the United States, including the Middle East and the area of the Indian Ocean, and the organization of "fast reaction corps"--an instrument of the policy of military intervention.

Consider a document as important as the SALT II treaty. Its implementation would open the way to major steps in the field of disarmament. As we know, the treaty has gained the support of the entire world, including that of the NATO allies of the United States, and the broad international circles. How was it handled by the J. Carter Administration? The document had been hardly signed when people in the United States undertook to discredit it, while the opponents of the treaty--not without the connivance of U.S. Government circles--began to use the ratification process for the purpose of hindering the ratification as much as possible. With his recent decision to postpone for an indefinite period the consideration of the SALT II treaty by the Senate, President Carter has added yet another line to this unseemly process.

It was precisely the United States who imposed, in December 1979, on its NATO allies the decision to deploy in a number of Western European countries new intermediate range nuclear missiles. This leads to a new spiral in the arms race. Washington literally shut the mouths of those among its allies who are inclined to respond positively to the constructive suggestions of the Soviet Union to hold talks on the matter.

Today the enemies of peace and detente are trying to speculate on the events in Afghanistan. Mountains of lies are being piled up on the subject of such events, and a shameless anti-Soviet campaign is being promoted. In fact, what took place in Afghanistan?

A revolution took place in that country in April 1978. Taking its fate in its own hands, the Afghan people took the path of independence and freedom. As has always been the case in history, the forces of the past opposed the revolution. Naturally, the people of Afghanistan would have dealt with them itself. From the first days of the revolution, however, it encountered foreign aggression and gross foreign interference in its domestic affairs.

Thousands and tens of thousands of rebels, armed and trained abroad, entire armed formations, crossed into Afghan territory. Essentially, together with its accomplices, imperialism opened undeclared war on revolutionary Afghanistan.

Afghanistan insistently demanded that the aggression be terminated and to be left alone to build a new life. Opposing foreign aggression, already under President Taraki, and later as well, the Afghan leadership repeatedly turned to the Soviet Union for help. In turn, we warned those concerned that should the aggression continue, we would not leave the Afghan people. As is known, in our country there is no difference between words and deeds.

The actions of the aggressors against Afghanistan were assisted by Amin, who, seizing the power, engaged in cruel repressive actions against the broad strata of Afghan society, party and military cadres, members of the intelligentsia, and the Muslim clergy, i.e., precisely strata on which the April revolution relied. Under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, headed by Babrak Karmal, the people rose against Amin's tyranny and put an end to it. Today Amin is grieved in Washington and some other capitals. This particularly clearly exposes their hypocrisy. Where were these mourners when Amin was engaged in mass repressions, when he overthrew by force and, illegally, physically eliminated--the founder of the new Afghan state?

The continuing armed intervention and far-gone conspiracy of foreign reactionary forces created the real danger that Afghanistan might lose its independence and be turned into an imperialist military bridgehead on the southern border of our country. In other words, the time came when we could no longer fail to respond to the request of the government of friendly Afghanistan. Acting otherwise would have meant letting Afghanistan be torn to pieces by imperialism and allowing the aggressive forces to repeat here what they were able to accomplish in Chile, for example, where the freedom of the people was drowned in blood. To act otherwise would have meant to look passively at the way a hotbed of serious threats to the security of the Soviet state would appear on our southern border.

Afghanistan turned to us on the basis of the clear stipulations of the Friendship, Good-Neighborly and Cooperation Treaty concluded between Afghanistan and the USSR in December 1978, and, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the right of any country to individual or collective self-defense--a right frequently exercised by other countries.

It was no simple decision for us to send Soviet military contingents into Afghanistan. However, the Party's Central Committee and Soviet Government acted with full awareness of their responsibility and took the totality of circumstances into consideration. The only assignment given the Soviet contingents was to help the Afghans to repel foreign aggression. They will be fully withdrawn from Afghanistan the moment the reasons which motivated the Afghan leadership to request their entry will disappear.

Both imperialist and Beijing propaganda are deliberately and shamelessly distorting the role of the Soviet Union in Afghan affairs.

Naturally, there has never been, nor is there, any Soviet "intervention" or "aggression." There is something else: we are helping new Afghanistan, on the request of its government, to defend the national independence, freedom, and honor of its country from armed aggressive actions from the outside.

Furthermore, the national interests or security of the United States and other countries are not affected in the least by the events in Afghanistan.

All attempts to depict matters differently are absurd. They are undertaken with malice aforethought, with a view to facilitating the implementation of imperialist designs proper.

Claims that the Soviet Union has any kind of expansionist plans toward Pakistan, Iran or any other country in this area are also equally false. Both the policy and mentality of colonizers are alien to us. We neither hanker after foreign lands nor strain after foreign wealth. It is the colonizers who are drawn by the smell of oil.

Attempts to expatriate on the "Soviet threat to peace" and act as the minions of international morality are simply pharisaical coming from those whose record includes the "dirty war" against Vietnam; who did not lift a finger when the Chinese aggressors launched an armed invasion into socialist Vietnam; who for decades have maintained a military base on Cuban soil, ignoring the will of the Cuban people and Government; who are rattling sabers, threatening a blockade and exerting open military pressure on the revolutionary Iranian people by directing toward the Iranian shores a naval armada equipped with nuclear weapons, including a considerable percentage of U.S. aircraft carriers.

Finally, the following must be said in this connection: There is indeed interference in internal Afghan affairs, in the course of which use is made of such a lofty and respected institution as the United Nations. In fact, was the discussion of the so-called "Afghan problem" in the United Nations, ignoring the objections of the Afghan Government, anything but a gross violation of the sovereign rights of the Afghan state?

The Afghan Government and its representative to the United Nations have stated to one and all: Leave us alone. The Soviet military contingents entered at our request and in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan treaty and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

Meanwhile, under the cover of sensationalism, the aid to elements which are invading Afghanistan and engaging in aggressive actions against the legal authorities is being increased. Recently the White House openly announced the decision to increase delivery of military equipment and of everything necessary for hostile activities to such elements. According to the Western press, in the course of his talks in Beijing, the U.S. secretary of defense arranged the coordination of such activities with the Chinese leadership.

Finishing with the Afghan topic, we must say that the hostile reaction on the part of imperialist forces to events in Afghanistan was not unexpected. The essential feature here was the card on which the imperialists and their accomplices relied.

In a word, the events in Afghanistan are not the real reason for the present increased complexity of international circumstances. Had there not

been Afghanistan, some circles in the United States and NATO would probably find another opportunity for aggravating the world situation.

Finally, the sum total of steps taken by the American Administration in connection with the events in Afghanistan--the freezing of the SALT II treaty, refusal to deliver a number of goods, including grain, to the USSR on the basis of some already concluded contracts, interruption of talks with the Soviet Union on a number of problems of bilateral relations, and so on--proves that, once again, as decades ago, Washington will try to talk to us in the language of the cold war. In this case the J. Carter Administration is displaying disrespect for important intergovernmental documents and violating established relations in the fields of science, culture and human contacts.

It would be difficult even to list the number of treaties, intergovernmental agreements, accords and understandings reached between our two countries on problems of reciprocal relations in various fields, arbitrarily and one-sidedly violated of late by the Carter Administration. Naturally, we can also do without one or another relation with the United States, and in general we have never thrust ourselves on it, considering such matters to be mutually profitable and consistent with the common interests of the peoples of our countries, above all in terms of strengthening the peace.

However, Washington's arbitrary assumption for itself of a some sort of "right" to "reward" or "punish" independent sovereign countries raises a point of principle. Through such actions the U.S. Government is, in fact, striking against an organized international-legal system governing relations among countries.

As a result of such actions on the part of the Carter Administration, the concept of the United States as an entirely unreliable partner in international relations, a country whose leadership, motivated by certain whims or emotional outbursts, or else by considerations of narrowly conceived momentary advantages, capable at any time of violating its international obligations and abrogate treaties or agreements, is developing ever more clearly throughout the world. Need we explain what a dangerous destabilizing influence this has on the entire international situation, the more so when this is the behavior of the leadership of a big and influential state from which the peoples have the right to expect the pursuit of a balanced and responsible policy.

Naturally, such actions on the part of the U.S. Administration would not cause us in the least the type of harm on which their initiators clearly relied. The cynical estimates of a "worse" food situation in the Soviet Union as a result of the refusal of the United States to sell us grain are built on nonsensical ideas about our economic potential. The Soviet Union has adequate possibilities to live and work calmly, to fulfill its plans, and to improve its prosperity. In particular, I can assert that the plans for assuring the Soviet people of bread and bakery goods will not be lowered by a single kilogram.

We cannot consider the actions of the American Administration other than as a poorly considered attempt to use the events in Afghanistan for the purpose of blocking international efforts to lower the threat of war, strengthen the peace and restrict the arms race--in other words, to block something in which all mankind is deeply interested.

The unilateral measures taken by the United States are the equivalent of major political errors. Like a boomerang, if not today, then tomorrow they would hit those who organized them.

Should all these sallies against our policy constitute a test of our firmness, it would mean totally ignoring historical experience. When the first socialist state in the world was born, in 1917, our people did not ask anyone's permission for this. Today as well they are deciding for themselves the laws under which they live. Imperialism tried to test us at the very dawn of the appearance of the Soviet system, and everyone remembers the outcome. The fascist aggressors tried to crush us in the most bloodshedding of all wars experienced by mankind. Yet, they were defeated. We were subjected to trials in the cold war period as well, when they edged the world to the brink of the precipice, unleashing one international crisis after another. However, even then no one succeeded in making us waver. This would be useful to remember today.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the prospects in the development of the situation in Europe?

[Answer] The situation in Europe today is far better than it was, let us say, at the beginning of the 1970's. However, Washington's latest irresponsible actions are, naturally, being reflected here as well. The United States is not satisfied with doing just about everything possible to poison Soviet-American relations. It would also like to spoil relations between the Western European countries and the Soviet Union--relations in the course of which, as we know, many useful things have been accomplished over the past decade. The United States is trying to undermine the spirit and essence of the Helsinki Final Act, which is considered abroad as strengthening security and developing peaceful cooperation on the continent. Finally, through its steps aimed at aggravating the international circumstances, Washington's aim is to trample under its feet the European countries, its own allies above all.

However, the basic interests of the European peoples are inseparably linked with detente. Through personal experience the Europeans have already seen its beneficial results. They--the citizens of a continent which has been frequently burned by destructive wars--are not ready in the least--of this we are convinced--to take the path of adventurers at the will of the politicians overseas. We cannot believe that there would be countries in Europe who would like to throw the fruits of detente under the feet of those who are ready to trample them. Detente in Europe is needed by the Western countries and the United States as much as it is to the socialist countries and the Soviet Union.

A great deal of constructive things could be accomplished in Europe in favor of peace in the immediate future, and particularly in connection with the forthcoming meeting in Madrid and the suggestion of the Warsaw Pact members to hold a conference on military detente and disarmament. We firmly support the consolidation and multiplication of everything positive developed in the course of the years on the European Continent through the collective efforts of big and small countries. We shall continue to pursue a policy of peace and friendship among nations. Unlike today's Washington's extremist position, our position is to continue the talks initiated in recent years in a number of directions with a view to ending the arms race. Naturally, this also applies to a reduction of military confrontation in Europe.

I repeat: We favor talks, but honest and equal talks, based on observing the principle of identical security. It is precisely the initiation of such talks that we recently suggested on the question of nuclear armaments of intermediate range. No one should expect that the Soviet Union would accept NATO's conditions aimed at conducting talks from a position of strength. The present position of the NATO countries makes talks on this problem possible. Recently we officially informed the United States Government of all this.

We are looking at the future optimistically. This is substantiated optimism. We understand that the deliberate aggravation of international circumstances, triggered by American imperialism, is a manifestation of its discontent with the strengthening of the positions of socialism, the upsurge of the national-liberation movement and the strengthening of forces favoring detente and peace. We know that the will of the peoples has opened a way, crossing all obstacles, to the positive direction in world affairs described by the comprehensive word "detente." The roots of this policy are deep. It is supported by powerful forces, and this policy has every chance to remain the guiding trend of relations among countries.

Our people, our country are firmly following the path of the building of communism, fulfilling the 10th Five-Year Plan and the party's designs. The Soviet people and our friends abroad may rest assured that the Leninist foreign political course is inflexible. It is determined by the decisions of CPSU congresses and is embodied in our entire foreign political activities. This course combines a consistent love of peace with firm rebuff of aggression. It has proved itself over the past decades and we shall continue to follow it. No one will push us off of it.

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CSO: 1802

CONCERNING EXACTINGNESS AND DISCIPLINE

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[Article by A. Pel'she, CC CPSU Politburo member and chairman of the CC CPSU Party Control Committee]

[Text] The implementation of the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress has entered an important stage. The countdown of the last year of the 10th Five-Year Plan has begun, a five-year plan marked by further considerable growth of the economic and spiritual potential of our country and the strengthening of its defense capability. The further on and the more confidently the Soviet people progress toward communism, the more their creative forces are revealed and the more outstanding becomes the growing leading and guiding role of the CPSU, its Central Committee, and Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist and firm fighter for peace.

The November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session, which ratified the 1980 State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the USSR State Budget, clearly proved the unbreakable tie linking our party with the masses, its strategic mastery and its ability to creatively resolve the most complex problems of the building of communism, to fully subordinate to it its political, organizational and ideological activities, and promote more adamantly the Leninist work style. A strictly scientific approach to the elaboration of decisions, consistency in achieving long-range and immediate objectives, realism and farsightedness, and trust in, and high exactingness toward cadres, are the tried leadership principles thanks to which the CPSU insures the steadfast upgrading of production effectiveness and work quality in all economic units and at all levels of organization and management of social processes.

Under developed socialist conditions, mature collectivistic social relations, and true democracy, qualitatively new opportunities arise for the application of the creative efforts of the party, the state and the public organizations, and for upgrading the labor and political activeness of the masses. The significance of the strict observance of the laws of the Soviet state, the rules governing socialist community life, and the norms

of communist morality grows at the same time. This, in turn, calls for increasing exactingness at all organizational and management levels.

The laws passed by the Supreme Soviet session on people's control, the Supreme Court, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, state arbitration and the bar concretize and develop the stipulations of the new Soviet Constitution. They will contribute to the further strengthening of law and order. The measures aimed at improving the entire system of socialist control, embodying the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, mass participation, publicity and effectiveness will insure the even more active participation of workers, peasants and intellectuals in the administration of governmental and social affairs and in upgrading the levels of organization and discipline.

"In general, discipline and order are always necessary," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November CC CPSU Plenum. "They are particularly needed now, when economic management has reached a gigantic scale, and when the network of economic interrelationships is becoming ever more complex, dense and widespread. This applies not merely to statements about discipline or appeals for order. It implies, above all, painstaking daily organizational work, clear control of execution, and flexible and well-thought-out cadre policy. We must operatively and sharply react to manifestations of negligence and to violations of approved plans, rules and norms."

I

Particularly topical today are V. I. Lenin's words that "policy is executed through people," and that "one cannot separate organizational problems from politics" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 123). Now, when socialism is developing on its own base, proving its decisive advantages in the historical confrontation with capitalism, the need for organically combining efficient, precise and specific programming of the work with the direct organization of activities, and insuring the inseparable unity between will and action and words and deeds, becomes even greater. A deep understanding of tasks, the ability to adamantly and systematically struggle for their implementation, and deep analysis and self-critical assessment of results of activities are the criteria of cadre maturity.

The discipline of execution becomes particularly important: the strict implementation of party and government directives, plans and operative decisions made at various management levels. The country's socioeconomic life was given a new impulse following the adoption of two most important documents: the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs" and the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality." These documents, along with the stipulations of the USSR

Constitution, contain a profoundly planned program for the further improvement of the entire management and planning system. They are aimed at the utilization of the tremendous reserves contained within socialist production, reaching high national economic end results, insuring the ever better satisfaction of rising social requirements and upgrading the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

The earmarked program demands the full responsibility of the workers for the formulation and systematic implementation of economically substantiated plans, intensified raising of cadres in the spirit of organization and efficiency, and coordination of control and investigation of execution with direct organizational work. Gaps between these two phases of management are inadmissible and have very undesirable consequences.

We know that no single decision, however well it may be drafted, will be successfully carried out unless it is backed by the concrete efforts of all members of the labor collective, organizers and performers. The same could be said of the law as well. A law would have a tangible influence only if concern is shown for its strict implementation by party and state organs, and if the working people themselves are properly familiar with the law and always act as its energetic promoters, firmly opposing all attempts to violate it.

Belief in the magical power of words and papers, and substituting general calls and assertions, the fussing of meetings and paper shuffling in place of live organizational work means falling into self-deception, and confusing wish with reality. Showiness is not only useless but harmful. It is harmful because it draws away from live activeness, from real activeness. It is no accident that the November CC CPSU Plenum cautioned, yet once again, against unnecessary showiness and fuss, or anything which Lenin described as "political chattering."

The task formulated by the plenum of improving political and organizational work, upgrading organization and discipline, intensifying personal responsibility of cadres for assignments, ascribing maximum specificity to party propaganda and agitation, and talking to the people frankly, seriously and substantively met with a broad response among the masses.

In the course of the past accountability and electoral campaign conducted in the primary party organizations, the party members exactly discussed the reports submitted by secretaries and party bureaus. They submitted work styles and methods to a critical analysis. As a rule, the discussions dealt not with specific or local facts, and not simply with statements that somewhere something should be "eliminated" or "improved." The importance of directing today all efforts to the assertion of organization and discipline of a higher order, consistent with the higher contemporary requirements and the interests of the party, the state and society, was underscored.

Guided by the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Improving Further Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy," party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs and organizations are taking effective measures to insure the more efficient utilization of working time and manpower and material resources, and establish firm labor collectives. Model discipline and organization must triumph at all levels, in enterprises and establishments, at each work place, and above all in the activities of management organs and organizations, which must always serve as a model.

The key to success, as follows from the instructions given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, lies in further improvements of the work with cadres, improving control over execution and developing criticism and self-criticism, i.e., the ever more effective utilization of such tried means for the education of the people and for developing in every person the active life stance of the builder of communism. Mastering the familiar party rule that the greater the trust, the greater the responsibility, is not enough. One must firmly and invariably observe it, always and in everything.

The successes achieved over the first four years of the five-year plan, as well as the bottlenecks and shortcomings in some important sectors of the national economy, were discussed at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum: in the fields of railroad transportation, metallurgy and machine building, capital construction, the solution of fuel-energy problems and supplying the population with foodstuffs and industrial goods. The need to improve planning practices and to surmount parochialism and departmentalism, which lead to disproportions in the development of the national economy, was emphasized.

The profound study of allowed shortcomings made the exposure of their objective and subjective reasons possible. Heads of ministries and departments directly responsible for their assigned work sectors were criticized. Thus an object lesson was given in the best party traditions of teaching leading cadres through committed errors. The call to intensify and impose stricter control over the fulfillment of planned assignments and decisions made was demandingly sounded.

"There are varieties of workers," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum. "The majority of our cadres are, unquestionably, party people, who know their business, who know how to work and who know how to resolve problems. However, other types of workers are encountered as well. However extensively we may talk to them, however much we may appeal to their conscience and feelings of duty and responsibility, nothing helps. In this case one must act more decisively and adopt different measures, replace those who fail to cope with their assignments and more daringly promote energetic, creatively thinking and initiative-minded comrades."

The principle of collective management not only does not exclude, but conversely presumes the personal responsibility of anyone who must provide a

solution. Unquestionably, success is insured wherever it is precisely stipulated who is responsible for specific work at a given sector, and where along with trust, which gives performers a broad scope for the manifestation of independence and initiative, there is factual control of execution which urges on and disciplines the cadres and upgrades their responsibility.

However, not everywhere is the necessary significance ascribed to the observance of such basic requirements stemming from the very nature of organizational activities. A study of manifestations of lack of discipline in the implementation of state plans and assignments, departmentalism and parochialism, breakdowns and lack of coordination in material and technical supplies and cooperated deliveries, of negligence, waste, misuse, and of other violations of the law indicate that, one way or another, all of them involve weak or neglected control of execution, lack of specificity and slackness in the allocation of obligations, and the irresponsibility of the performers.

It is not so simple to diagnose such diseases. On the surface everything frequently seems perfectly successful: decisions are made in the way of control and other control attributes are present: commissions are set up, reports are drafted and collegiums gathered. Yet no substantial changes take place. The most essential elements--the organization of the matter itself and factual exactingness and true responsibility--are lacking.

Recently the CC CPSU Party Control Committee considered the question of violations of state discipline allowed in the reconstruction and expansion of the production capacities of the Yaroslavl' Synthetic Rubber Plant. The addition of a new technological line to the complex was carried out extremely slowly. The timely use of capital investments was not secured and deliveries of required equipment were delayed.

Why had all this occurred? What disturbed the organizational mechanism aimed at maintaining the necessary pace of construction and tuning operations at different levels? It became clear that Deputy Minister of Construction S. Ye. Yakubanets, First Deputy Minister of Installation and Special Construction Work V. I. Yarmush and Deputy Minister of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry O. G. Murad'yan, who were in charge of closely watching the implementation of the plan, had not organized proper control or shown specific interest in the implementation of the formulated measures and the promises and assurances given. They failed to show exactingness toward their subordinates even when the latter were clearly ignoring performing discipline. Despite their great rights, these managers of union industries did not use their authority to bring order and take the culprits to task.

Why did they fail to do so before the Party Control Committee had to discuss the developed situation? Could it be that heads of ministries and departments have lesser possibilities than, for example, party or people's

control organs to provide effective control and maintain the required tone in the discipline of execution? Unfortunately, we must note that in a number of cases departmental control proves to be undereffective.

Formalism is particularly intolerable in control of execution. An investigation conducted for the sake of appearances, without exposing the reasons for an unsatisfactory state of affairs in one or another sector, sometimes causes greater harm than not having it in the first place. Here is why: As a result of such an "investigation," those directly responsible for the matter and their superiors develop a distorted idea of the true situation. Yet, undetected, errors and shortcomings become worse and the individuals allowing their occurrence become ever slacker; a view develops in the collective that everything is permitted and goes unpunished. Workers at a higher management level find themselves in the unenviable position of being blind and deaf, for which reason they fail to take measures to bring order and strengthen the discipline. Meanwhile, what a great quantity of funds and time become lost! New petitions and complaints are sent to various institutions, and new commissions are set up and assigned to investigate the local situation. Their official members are paid their wages, per diem costs, and even bonuses.

Naturally, sooner or later, the misled workers "see the light." Under the conditions of a truly democratic system of socialist control, even what was thoroughly concealed becomes apparent. Occasionally, we see how at a KPK [party control committee] a discouraged manager, who, discovering the bitter truth, waves his arms, amazed: "How come?" he exclaims. "Our departmental commissions frequently investigated these signals, and even reported at collegiums that everything was in order, yet here is what seems to have been happening" Usually, the sincerity of such statements or intentions to take measures and bring order are not questioned. As a rule, the comrades back their words with practical actions, self-critically assessing their activities, work style and effectiveness of personal participation in control. Nevertheless, the harm is already done, for the main thing--time--has been lost as a result of a formally conducted investigation.

Formal departmental (parochial) control, which does not bring to light anything of substance, develops where tolerance and complacency dominate and where the managers themselves do not set the tone of criticism and self-criticism and fail to educate their subordinates in a spirit of high responsibility, conscientiousness, principle-mindedness, honesty and truthfulness. Yet, as we know, personal example is the best educational method.

Practical experience has confirmed that investigations which do not go beyond taking general notice of detected shortcomings are equally ineffective. Occasionally, the results of investigations would include statements such as, "The main administration did not insure the preparation of the documents for the installation of the systems," "The association purchased equipment which, as it later turned out, was unnecessary," and "The

department allocated to outside organizations several thousand cubic meters of timber over and above stipulated amounts." Naturally, such entries contain important information, but miss the main thing: the indication of officials by whose fault all this took place, as well as who should be held personally liable.

Without people there are no main administrations, associations, enterprises or departments as such. They employ specific workers who have been given executive-managerial and organizational functions. Some of them may have committed blunders or displayed negligence, irresponsibility or lack of consciousness. A control operation should identify such workers by their names. They should be taken to task and this should be a lesson to them. Both the results of an investigation, the decision and the measures taken on the occasion should be addressed to the mind, heart and conscience of a specific worker.

Control results are achieved not through the number of investigations and the exposure and notice of shortcomings, but through objective conclusions, constructive suggestions and a most detailed analysis of pluses and minuses and successes and failures, mandatorily related to the activities of those who by virtue of their party, official or production duties should have acted efficiently and in accordance with a decision made or an instruction issued.

One of the inviolable truths in organizational activities is that control must be headed not by secondary individuals, but by senior workers, and, above all, by the heads of enterprises, organizations and establishments themselves. It is precisely they who must organize control of execution and display in the course of it firmness and principle-mindedness. Their duty is to be a model of execution and discipline, precision, accuracy, firmness and uncompromising exactingness toward themselves and others in implementing stipulated measures and assuming responsibility for their actions.

The position of the captain of a ship would be unenviable had he, taking the rudder, and forgetting everything else, would be interested neither in the compass, nor the currents, nor weather forecasts, and would not check personally and through his aids whether or not the vessel was sailing along the proper course. Yet, it is precisely such a sad situation that a manager of an organization may occasionally find himself in, should he assume that his role is essentially reduced to the signing of decisions and issuing instructions, and that dealing directly with the organization of the matter is not his business. Such a manager would not display a thorough interest in the course of the work and talk to the performers to determine how they are coping with their obligations, the difficulties they come across and the help they need, all this to the detriment of the matter.

As Lenin pointed out, a manager is responsible "not only for the way he manages, but for the actions of those he manages. Occasionally, he does

not know what they do, frequently he does not want to know. The responsibility, however, remains his" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 218). The manager has a double task: he is both the organizer and the educator. The steady improvement of the status of the discipline in the collective and the fact that its overall level and comprehensive content remain consistent with the party's requirements largely depend on him.

II

Exactingness is a mandatory element in the activities of the manager. It is his duty. However, as we already saw, it demands a great deal of him as well. The higher the position held by a worker, the higher the exactingness toward himself becomes. Strictly speaking, even before a person has been entrusted and promoted to a leading position, he is considered closely and his political, business and moral qualities are exactly assessed. Such methods for the investigation of people are justified by their subsequent promotion to one or another position, the creation of a reserve and a consideration of the opinions of the primary party organization, the labor collective and the public.

However, ignoring the party principles governing cadre selection, occasionally very responsible projects are assigned to people obviously inadequate for the job. Subsequently, a great deal of time and effort are lost to achieve some results. Actually, if a person lacks the necessary knowledge or organizational ability, one should not hope for even minimum success. Occasionally we hear the following: "You may investigate and criticize him at will, it is no use."

It is very bad to assign a responsible duty to a person deprived of basic conscientiousness, with a tendency to embellish and present in bright colors, not only his own minimal success, but also "justify" an obvious failure and even total mess. It is inadmissible to choose people hastily, and haphazardly to let someone assume complex management control. True management presumes a thoughtful, weighed-out and scientific approach to cadre selection and promotion. The choice of the necessary personnel is dictated not by likes and dislikes, or telephone calls containing doubtful recommendations, but exclusively by the efficiency and political and moral qualities of the people, their honesty, competence, persistence, willpower and ability to lead the people and create within the labor collective a creative atmosphere in which everyone would be able to work easily and pleasantly. Hearing the statement, "I go to work as to a celebration!" one unwittingly thinks: This is the highest possible praise of a collective and, naturally, of the one who leads it.

The party has always firmly condemned subjectism, protectionism, haste and lack of discrimination in the selection of cadres. Such phenomena are alien to management principles and to the nature of the socialist system. They could and must be reduced to naught. This will occur the sooner, the more decisively they are rebuffed, with the mandatory prerequisite that

people who are guilty of violating the stipulated order of cadre selection would bear full responsibility for their act. This must be remembered also by those who recommend an unsuitable worker. According to the CPSU bylaws a party member is responsible for the objectiveness of his recommendation for party membership.

Again and again we must go back to Lenin's stipulations which called for the strictest possible requirements governing the promotion of people to leading positions. Everything about them must be known, Vladimir Il'ich cautioned. Their qualities must be assessed above all from the viewpoint of conscientiousness, political position, knowledge of the work and administrative capabilities.

Should a responsible position be entrusted to an efficient and conscientious worker, we could consider that the implementation of party and government directives has been reliably secured, and that in nine cases out of ten success will be achieved without outside help. Whatever the circumstances, a conscientious person will not begin to seek easier conditions and "easy life," act against his conscience, avoid personal responsibility and hide behind someone else's back or cite objective reasons.

He would do everything possible to promote in relations among people the principles of justice, objectivity, reciprocal respect and responsiveness. A clear conscience will not only prevent a person from freely using material values entrusted to him, but will encourage him to assume a clear and principled position whenever anyone would try to encroach on the people's property. Exactness and strictness, coming from a conscientious worker, have a beneficial psychological influence on insufficiently disciplined or careless people, for they are not abstract but personal, specific and authoritative.

Unfortunately, this largely determining aspect of the choice and upbringing of cadres is not fully taken into consideration in practical work, and the moral features of a person are not always thoroughly studied. The consequence is that, occasionally, a leading position is assigned to someone who is not particularly punctilious in terms of the means chosen to reach the goal, or who may even be consumed with cupidity and a tendency to put private above common interests. Yet, subsequently, particularly in cases of lack of control, such features are manifested in a most negative way, having a demoralizing effect on some subordinates and worsening the moral atmosphere in the collective.

Particularly concerning are cases in which the fact that a person has displayed lack of conscientiousness a number of times without anyone being concerned and without his career being affected: he keeps being transferred from one leading position to another and is even assigned more responsible sectors. Something similar occurred within the system of the USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry. For a long time the Ignalina Construction Materials Combine in Lithuania was headed by I. P. Rogozin. He was

not distinguished by self-discipline or thrift in the spending of state funds. He wasted such funds right and left. Here bonuses were frequently awarded to undeserving people. Among his subordinates within the collective, Rogozin promoted toadying and flattery. When all such unseemly actions were exposed in the course of a party investigation, the ministry leadership relieved him from his position and, hastily, without the coordination of the corresponding party organs, appointed him to another leading position--plant director.

Naturally, we should not cast aspersions on the entire ministry, the more so since the matter was resolved by a small circle of officials and, as we can see, without taking into consideration the opinion of the party organization and the public. Responsibility for this gross violation of the cadre selection principles must be borne by Deputy Minister P. A. Voronin, who showed such hasty concern for Rogozin, and First Deputy Minister A. S. Bondarev, who signed the order for his new appointment.

There are differences between exactingness and exactingness. The objective cannot be achieved without affecting the heart and soul of the worker, and if the culprit gets away with a slight fear. One could discuss endlessly the need to upgrade exactingness and to strengthen the discipline and repeatedly call for both. However, should words not be backed by specific actions, should no one be strictly taken to task and should no effective measures be taken, all this would be in vain. Not proclaimed, but implemented exactingness is of true value and high effectiveness. It is only true exactingness that contributes to the promotion of discipline and responsibility and turns nominal responsibility into true responsibility, into the real confirmation of the trust invested in a person.

The question of the content and ways and means of exactingness is far from meaningless. A great deal, if not everything, depends precisely on how and in what form has exactingness been manifested, and the extent to which both controllers and those who organize the implementation of a decision acted creatively, rather than routinely, and the extent to which they were able to mobilize the inner forces of the collective and of those of its members who had shown lack of organization and discipline in the interest of correcting shortcomings, and see to that every person work with maximum returns.

Exactingness is highly effective when it is timely, systematic, substantiated and consistent. This would be inconceivable without a profound knowledge of life and concrete circumstances, and without the study of objective data. The results of exactingness are the more noticeable the greater the publicity and the self-critical discussion of subjective reasons for shortcomings and errors, and for manifestations of irresponsibility with all its consequences.

Exactingness should not only be timely, but specific. Its least inherent features are haste and rash conclusions, frequently triggered by the heat

of subjective instructions, such as, "Act!" or "Come on!" expressed in blowups and summonses "on the carpet." However, neither is procrastination in the presence of obvious errors and omissions part of the nature of true exactingness. Late, and even more so, generally addressed exactingness is hardly useful. One must promptly study matters, give them a new impetus and formulate the necessary competent demands toward those who procrastinate, dawdle or display lack of discipline.

Such actions could prevent on time the conversion of subjective reasons into notorious "objective" ones. Thus, should construction and assembly workers fail to obtain on time materials and equipment, occasionally this is presented as an objective reason for delays in construction and assembly work. In fact, however, most frequently this has been the result of someone's inefficiency or irresponsibility. A similar situation occurred in the course of the Party Control Committee's discussion of the failure to commission new complexes built by the Gor'knefteorgsintez and Kaprolaktam associations. In order to procure the planned materials, they addressed numerous letters and telegrams to various institutions and sent "pushers." The heads of the construction trusts and associations themselves were forced frequently to travel to ministries and departments instead of dealing with the organization of the construction work operatively and extensively.

Here is another example. An investigation conducted by the KPK showed that major difficulties had developed among construction workers building one of the new enterprises in Tambov. Everything needed for carrying out a considerable amount of work had been supplied. However, Yu. N. Shanin, chief of the Soyuznilprom All-Union Association, V. P. Yunitskiy, USSR deputy minister of chemical industry, N. P. Mash'yanov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Gosplan and Ye. M. Podol'skiy, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tambovskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, lost over two years in sterile discussions and correspondence on the location of the project and on allocating an additional lot for its construction.

The methods of exactingness are similar to those of medicine. The person is not its indifferent subject. The more attention and tactfulness are displayed toward a man, and the more help and support he is given, the more accurate will be the way to correct him. The more invariable trust in him is displayed, combined with exactingness, the more likely it is that he will not allow further errors. The important thing is not to neglect the disease, but to provide timely help.

Complex emotions are triggered by hearing at meetings of the Party Control Committee admissions such as, "How regrettable it is that only now, rather than earlier, have my own errors been pointed out so directly and with such principle-mindedness! I would have drawn my conclusions long ago. . . ." Naturally, the repentant himself must have known that any superficial attitude toward rules and regulations is inadmissible. However, those who see the failures of a person and fail to promptly display the necessary

exactingness and to remind the person quite directly of his personal responsibility are equally to blame. A weakness in people is that they may consider wrongful behavior as something "petty." This occurs even when there is an obvious gap between word and action, when the moral reputation of a person has been thoroughly trashed and when justifiably drastic assessments of his behavior and exactingness are replaced with admonitions and inducements. Repeated good-natured reminders of the responsibilities of a fully trained and adequately experienced worker, rather than truly taking him to task, look like unprincipled condescension, connivance and indulgence.

The absence of a feeling of self-discipline and control, and lack of exactingness develop a vacuum in which irresponsibility, lack of discipline and all sorts of violations of party and state discipline become firmly established. Should we classify such omissions among hidden organizational reserves, the importance of their use would be easy to understand, i.e., of upgrading the criterion of exactingness, and motivating everyone to work to the fullest extent of the trust invested in him and to the fullest extent of his production and official responsibilities.

Let us emphasize that true exactingness is related to the process of molding high moral qualities in the party member, in the Soviet person and to removing from the people their "birthmarks" of the past. This is a complex and, as reality has shown, a lengthy process. Negative phenomena do not disappear by themselves. Their carriers oppose anything that is new and progressive and, frequently, in a state of reciprocal reassurance, join efforts against the healthy forces of society and hinder the process of advancement of social relations.

Our party's documents emphasize that there can be no victory for communist morality without a decisive struggle against its opposites, such as grubbing, parasitism, negligence, waste, careerism, bribery, injustice and dishonesty, dishonorable behavior and immodesty, toadyism and flattery, red tape, callous attitude toward people, drunkenness and hooliganism, loafing, and violations of labor discipline and public order.

There are no alternatives in this confrontation. Particularly inadmissible here are lack of principles, passiveness and indifference. Actually, it is such manifestations that nurture the grounds on which the weeds grow. "The struggle with what we describe as vestiges of the past in the minds and actions of the people," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "is a matter which demands the constant attention of the party and of all conscientious progressive forces in our society."

Private ownership mores, to this day intensively cultivated in capitalist countries, are profoundly alien and hostile to socialism. The struggle against them must be waged on the basis of consistently class, principled positions, skillfully, making full use of the opinion of the labor collective, the critical word of the press, persuasion and the power of the law, as Lenin and our party have taught us.

It is pertinent to recall how irreconcilable and merciless Lenin was toward thieves and swindlers. He called them the main enemies of socialism which must be taken under particular surveillance by the entire population and dealt with in cases of the slightest violation of the rules and laws governing the socialist society. "Any weakness, any hesitation, any cheap sentimentality in this connection would constitute the most serious crime against socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 201).

Naturally, the political circumstances in the country at that time were different. There still were classes hostile to the new system and the petit bourgeois element was a real danger to the fate of the revolution. However, Lenin's instructions are equally valid today. The duty of every Soviet person, and even more so of a party member, is to adopt a thrifty attitude toward the people's good, and to fight the theft and waste of state and public funds. Attempts on the part of individuals to gain profits dishonestly, particularly ugly against the background of the growth of the communist conscientiousness of the masses, are firmly condemned by the multimillion-strong environment of honest workers who create and multiply the national wealth. They must be nipped in the bud.

Under our circumstances the individual work of every citizen offers the guaranteed right to a just wage. There neither is, nor could there be, any justification for those who resort to various types of snares to extract from society more than is contributed by their labor. Whatever shape this may take in its manifestation--earning an undeserved bonus or concluding an illegal contract, plagiarism or claims to non-existent rationalization--all this causes material and moral harm to society. No dodger, no active carrier of the vestiges of the old society has the right to hope for leniency.

Liberalism and an occasionally rather strange softheartedness, are counter-indicated in terms of true exactingness. No concessions may be granted or compromises at the expense of the principles and norms of party, state and social life, or to their detriment. Exactingness, in the strict meaning of the term, is the natural and irreplaceable reaction to any violation of laws and rules adopted by the party, the state and Soviet society. Under the conditions of real exactingness not even the most minute error should remain unnoticed and no violation should remain unpunished.

Inflexible firmness is demanded in anything related to the assertion of discipline, socialist legality and Soviet law and order applicable to all. The Soviet laws express the will of the people, the basic directions of party and state policy, and the essentially new nature of relations among party, state, society and individuals. That is why the observance of the laws is the holy of holies for a party member and, particularly, a leading worker. A person entrusted by the people and given a small particle of the people's power--performing or managerial--must obey and serve the law by virtue of his civic and official duty.

III

Criticism and self-criticism are an inseparable part of organizational and ideological-educational work, a most important Leninist principle of party leadership and a tried method for the exposure and correction of errors and shortcomings. Lenin linked discipline within the party, successes in economic construction and the party leadership in economic construction with freedom to discuss and criticize.

Like control, criticism is a specific method for the implementation of exactingness toward cadres and for strengthening the discipline. Acting as a reliable obstacle to complacency, conceit, showiness, hare-brained scheming and deviations from the requirements of communist morality, criticism helps to surmount difficulties and shortcomings, make fuller use of reserves and growth possibilities, and lay the path to what is new and progressive. A constant self-critical mood is an accurate barometer for the political health of the party organizations and the good moral climate in the labor collective.

Appealing for the further development of the Leninist principle of publicity in the work of party, state and economic organs and public organizations, and for the comprehensive development of principle-minded, open and constructive criticism and self-criticism, the party firmly condemns a tendency to smooth over or circumvene unresolved problems and urgent matters, conceal shortcomings and difficulties, and fear the open discussion of topical problems of social life. "Such an approach and a tendency toward ostentation," emphasizes the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," "does not help matters but merely hinders the solution of our common problems. Wherever criticism and self-criticism are not honored, and public affairs are not properly publicized, the activity of the masses is directly harmed. Yet the activity of the masses is precisely an important source of strength of the socialist system."

The communist party guides the creative energy of the working people, seeing to it that every Soviet person becomes clearly aware of the social significance of his individual participation in the implementation of national economic plans and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and upgrade his civic and sociopolitical activeness. The attentive attitude toward the opinion of party and non-party people, and their verbal and written statements and articles in the press, and the timely and objective investigation of reports on unsatisfactory matters and the adoption of measures to correct them, are a mandatory structural component of the work of all party and state organs, and one of the most characteristic features of true socialist democracy.

There is no particular need to prove the fact that criticism and self-criticism need active help and support. As the dialectical reflection of conflicts and struggles between conflicting trends and phenomena, it

frequently encounters open or concealed resistance. Phenomena such as suppression of criticism and persecution for criticism are still extant, not to mention cases of scornful attitude toward just critical signals and statements, their concealment or the adoption of a formal or ostentatious reaction, rather than the adoption of specific measures for the elimination of shortcomings. Some managers have become accustomed to them and, as a response to justifiable remarks, occasionally because of misunderstood considerations of prestige or lack of principles, content themselves with sending formal replies to party organs, newspapers and periodicals.

The erroneous and disrespectful attitude toward criticism and toward those who openly and boldly oppose shortcomings and their bearers, should be countered most firmly. Today criticism and self-criticism is not only a norm of party, but of state and public life. The constitution has ascribed it high juridical power. The law mandates that officials consider within stipulated deadlines suggestions and statements by citizens, answer them and take the necessary measures. At the same time, the law forbids persecution for criticism, clearly stipulating that this is a prosecutable act.

The reasons which motivate some workers to hinder the blowing of the fresh wind of criticism may vary. They may include sluggishness, lack of initiative, fear of revealing one's own weaknesses and attempts to conceal unseemly actions and deeds. In such cases, as the loyal ally of criticism, control comes to its aid. A thorough investigation makes it possible to introduce the necessary clarity into developing conflicts based on an improper attitude toward criticism, clearly outline the positions of the parties and restore justice.

. . . For a while the atmosphere at the Omskkiprosel'khozstroy Institute had become tense. This began with a letter sent Chief Bookkeeper V. P. D'yakonova, who reported to the party organs violations of financial discipline and other misuses by A. N. Permitin, director of the institute. The facts were confirmed and the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Party Committee in Omsk called the director and several other institute workers to party account. However, the serious lesson was wasted on the manager. Feeling insulted, Permitin undertook to persecute D'yakonova. He dismissed her on fabricated charges. This arbitrary behavior was pointed out to the director. On the insistence of the RSFSR Gosstroy the honest worker was given her position back. However, overstepping the mark, the administrator did not abandon his attempts to get rid of a person who had dared to expose the dirty linen. Choosing what seemed to him a proper time, once again he issued the order dismissing D'yakonova. The culprits in this case of persecution of a worker performing her duty were properly punished. Permitin was called to strict party account and deprived of the right to head the institute.

This unseemly story has made us think of many problems without whose clarification and solution, in similar cases, one could hardly hope to improve the atmosphere in the collective and eliminate and, above all, block such errors. How could this take place under the eyes of the primary

party organization? How to explain its passive attitude toward the fate of a comrade? Why was the party raykom inconsistent? Finally, after visiting the institute, why did senior officials of the RSFSR Gosstroy avoid a detailed study of the matter and fail to act in accordance with the law which protects the democratic foundations of our life?

We must point out that some officials in state and economic organizations, focusing their attention on production matters, occasionally display moral blindness and stubbornly refuse to consider the "technology" of human relations, obviously leaving unused their substantial opportunities to develop within the labor collectives an atmosphere of united and coordinated work, high exactingness, reciprocal respect and true comradeship.

The party members and all Soviet people sharply react to errors and flaws in the work. They are unwilling to "peacefully coexist" with shortcomings. Bold and principled criticism and constructive suggestions may be found in a number of letters and statements received daily by party and state organs, encountering, on their part, understanding and support. Yet it must be pointed out that there still are cases in which an efficient view of a person is ignored, when his concern is not shared and when ripe problems are not resolved on time. This encourages the people to turn once again to the same or to superior institutions. That is how repeated declarations are born. A study of the handling of letters by the Tymenskaya Oblast Party Committee revealed that among the number of letters considered and surveyed, one of four in 1973 and one out of three in 1979 were repeats. Following additional and more thorough investigation, the facts they contained were confirmed and the necessary measures on the matters they raised were taken.

Party member V. N. Yakovlev, senior engineer at the Nizhnevartovskneftegaz Production Association was among those who repeatedly addressed themselves to the organs of people's control and financial control and the Nizhnevartovsk City Party Committee. He reported cases of work padding and deliberate exaggeration of amounts of construction and installation work done. However, to put it mildly, his reports were not taken seriously. The people who allowed violations of party and state discipline not only did not assume proper responsibility, but tried to get rid of a bothersome worker. Everything was properly settled only after the KPK intervened with the CPSU Central Committee and the party obkom.

Experience proves that it is impossible to enhance the feeling of responsibility and strengthen the discipline without further improvements in control and investigation of execution, criticism and self-criticism. However, we must not forget the fact that these are instruments for most refined moral-psychological influence and that in each specific case, their wedge is aimed at a specific person with his individual characteristics, for which reason they must be creatively applied. They must be adamantly mastered. The art of control and criticism must be studied constantly, using all methods of organizational and political work.

Raising an urgent and major matter means, above all, undertaking its profound study and undertaking to interpret the facts, to find an explanation for them, think about constructive suggestions and, if possible, seek the opinion of one's comrades. Haste, unsubstantiation of assessments and conclusions, and feelings rather than convictions, doubts and grumblings rather than a sober study of facts are poor helpers in control and criticism. They could merely complicate matters, confuse them and trigger squabbling, grudges or alienation.

In some party organizations all members understand and accept the party principles. However, a time comes when such principles must be observed, when one may have to fight for them. At which point the picture darkens. The person raising a "sensitive" problem finds himself just about alone. Privately he is sympathized with. Publicly, people are afraid to support him. Those who are wrong assume, even though temporarily, the upper hand.

In order to avoid this, the party organization must be a model of intolerance of shortcomings, a model of justice and principle-mindedness in formulating sensitive matters and raise its members in the same spirit. Naturally, this does not limit the arsenal of means for such education, for it also includes party assignments, participation in the drafting of important matters affecting the activities of the organization as a whole, and involvement in party control over administrative activities and over the work of the apparatus of central and local soviet and economic establishments and departments on the implementation of party and government directives. This also includes encouraging efficient and instructive criticism and helping those who are inadequately tempered in the struggle, who are indecisive or who fearfully look to one side, thinking that any attempt to criticize can be harmful. The task of the party organization includes the raising of every party member as an active party fighter whose position in life is clearly established and whose individual efforts upgrade the combat capability of the organization, rallying the people and increase the successes of the labor collective.

The CPSU represents an unbreakable alliance of people joined by a unity of purpose, will and action. The party's strength and guarantee for its successes lie in loyalty to Marxist-Leninist theory and the Leninist organizational principles. Enriching and skillfully using this greatest of all possessions, the party enhances the creative activity and effectiveness of all its organizations and party members.

The building of a communist society under the party's guidance presumes high-level organization and discipline. In turn, organization and discipline are decisive prerequisites for our victories on the way to communism. Experience in such interaction is truly priceless. Today discipline and organization, consistent with the requirements of developed socialism and the new tasks which life sets to the party and the people, are being asserted on the firm foundation of such experience.

The CC CPSU decree "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth" reemphasizes that, "The party demands of all party, state and public organizations and economic organs the further strengthening of discipline and order, painstaking daily organizational and educational work, initiative minded and responsible attitude toward the work, and strict implementation of decisions." Each party organization and every party member must make a proper contribution to the struggle for the implementation of such requirements.

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TIME FACTOR IN CONSTRUCTION

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[Article by V. Chernyavskiy, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum reemphasized the need "to decisively improve affairs in capital construction, upgrade the effectiveness of capital investments, reduce the number of new construction projects, focus efforts and funds on target projects and on the reconstruction and technical retooling of operating enterprises, and upgrade construction quality in all economic sectors."

The July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" pays great attention to capital construction, a major state problem. This decree instructs the USSR Gosplan, USSR ministries and departments, and councils of ministers of union republics "to formulate and implement measures aimed at upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments, accelerate the commissioning of production capacities and projects at previously initiated construction projects, and drastically reducing the number of newly initiated construction projects with a view to lowering the volume of unfinished construction to the stipulated norms within the next few years."

An efficient capital investments policy presumes a consideration of outlays and results of social labor in terms of time. Otherwise it would be simply impossible to make accurate and proper decisions in construction planning and design. "All work aimed at improving management," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress, "must take fully into consideration the time factor. In planning this means the precise consideration, along with money and resources, of the deadlines within which various projects must be implemented, and the selection of variants which would provide fastest returns. In incentive this means encouraging time-saving and the imposition of strict penalties for its waste. In the field of organization this means eliminating unnecessary steps and bureaucratic procedures and insuring operative decision making." Today a thorough consideration of the time factor in construction is one of the decisive prerequisites for the growth of its effectiveness.

We are justifiably proud of the speed with which the biggest new construction projects of the first five-year plans were commissioned. The Khar'kov Tractor Plant was built in 16 months. The Gor'kiy Automotive Vehicles Plant in 18; and the Moscow First State Bearings Plant (first section), in 12. New enterprises were built even faster during the Great Patriotic War. Such short construction deadlines were achieved mainly thanks to the concentration of resources on a limited number of projects. Similar examples may be found in more recent times. Unfortunately, however, they are not so many. Data published in the press show that the factual construction time required in building a large number of enterprises and projects is considerably above the norm. In some construction projects of the coal industry, electric power industry, automotive industry and a number of other sectors average construction periods exceed the norms by factors of 1.5-2.

The period of designing, which takes two to three years, and mastering, which usually takes three to five years, must be added to construction time, which frequently drags on for many years. Such long periods of construction and mastering freeze huge funds, violate production relations and ratios stipulated in the national economic plan, and slow down technical progress. Frequently, by the time that a plant has been commissioned the technological solutions used have become obsolete.

It is no secret that parochial and departmental interests have always been focused on obtaining from centralized financing sources more funds and initiate new construction. Even though the need to concentrate resources on a limited number of simultaneously built projects has always been obvious, so far this has not been accomplished.

As a result of the scattering of capital investments, the volume of unfinished construction is growing. Statistical data prove that its volume at state and cooperative enterprises and organizations (excluding kolkhozes) has risen substantially in recent years. Thus, whereas in 1960 it accounted for 21.4 billion rubles--69% of the overall volume of capital investments--it had risen to 99 billion by 1978, or 85% of the volume of investments that year. In 1978 in sectors such as the coal industry and ferrous metallurgy, the amount of unfinished construction exceeded the annual volume of capital investments. The extension of deadlines for the building of industrial projects freezes huge resources and increases the amount of uninstalled equipment.

The acceleration of capital turnover is a reliable source for expanded reproduction and growth of social labor productivity. "A growing percentage of capital investments," said Comrade A. N. Kosygin in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress, "should be channeled into technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises. This would enable us to substantially upgrade the share of outlays for the active part of capital assets--equipment--accelerate the reaching of production capacity and rapidly convert standing enterprises to the production of new goods."

Additional output may be obtained within a short time by modernizing and increasing the handling capacity of installed equipment. In ferrous metallurgy, for example, the construction of heating furnaces makes it possible, in a number of cases, to increase output at operating rolling mills rapidly and without major outlays. An operating metallurgical plant could build a blast furnace or a rolling mill within a relatively short time.

In recent years particular emphasis has been put on the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing production facilities in the policy of capital investments. Thus, whereas in 1960 the share of capital investments in reconstruction, expansion and technical retooling of operating enterprises (including capital investments for the maintenance of operating capacities and the purchasing of equipment not included in cost estimates) accounted for 55% of the overall volume of state capital investments, by 1978 the figure had reached 68%. The July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism stipulates the allocation on a priority basis, within the state plans, of material resources and equipment and the necessary ceilings for capital investments, for construction-installation and contracting work for reconstruction and technical retooling of operating enterprises.

Extensive reserves exist in new construction for accelerating capital turnover and upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments. As a rule, the enterprises we design are big. According to the plan production costs and specific capital investments for such enterprises are somewhat lower compared with enterprises of lesser capacity. However, the time for the building of big plants and factories is quite extensive and should the plans take the time factor into consideration, the building of medium-size enterprises may turn out to be more effective; the breakdown of a major project into individual targeted complexes may also prove to be more effective. It is clear that medium-size factories and plants could be built faster and their plant capacity reached within a shorter time. All this makes the faster redemption of capital investments possible.

Frequently the convenience of building large-scale production projects in two or three sections is overestimated in planning the construction of new enterprises. Practical experience has indicated that setting aside at the beginning of the project materials for buildings and installations to be the last to be built in a given project increases the cost and extends the construction deadline. The enterprises bear this burden of legitimized unfinished construction for many years, sometimes for decades.

A consideration of the time factor is a necessary element in the comparative study of the economical nature of building big or medium enterprises. Painstaking and knowledgeable computations alone could provide an answer to the question of what solution to adopt in each specific case, considered most economical from the viewpoint of the interests of the entire national economy. ". . . The law of the superiority of large-scale production," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is far from being so absolute or simple as it is occasionally believed" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 4, p 110).

In 1976 there were about 240 metallurgical mines-plants with an overall capacity exceeding 36 million tons of steel and with an average annual capacity per enterprise of about 150,000 tons, located in 38 foreign countries. In virtually all of them steel was smelted in electric-arc furnaces in which metal was the raw material. Some 10 mine-plants are operating on the basis of the direct reclamation of the iron ore. The designing, construction and mastering of such a plant takes 1.5-2 years. Mine-plants meet the requirements of their area for such output. The radius of goods haulage (trucking, primarily) is usually 200 to 300 km, not exceeding 650 km. Most of the output is based on the orders of specific consumers. Labor productivity is relatively high at such plants, reaching up to 1,000 tons of steel per year per employed person. The level of specific capital investments and operational expenditures insures high production profitability. All this encourages the further construction of adaptable mine-plants. We think that, considering the huge expanse of our country, such plants would constitute a very effective addition to the gigantic enterprises with a full metallurgical cycle. They would enable us to shorten the haulage of scrap and finished goods, and increase variety as well.

As a rule, metallurgical production technology and construction lead to the excessive concentration of capital investments on a single site. Yet the use of continuous steel casting makes it possible to divide a contemporary metallurgical plant with a traditional structure of output (cast iron-steel-rolled metal) into two separate production facilities; cast iron and steel, on the one hand, and rolled metal goods, on the other. Such a location of capacities may reduce the time for the completion of the entire metallurgical complex. If necessary, each of the plants could subsequently be developed to a full metallurgical cycle by adding individually rolled-metal, blast-furnace or steel-smelting production facilities.

In this connection the organization of capital construction in instrument manufacturing is very instructive. In order to accelerate the completion of facilities, such enterprises are designed and built as separate, complete blocks. Start-up operations are undertaken as the blocks are completed. The use of industrial methods and designs calling for increased level of plant readiness, and the extensive use of network schedules in construction management make it possible to drastically reduce the time for enterprise completion.

The need to accelerate the investment process has created new methods for organization and management, such as combining construction stages. This encourages the abandonment of the rigid sequence followed in the individual stages of design and construction operations which are conducted on a parallel basis.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" calls for the adoption of more flexible forms of organizing the formulation of designs and the determination of

construction costs. The experience in building the Volga automotive plant is proof of the economy of time and means which this promises our national economy. This experience convincingly proved that the traditional requirement of having all design documentation ready before initiating the construction is not required. Furthermore the observance of this requirement only holds back the initiation of construction operations and hinders the application of technical innovations in the construction process itself. That is why it is exceptionally important for blueprints to be received at the construction site strictly according to schedule. In Tol'yatti the production process was mastered at experimental plants and experimental shops while construction was still going on. In the course of construction a parallel-assembly line organization of the work was applied and the project was broken down into 16 targeted complexes. This made it possible to carry out construction and installation operations on a broad front. The complexes were commissioned on a parallel basis as well. The time combination of design-research and construction-installation operations and of mastering the production process made it possible, above all, to considerably shorten the time preceding the initial output.

As we know, the first section of the gigantic automotive plant was accepted by a state commission and commissioned in March 1971. It was built within a record-setting time--50 months. The entire construction cycle, from designing to reaching capacity, proved to be one-half of the norm. Estimates confirm that the economic effect of reducing the normative length of construction of the first section of the enterprise equaled 387 million rubles. Benefiting from the experience of the Volga automotive plant, in two years construction workers built in Baku and, at the end of 1975, commissioned a big plant for household air conditioners, equipped with the latest technology. Here again, as in Tol'yatti, network schedules and a thorough consideration of the time factor played a positive role.

The progressive experience in the field of capital construction acquired by the country proves the size of unused possibilities for reducing deadlines and increasing economic effectiveness. The unfortunately traditional troubles afflicting our construction projects are well-known: insufficient availability of financial resources, materials, mechanisms and manpower, and delays in equipment deliveries. We also know that the unjustifiably long time taken for the consideration, coordination and approval of projects delays the utilization of new technical ideas; lengthy coordination operations in course of the planning process slow down required decision making. Experience proves that a single organizational association consisting of scientific, design and production subdivisions would substantially reduce the time needed for expert evaluations and coordinations. It would reduce the time needed for designing, construction and mastering projects 30%. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the task of considerably reducing the length of construction and reaching plant capacity of new enterprises can be entirely resolved. This promises tremendous social labor savings.

The successful implementation of the program of measures for accelerating the commissioning of production facilities and projects and upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments and radically improving capital construction, stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, are inseparably related to improving all aspects of the economic mechanism. It is no secret that until recently efforts aimed at accelerating construction were largely administrative, while recommendations were more of an emotional nature. In the final account, such recommendations were reduced to the fact that it was better to build a plant in 5 than in 10 years. However, in practice, the cost of the time factor was either totally ignored in design and planning computations, or was insufficiently taken into consideration. In this respect cost accounting levers as well operated unsatisfactorily. The non-implementation of assignments related to the commissioning of capacities and capital assets, and the scattering and freezing of funds in unfinished construction spread among a large number of projects and sites, including those initiated without adequate substantiations, had virtually no effect on assessing results of economic activities.

All economic processes are related to a consideration of the time factor. We are quite familiar with K. Marx' statements on this matter: "In the final account, all economy may be reduced to the economy of time. . . . The economy of time, as the systematic distribution of working time among various production sectors, remains the first economic law based on collective production" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 46, pt I, p 117).

A consideration of the time factor involves a consideration of the speed of production and construction, and of the turnover of capital and working assets. Unfinished construction, uninstalled or unmastered equipment, unfinished production facilities, and materials stored in warehouses or on the way are all assets, products of output in a "inactive," and "inoperative" condition. Marx emphasized the importance of taking into consideration the time factor in long-term capital investments: ". . . Society must determine in advance the amount of labor, productive capital and means for survival it could invest without harm in production sectors, such as, for example, the laying of a railroad, which, over a relatively long time, one year or longer, would procure neither productive capital nor means of subsistence and which, in general, in the course of this time, would yield no useful effect whatever" (ibid, Vol 24, p 354).

Reducing the time between production and construction is one of the important reserves for the growth of the effectiveness of the socialist economy. The entire economic mechanism and, above all, its units such as planning, crediting and economic incentive of production collectives, must operate in that direction. Along with the other measures taken today to upgrade the effectiveness of capital investments, it is our deep conviction that the cost effectiveness of the time factor must become a most important means for normalizing construction economics--the period of investment of public resources in the construction and mastering process.

The following question arises: Would it be possible for the speed of production and construction, i.e., the time factor, to be subjected to cost effectiveness estimates, or is this merely a physical indicator and should one simply assume that one must build faster? In terms of industrial output the problem was resolved positively. It is still an open problem in construction. Standard methods for determining the economic effectiveness of capital investments recommends that time differentials in outlays be taken into consideration. It stipulates that a "reduction of time differential outlays may be used only in computing the economic effectiveness of alternatives and cannot be a base for changing construction cost estimates." Unfortunately, even such limited recommendations are most frequently ignored.

A consideration of total production outlays based on the formula of reduced outlays would be the following: $C + EK$ is a consideration of used resources in which C indicates the cost, i.e., current outlays; K stands for assets, i.e., materialized and previously invested labor; E is the normative coefficient for reducing past to current outlays. It is important to emphasize that the cost consideration of time in the production process directly stems from a consideration of the cost based on the formula of reduced outlays in which the added product is computed in proportion to the productive capital and working assets used.

For example, production outlays and prices charged for the manufacturing of a walking excavator, transformer or electric furnace are based in accordance with the added product computed in proportion to the productive assets and working capital and the time of manufacturing. The overall size and structure of reduced outlays, naturally, changes according to the turnover speed of the productive assets and working capital, and of the value of the reduction coefficient used. Should we consider the coefficient in a given case as equaling 0.1 and 0.2 in another, in the latter case the specific value of the productive assets and the amount of reduced outlays will be respectively higher.

Assuming that the plant would accelerate the production process and, retaining the same production cost, would produce in a single year twice the volume of goods, the full reduced outlays per item will be lowered. Withholdings from productive capital and working assets will be reduced by one-half. Should production slow down, withholdings and reduced outlays per unit of output would rise.

The construction product received by society should be considered in exactly the same manner. Incidentally, the making of a walking excavator or a ship is not very different from the building of a mine or a shop. The construction of a project may be considered as a process of construction output. Therefore, it would be logical to estimate the productive capital and working assets proportionally advanced for the construction project for the entire construction period. Completing a construction project ahead of schedule would make it possible to lower such advances and thus reduce

socially necessary outlays, in which case the construction organization would earn additional, above-plan profits. Extending construction time, compared with the norm, as the result of above-plan fund advances would lower the planned profits of the construction organization and, possibly, may even lead to losses. Yet at the present time construction profit is estimated in proportion to production cost, regardless of the time needed for building and mastering the use of the project.

The extensive use of the cost-effectiveness consideration of the time factor in capital construction is related to the solution of a number of specific problems. Thus, in particular, we must resolve the problem of how to determine the size (percentage) of withholdings from productive capital and working assets. Economists do not share a single opinion on this matter. In accordance with the logic of the views we cited, the so-called discount coefficient (reduction of capital investments in terms of time) should equal in size the reduction coefficient used in estimating reduced outlays in the production process. At the present time the following discount coefficients are used: 0.08; 0.1; 0.12; and 0.15. In the standard method for determining the economic effectiveness of capital investments the normative coefficient for the reduction of time differential outlays to a single time unit equals 0.08. This is lower than the effectiveness norm by a 1.5 factor. Theoretically, in our view, such a difference cannot be substantiated.

Furthermore, as was the case with the first question, the following question must be answered as it is directly related to construction practice, namely, should we consider the reduction (discount) coefficient on the basis of simple or compound interest in taking into consideration the time factor? Planning the growth of output and the national income is based on compound interest. In the course of social production, one ruble of outlays, after 20 years, at a 15% effectiveness coefficient would be, on the basis of compound interest, equal to 16.36 rubles; conversely, one ruble of income by the year 2000 could be assessed in 1980 as equaling 6.14 kopeks. This means that economic processes which could occur in 20 to 30 years are of relatively minor significance at present.

The economic effectiveness of shortening the time of construction is expressed the lowering of the total reduced outlays as a result of the lowered withholdings from fixed assets and working capital. At the same time, the reduction of the above-norm duration of construction lowers construction cost as well. The cost consideration of the time factor makes it possible, thus, to determine the true costs of the construction of the project. The application of new progressive technology, and improved organization of construction and planning practice make it possible to drastically curtail the time for construction and mastering capacity. The economic effectiveness of such a reduction will be expressed, above all, in reduced outlays. The extension of such deadlines would increase the cost of construction compared with cost estimates. The cost and cost effectiveness consideration of the time factor in investments would make it possible

to make a really optimal decision in the choice of design variants and to create a great incentive to reduce construction time.

Our press has repeatedly expressed the idea of converting from nonrepayable financing of capital construction to its crediting. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism states: ". . . To complete in 1981 the establishment of accounts between customers and contractors for fully completed construction projects and enterprises, targeted complexes, sections and projects commissioned. . . . The conversion to this accounting procedure will put an end to the clients' making advance payments to contracting organizations for outlays for unfinished construction-installation operations. The contracting organizations will cover such outlays (based on work cost estimates) before the planned time set for the delivery of the finished enterprises, target complexes, sections and projects with the help of bank loans." Under such circumstances interest on such loans could be partially perform the function of a cost-effectiveness consideration of the time factor. The planned repayment of bank loans will be based on the volume of unfinished construction established in accordance with construction deadlines and annual plans, while planned profits would consist of the amount of the added product and be included in the cost estimate of the project.

Let us illustrate this with a simpler example. According to the plan a project should be built in three years and cost 10 million rubles. Planned profit is estimated at 700,000 rubles, while annual 8% bank charges for fixed capital and working assets would total 1 million rubles. The total cost of the project, therefore, will be 10 million, plus 700,000, plus 1 million, equaling 11.7 million rubles; accounts with the customer will be cleared precisely on the basis of this estimate. Let us assume that the project is completed not in three, but in four years. In such a case the plant profit would remain fixed, while the 8% loan interest will reach 1.8 million rubles. The total cost will be the following: 10 million plus 700,000 plus 1.8 million, equaling 12.5 million rubles, exceeding the cost estimate by 800,000 rubles. Therefore, subtracting the planned profit, the loss to the construction organization will be 100,000 rubles.

Let us now assume that the project is built not in three, but in two years. In this case as well the planned profit will remain unchanged. However, the 8% interest would be reduced to 600,000 rubles and the total outlays would be 10 million plus 700,000 plus 600,000, equaling 11.3 million rubles. Above-plan profits will total 400,000 rubles. All in all, the construction organization will earn a profit of 1.1 million rubles for its development and incentive funds.

The investment cycle could be divided into three periods: designing, construction, mastering. In reality, designing and mastering could and should now take place in the course of the construction period as well. During the first five-year plans mastering was considered the equivalent of the starting period. The starting period involves the tuning and testing

of the equipment. Since a new shop was commissioned, a rolling mill, hardly different from previous ones, and since the scale of the work remained the same and manpower supplies were no problem, the new machine unit or shop began normal operations relatively quickly. Under conditions governed by accelerated scientific and technical progress and mass production, related to cooperation among a number of enterprises, the recruitment of new specialists and workers, start-up operations become more complex and particularly urgent. Mastering is the final stage of the investment process. It is here that the errors of designers, unfinished work by contractors or errors made by the customers show up. As a result of such errors, unfinished work and omissions, frequently the time for reaching planned capacity would exceed the norm by a factor of two or three.

At industrial enterprises commissioned in recent years the cost of productive capital per worker has nearly doubled compared with the average for industry. Labor productivity at such enterprises is also above the average for industry at large. Output per ruble of fixed capital at the new enterprises has proved to be lower than for industry as a whole. This is the result of the increased cost per unit capacity of the new equipment and the slow mastering of the new enterprises.

The reasons for the slow reaching of planned capacity are well known. They include design errors, unfinished installation of fixed capital, unfinished construction and installation work, scarcity and poor training of workers and engineering and technical cadres, production organization shortcomings, non-availability of raw materials and complementing goods, defects in the work of the equipment, and lack of coordination between construction and the completion of related production facilities of suppliers and consumers of the output. For example, because of the lack of slabs, a modern powerful automated mill with a production capacity for six million tons of rolled metal at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant idled 1,590 hours in 1976 and 2,531 hours in 1977.

Frequently equipment, including equipment produced in series, is delivered at new construction projects without preliminary testing and, occasionally, incomplete, which makes its "mastering" necessary. Obviously, delivered equipment, even more so when produced in series, should be operational as of the moment of its installation in the shops of the new enterprise, rather than have its use mastered over a long period of time. The equipment must be tuned and tested during the construction period rather than following the delivery of the project.

Since the unsatisfactory pace of reaching planned capacity is, in most cases, the result of low production standards and insufficient interest on the part of designers, construction workers and operational workers to rapidly reach planned indicators, it appears necessary to supervise not only the start-up operations but the reaching of planned capacity by enterprises and projects. Such a procedure would upgrade the responsibility of design and research institutes for the prompt and qualitative development

of design-cost documentation and helping the enterprises master technological processes. It would be expedient to assign assembling supervision at the construction site itself of plants producing specialized equipment. This would accelerate the commissioning and reaching of planned capacity. The reaching of production capacities for all indicators is an event of prime importance. This must be expressed in terms of material and moral incentives to the participants.

The mastering period is normed and planned. A reduced level of enterprise production and economic results is expected for the period. It would seem expedient to establish a procedure under which, following the expiration of the planned mastering time, a state acceptance commission would check the work of the enterprise and, if necessary, determine the reasons and culprits for delays in reaching production capacity.

Such mastering begins with the day that the document commissioning the enterprise is signed. The duration of the time for reaching planned capacity is stipulated in norms decreed by the USSR Gosplan.

What is the ratio between the normative and factual times for reaching the capacity of installed productive capital. For example, within the system of the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry the normative times for reaching capacity are as follows: For a mine with an annual output not exceeding 600,000--9 months; 600,000 to 1,200,000 tons--12 months; 1.2 to 1.8 million tons--18 months; 1.8 to 3 million tons--24 months; for a capacity in excess of 3 million tons additional figures are set. However, quite frequently such deadlines are not observed. Reasons for slow mastering include poor surveys of the deposits, inadequate size of mine faces and disproportionality of production capacities.

The factual periods for reaching planned capacities range from three to five years according to the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. The planned quality indicators of newly built production facilities are reached even more slowly. At the same time, however, a number of examples of reaching capacities within short periods of time could be cited. Thus the planned capacity of the blast furnace of the Zapadno-Sibirskiy Metallurgical Plant was reached in two months. Reducing the time for reaching production capacity is a major reserve for upgrading social production effectiveness. Under contemporary conditions the task of reducing the time needed for reaching planned capacities of newly built enterprises can be resolved in full.

The cost estimates of a project do not take into consideration the time and expenditures for reaching capacity. Effectiveness computations consider planned productivity and production costs over the first year of work of the enterprise. Therefore, the cost estimates submitted are considerably lowered. In 1976 the USSR Gosstroy took a major step forward in regulating the process of reaching capacity in the course of the draft documentation. A separate section was added to the plan on organizing preparations for

reaching planned capacity within a stipulated period. However, outlays for reaching capacity and the measures included in this section are not included in the overall estimate of outlays. In our view, construction estimates should include outlays for the training and retraining of the workers and engineering and technical personnel who will be running the new project. Cost estimates should also take into consideration profits and losses arising in the course of the mastering period. The overall sum of outlays for the construction and mastering the project may be computed according to the following formula:

$$K = \sum_{t=1}^T (K_t - P_t + M_t)(1 + E_n)^{T-t}$$

In which T is the number of years of construction and reaching production capacity (t = 1, 2, 3 . . .); K_t is capital investments for the t year of construction in reaching production capacity; P_t is the profit for the t year in reaching production capacity; M_t is the loss for the t year of reaching production capacity; E_n is the normative discount coefficient.

In this formula outlays for productive capital and working assets are summed up by year of construction and mastering. Outlays for the given year are computed and summed up until production capacity has been mastered on the basis of compound interest rates. The losses of the mastering period are added and profits are subtracted.

From the viewpoint of the national economy the growth of outlays and cost of the project cover the period from the beginning of the construction to the end of reaching capacity. The construction organizations must suffer losses or earn profits as a result of increasing or reducing the normative construction time. Accepting from the construction workers the finished project based on cost estimates, the production enterprises and organizations must show a profit as a result of the reduction of the normative time for reaching planned capacity, or have losses should they exceed it. Designers, builders, manufacturers of equipment and operational workers must interact in the process of designing, construction and reaching planned capacity. In order to normalize their relations and speed up the designing, construction and mastering of the enterprises, we must clearly define and regulate the boundaries of administrative and cost accounting responsibility of the participants in the investment process; penalties must be imposed for losses and bonuses must be given for profits and for the timely and ahead-of-schedule construction and mastering of production capacity.

The level of organization of capital construction and its length and effectiveness must be reflected not only in the cost accounting indicators of activities of labor collectives involved in the construction and mastering of new production capacities. It is exceptionally important, as is demanded by the party, to insure at all levels of economic management the

personal responsibility of the participants in the investment process regarding the realistic nature of decisions made and plans adopted in the realm of capital construction, assuring the project of the necessary manpower and material resources, and observing the stipulated deadlines for the construction and mastering of projects. The cost effectiveness consideration of the time factor in the period of construction and reaching capacity would make it possible, in turn, to determine the factual socially necessary outlays for the implementation of the investment process and create material incentive for the timely or ahead-of-schedule construction and mastering of new production facilities. From our viewpoint the cost-effectiveness consideration of the time should be applied on a cost accounting basis and become part of the accounting process. Unquestionably, such a system would make it possible to normalize the economics of capital construction.

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SOCIOECONOMIC ASPECT OF MANPOWER RESERVES

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

[Text] The extensive program for social development and for upgrading the living standard of the people, reflecting most completely the vital interests of all strata in our society and determining the practical means for their implementation, is being systematically carried out on the basis of the steady upsurge of our country's national economy. It organically includes measures for further improvements in the working and living conditions of working women and for improved social insurance. The 25th congress particularly emphasized the need to offer women with children more extensive opportunities to work on a part-time daily or weekly basis and to work at home; it called for making better use of the possibilities for the more extensive participation of retired and handicapped individuals in public labor.

This task is of major social significance. It is no less important from the economic viewpoint as well: its solution would enable us to involve in socially useful labor in the national economy additional manpower reserves, and on this basis upgrade the effectiveness with which manpower resources are used.

The public ownership of productive capital and the planned national economic system insured the steady growth of the socialist economy, free from crises and unemployment. For the first time in history socialist society has given every citizen the right to work, i.e., to guaranteed paid work in accordance with its quantity and quality, including the right to choose a profession and type of employment based on vocation and educational and professional training and social requirements. At the same time, the elimination of all forms of exploitation has made labor mandatory for every able-bodied member of the socialist society, and the only source growth of social and individual prosperity.

This organic combination of the right and the duty to work is a manifestation of one of the most important features of the new social system--the

universality of labor, a principle which goes through the entire system of socialist economic laws, including the socialist law of the population, and objectively sets as one of the main goals for the development of society full and rational employment, formulating the ways and means to achieve it.

Under socialist conditions full employment means that the entire able-bodied population participates in socially useful activities. In turn, rational employment means that within the scale of the entire national economy, a division of labor of the active population takes place among its various realms, making it possible to steadily upgrade the socioeconomic effectiveness of public production, i.e., organically to combine the comprehensive development of the individual with the rapid development of social production forces. The overwhelming majority of the population is employed in three major areas of socially useful labor: public production, household and private auxiliary farming, and training. The types of employment and their individual shares are determined by a number of socioeconomic factors. This applies, above all, to the level of development of the socialist economy, the characteristics of social reproduction at a given stage and a number of social and demographic factors.

The basic type of employment is participation in public production, including services, whose role in the development of the socialist economy will be rising steadily and will require a considerable influx of labor resources.

The two other types of employment are also potential sources for manpower for public production. Statistically they include people of active age, undergoing full-time training in secondary, higher and vocational-technical schools, and so on. A certain percentage of the active population is engaged in household socially useful work--the raising of children, caring for the sick and the old, and work in private auxiliary plots. The creation of necessary labor conditions at the enterprises (partial work for women, or work at home) would make it possible for many members of such population groups (including the retired) to participate directly in public production.

Under developed socialist conditions the structure of the society improves steadily. The percentage of the various types of employment changes. They are systematically reaching a ratio considered optimal from the viewpoint of the interests of social progress; the size of the active population directly involved in public production in socialist enterprises is rising steadily. In the past 10 to 15 years involving in production work individuals employed at home or working their private plots and the retired has played a considerable role in this process. As a result, the pace of growth of the number of working people employed in the public economy (including education) has been higher than the annual growth rates of the active population. This fact is of great social importance and a confirmation of the increased labor activeness of the Soviet people. It reflects the profound changes which are currently taking place in our country's social and economic life.

The role of the labor collective is enhanced in the developed socialist society. Profound changes occur in the nature of the work and the attitude toward it. Historical experience acquired in the building of socialism and communism in our country has clearly proved the great social significance of the labor contribution of the individual. Individual involvement in the great accomplishments of the Soviet people cannot but fill with pride everyone who conscientiously works at his job. Under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution, developing in all realms of the national economy, processes of comprehensive mechanization and production automation are developing, gradually eliminating heavy physical and unskilled labor. Production activities are acquiring a creative content. Differences separating mental from physical work are being eliminated and agricultural work is converting into a variety of industrial labor.

As labor productivity rises and as its creative content is enriched, its constructive power rises and so does the fruitfulness of labor efforts, which today are providing an ever greater amount of consumer values and thus insuring the increased prosperity of every member of society and increasing the social wealth. Hence the growing social value of labor and the intensification of moral and material incentives which insure the high labor activeness of all population strata.

The communist party has formulated and is systematically implementing a broad program for social development and for raising the living standards of the people. It is aimed at improving labor socioeconomic and production conditions and the intensification of its creative nature; higher population income and improved consumption structure; more extensive housing construction and broadening the range and increasing the amount of services related to facilitating household labor and improving the leisure time of the Soviet people; growth of the educational and cultural-technical standards of the working people, improved medical services, the creation of more favorable conditions for protecting the health of mothers and children, the upbringing of children, and the expansion of the lifespan and human activities.

The high social value of labor, increased prosperity, social concern for the health and longevity of the individual, and increasing the amount of leisure time are all prerequisites for the steady increase in the number of people directly involved in public production. On the other hand, the requirements of the planned development of the socialist economy require the recruitment of ever more labor resources. This directly stems from the objectives of socialism and is determined by the laws of socialist expanded reproduction. All other conditions being equal, the amount of the national income allocated for the satisfaction of the needs of the working people and for expanding output depends on the amount of labor used, i.e., the number and skills of people employed in the national economy.

The growth of production effectiveness and increased labor productivity insure labor savings on an ever-rising scale.

According to the USSR Central Statistical Administration, thanks to the growth of labor productivity, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan savings equaling the labor of over 20 million people were achieved; between 1976 and 1978 the labor of over 11 million people was saved. Further social production intensification, based on improved organization and accelerated scientific and technical progress, will make it possible to increase manyfold the scale of labor savings. Nevertheless, the need for cadres in our country will continue to grow in both production and non-production areas. As of now a number of enterprises and organizations are already suffering from manpower shortages. The effect of demographic factors, largely related to the long-term consequences of the war, will bring about in the beginning of this decade a reduction in the inflow of active population, for in the 1980's the young people, whose fathers and mothers were born during the war, will reach the active age group. Along with this, one of the reasons for the stressed manpower balance is the process influenced by a number of complex sociodemographic factors (lowered birth rate, longer lifespan) of changes in the population's age structure. Whereas in 1939 the share of the population exceeding the active age limit stipulated by the law was 8.7% for the country at large, it had reached 15% by 1970. On 1 January 1979 the number of people receiving retirement pensions totaled 47.6 million. This included 31.9 million people receiving old-age pensions.

The manpower balance is positively affected by the utilization of additional manpower sources. Thus, at the present time, according to the Central Scientific Research Labor Resources Laboratory (TsNILTR) additional manpower sources for the national economy may be broken down as follows: Retired, about 84%; people holding two jobs, 9%; housewives and daytime students, 7%. The number of retired could be increased by using more flexible forms of organization of labor. Sociological studies conducted among able-bodied pensioners in the cities and a number of rayons in our country, and among individuals engaged in household work and farming private plots have shown that many of them would like to engage in production work on a part-time basis or at home. According to available estimates the number of people who could become additionally involved in the public economy could be considerably increased as of the present.

The main factors which insure the balanced development of the national economy on the basis of the full and rational utilization of the labor force are, unquestionably, the growth of labor productivity and public production intensification, which enhances the socioeconomic effectiveness of the labor force. At the same time, however, as a study of the future development of labor resources indicates, the national economic significance of a factor in the development of the economy such as the involvement of potential labor resources will increase as well.

The socialist society is always concerned with the working people who have reached adult age and with insuring a long and active life to all its members. The overall amount and average size of old-age and disability pensions rise every year. A number of decrees have been passed

stipulating measures aimed at upgrading the material incentive of the retired to engage in production work. A number of labor veterans are continuing to work fruitfully, actively participating in the social life of the collective and in the upbringing of the growing generation. Many of them are rationalizers, inventors, developers of initiatives or tutors.

Naturally, age makes itself felt. Reaction speed and physical endurance decline in old age. Yet, first of all, the activeness level is an individual factor and is largely determined by the nature of the work. Secondly, practical experience has indicated that the failings of old age are balanced by work quality. Great practical and production experience and high skills are combined in adult workers with accuracy and conscientiousness, and a feeling of responsibility for one's own work and for the work of the entire collective.

In order to successfully carry out production and educational tasks each big collective must include workers of all active age groups. In the relay race of the generations, labor veterans pass on more than merely the secrets of professional mastery. As living witnesses and participants in the historical accomplishments of our people, they are examples of a dedicated attitude toward labor and pass on to the youth the best traditions of their generation.

Statistical data on working pensioners indicate that factual upper limit of active age has been considerably extended beyond the statutory limit. The preservation of the ability to work is largely explained by the fact that the adults have developed deep interests and stable habits, one of the main among which is the need to work.

From 1973 to 1976 the TsNILTR and the local labor and social insurance organs made sociological studies of non-working pensioners in some parts of the Russian Federation (men aged 60-69 and women aged 55-64). The purpose of the study was to identify those willing to participate in public production and their reasons, and to determine the type of work which would suit the pensioner, its length and conditions. About 20% of a total of 114,000 non-working pensioners within the first five years of their retirement expressed the desire to go back to work; about 9% of the 23,000 pensioners retired for the past 5 to 10 years expressed the desire to work.

Such data should be considered minimal. First of all, the studies indicated that a number of pensioners were unaware of the fact that they could work part time or at home. Secondly, a considerable percentage of them erroneously assessed their capacity to work and the state of their health. We know that with retirement the dynamic stereotype of behavior changes. In a number of cases the interruption of a customary way of life triggers deep emotions. A person begins to pay attention to even the most insignificant indispositions, suspecting a number of diseases, even though unconfirmed by medical examination. It is indicative that, with every passing year following retirement, the subjective assessment of adequacy to

work becomes ever less related to objective data. It is obvious that the effective means which could restore the vigor and activeness of an elderly person is participation itself in work he can perform. Labor activeness is a prerequisite for extending the span of life and of activity. Noting in "Das Kapital" the importance of work to man, K. Marx cited the statement by British economist J. Bellers: ". . . Work is as necessary for the health of the body as food is for survival. . . . Labor pours oil into the lamp of life while the mind lights the wick . . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, pp 499-500).

The public health organs and the social organizations must intensify at the enterprises their work among individuals near to retirement. Properly organized work which takes into consideration age characteristics and brings moral satisfaction has a positive influence on the health of the elderly, becoming the main prerequisite for an active, long life. The desire of many of the elderly to participate in public production is based on work habit developed in the course of a lifetime and, above all, the moral and creative incentives to work.

According to sociological studies about one-third of surveyed non-working pensioners indicated as their main reason for returning to work the need to engage in daily work, the desire to be members of the collective, retain one's activeness and keep the high social prestige of a person participating in public production. The economic reasons included the need for additional earnings, the desire to provide material assistance to children and grandchildren, and insufficient labor seniority. Moral and material incentives are closely interwoven with a ratio changing in favor of the former. A correlation study indicated that a higher level of education and skill is related to a higher percentage of moral incentives. The same correlation is found on the level of the material well-being of the retired--both those who work and those who would like to return to the enterprise. In the future the trend toward the intensification of moral labor incentives will increase as the social value of labor and its transformation into communist labor rise and in connection with higher educational and professional standards and increased prosperity. It is very important, for this reason, when recruiting pensioners for work, to be concerned with offering them the type of job which would enable them to display their creative approach, skill and experience, and participate in the social activities of the collective and in educational work as tutors.

Taking into consideration the major socioeconomic importance of the work of labor veterans and their positive influence on the upbringing of the young workers in the spirit of the best labor traditions, recently the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree on measures aimed at providing material incentive to pensioners employed in the national economy. This decree mandates to the councils of ministers of union republics and USSR ministries, state committees and departments to take additional measures leading to the more extensive recruitment of pensioners to work in the national economy, particularly on a part-time

basis, especially in the production area, in trade enterprises and in other enterprises and organizations providing population services. As of 1 January 1980 a supplement will be added to the pension for employment after reaching retirement age, and the list of categories of workers entitled to receive while employed 50, 75 or 100% of their old-age pensions has been expanded considerably. Working pensioners will be entitled to a number of other benefits.

The wish of many elderly people to work in production is consistent both with their personal interests and those of society. In order to insure the influx in public production of additional labor resources, a well-planned system of measures is needed. Specific labor and rest schedules must be established, and types of labor activity which would make it possible to apply one's efforts, knowledge and experience must be made available. Many enterprises in Moscow, the Ukraine, Belorussia and Latvia have done a great deal of work to involve in public production working people who have reached retirement age. The plans for the social development of many collectives include measures aimed at organizing the rest and health care of working labor veterans. Some sectors and brigades have set aside jobs in which the work of the retired could be applied most expediently. At the present time a number of sectors are drafting lists of professions and skills recommended for retired individuals, and their vocational guidance and retraining are underway.

Unfortunately, this valuable experience has not as yet become sufficiently widespread. Many economic managers fail to pay the necessary attention to this important national economic problem. As a result, people well familiar with the production process and who could still be very useful stop working. The press has frequently criticized such shortcomings and explained the great national economic importance of the problem. However, explanatory work alone is insufficient. The plans issued production collectives should stipulate assignments aimed at involving the public production people of retirement age and insuring the proper conditions. The implementation of such assignments would require a more flexible organization of the production process, as well as additional outlays related to specially equipping work places and implementing other measures. Such outlays should come out of enterprise economic incentive funds. This should be taken into consideration in determining the size of withholdings for such funds.

Conducted sociological studies could offer guidelines for the formulation of such planned assignments, even though they would be initially rough. According to the data of the survey of non-working pensioners, about one-half of those who agreed to go back to work were willing to work full-time; 33% preferred a partial work day; 13% preferred a partial work week; about 4% preferred work at home. This ratio varies according to the economic sector. The studies also determined that 51% of all those surveyed preferred to return to their old sectors. At the same time, a considerable percentage expressed the desire to change the place of work (closer to

home) or change professions. The share of the retired who expressed a preference to work in public services was higher than those who had worked in that sector prior to their retirement.

The heads of enterprises and departments in the various service sectors should draw accurate conclusions from this. Involving pensioners in part-time work would make it possible, among other things, to considerably improve the work of many trade enterprises and save them from excessive rush in the course of which, usually, long waiting lines develop. So far, however, this important reserve has remained virtually unused. The reason usually cited in such cases is that since different people would work different shifts, it would be impossible to determine the material liability of each one of them. The true reason here, as, a matter of fact, in a number of enterprises in other sectors, is the unwillingness of many managers to bother with organizing the work of some employees on a part-time basis (or on a partial work-week basis).

Great attention should be paid to improving the prevention of premature aging: the outpatient-polyclinic system should consider the organization of specialized geriatrics offices at rayon, city and oblast polyclinics. They would engage in consultations and organizational-methodological work related to medical care of the adult population and would recommend to individuals about to retire or who have reached retirement age and wish to go on working, suitable types of work and proper regimens, and so on. The work of such geriatric offices should be related to the activities of labor officials and of the bureaus for job placement and population information within the system of the USSR State Committee for Labor.

The problem of organizing the work of the elderly, taking into consideration the state of their health, interest and requirements, must be resolved on a comprehensive basis, at all levels and in all units within the national economy. Here a great deal depends on the initiative of the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, and the local labor organs.

In September 1972, at the suggestion of the Gor'kovskaya Oblast Party Committee, the oblast executive committee created the first permanent commission in the country on the utilization of the labor of pensioners, the disabled and people engaged in household work. Such commissions, headed by deputy chairmen of executive committees of rayon and soviets, may be found today in all rayons and cities of Gor'kovskaya Oblast. The activities of such commissions are varied: they have organized a systematic registration of non-working pensioners retired for old age, third-group disabled within the active age group and individuals doing household work. Studies are being made to determine the number of individuals within each age group willing to work under most suitable labor conditions and schedules. At their meetings the commissions consider suggestions of heads of industrial enterprises, sovkhoses and kolkhoses on the employment of the retired; assignments are issued to enterprises in the light and local

industries and services concerning their job placement. A model list has been drawn up of positions and skills to be primarily filled by individuals of retirement age and the disabled. Enterprises, organizations and establishments look for available jobs, find additional possibilities and investigate the working conditions of the retired and the disabled in accordance with the recommendations of the VTEK [Medical Commission for Determination of Disability]. The work of such commissions has yielded positive results. In 1971, for Gor'kovskaya Oblast as a whole (excluding retired kolkhoz members) 50,100 pensioners were employed in public production, or 16.7% of their total number. In 1978 the number of working pensioners reached 112,600, while their share rose, respectively, to 25.8%.

In recent years the question of involving retired kolkhoz members in public production has become particularly topical.

The decisions of the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum laid the beginning of an upsurge in agricultural production on the basis of its intensification. The increased effectiveness of agriculture contributed to the considerable growth of the prosperity of the rural workers. Important measures were implemented in the area of kolkhoz pensions and social security. In 1977 the centralized union fund paid retired kolkhoz members over four billion rubles, or quadruple the 1965 amount. As of 1 January 1980 the minimum pensions for kolkhoz members old age will be raised 40%; in the next five-year plan it will reach the level of the pensions paid workers and employees. With a view to encouraging the employment of retired kolkhoz members a procedure has been established in accordance with which they shall receive their full pension regardless of their earnings, should they continue to work in agriculture.

At the beginning of 1978 there were 11.5 million pensioners in the villages. According to selective sociological studies conducted by the TsNILTR about 13% of the non-working pensioners expressed the wish to work in the kolkhoz public farms. This means that agriculture, which is currently experiencing manpower shortages, could acquire, additionally, about one million experienced and knowledgeable working people, providing that suitable labor conditions are created. The replenishment of manpower resources in the countryside from this source is of major national economic significance.

The problem of the placement of the elderly and of finding them work consistent with their desires and possibilities has a number of specific characteristics valid for the countryside. Agricultural production is seasonal. There are periods in which the work becomes very intensive and the workday is extended. At other times the amount of work is sharply reduced. The process agricultural production industrialization is reducing the fluctuations in the level of labor intensiveness and is facilitating it considerably. As scientific and technical progress develops, this process begins to cover all agricultural sectors, as a result of which agricultural work is becoming a variety of industrial labor. The collectives of many

agricultural enterprises have achieved considerable successes in this respect. Yet a number of kolkhozes remain in which the level of labor mechanization remains low. Since the practice of transferring to lighter types of employment or to part-time work has not become adequately widespread in this area, many kolkhoz members, reaching retirement age, stop working in the public farm. Another reason is the cultivation of the private plots, which retain a major role in satisfying population requirements for food products.

Characteristically, many kolkhozes which have reached a high level of public production effectiveness do not show a trend toward reducing the number of employed pensioners. It is rather the opposite that may be noted. The increased income from public farming increases the interest of the kolkhoz member in the results of the common work and in increasing one's individual contribution to the development of public production. The mechanization of agricultural operations reduces the volume of heavy manual labor. This facilitates and improves the working conditions of everyone and, above all, of the elderly; rural amenities, the conversion of villages into urban-type settlements and the development of the network of population services improve rural living conditions, increase the leisure time and broaden the opportunities for the employment of retired kolkhoz members. Time outlays required for the cultivation of the private plots are reduced as well: a number of farming operations and the hauling of the finished goods are helped by the kolkhoz. Facts convincingly prove that wherever the contribution of labor veterans is rated highly and where daily concern is shown for providing them with the necessary production conditions, there is no shortage of manpower--all farm work is done by the kolkhoz members themselves. While disseminating the experience of leading collectives, we must extensively work to improve the working conditions of retired kolkhoz members, offering them, above all, work in public services and auxiliary enterprises and industries, giving them the opportunity to do part-time work or work at home.

The seasonal nature of agricultural operations offers considerable time reserves which could be used for productive labor not only in agriculture but in industry. So far such huge reserves for increasing public production have been insufficiently used, even though the creation of agro-industrial complexes and of various types of auxiliary production facilities in a number of kolkhozes have made it possible even to insure a more even employment of the rural workers on a year-round basis. Many industrial sectors could open enterprise branches in the villages and hiring retired kolkhoz members to work at home. It would be expedient also to give them the right to work in all economic sectors while retaining their right to a full pension as granted to workers and employees. This would make it possible to eliminate the annual lowering of the amount of work done by retired kolkhoz members, even out seasonal fluctuations in the utilization of their work in the countryside, increase their income and reduce social benefit disparities between retired kolkhoz members and retired workers and employees.

The problem of the utilization of potential labor resources by the national economy is most closely linked with the organization of the women's labor in industry and at home.

Thanks to the tremendous changes which have taken place in the political, social, economic and cultural life in our society, women acquired equal rights and became active participants in public production. Presently women account for 51.4% of all workers and employees; their percentage is higher among specialists with secondary specialized and higher education. They account for a considerable percentage of administrative workers and in the areas of education and health care. All this is the result of the important measures implemented to improve the prosperity and standards of the Soviet people, carried out by the party under the Soviet system. The materials of the 25th CPSU Congress emphasize that, "The party deems it its duty to show constant concern for women and for improving their position as participants in the labor process, mothers and educators of their children and housewives."

The social functions of women in our society and their interests organically link their participation in public production with the family and with the raising of the growing generation. The nature of this connection determines the women's time budget, which compared with the men limits to a greater extent their opportunity to upgrade their cultural-educational standards, participate in social work and have leisure time. Compared with men, at the present time working women spend more time in household chores by a factor of three to five. Statistical data also prove that the great majority of those not directly employed in production work, but engaged in household work and working private auxiliary plots, are women.

The program for the social development and upgrading the living standards of the people stipulates the implementation of measure aimed at further improvements in the working and living conditions of working women. It emphasizes the need to create conditions for reducing time outlays for household chores through the development of public services and public catering, and increasing the production and sale to the population of semi-prepared and precooked goods. The practical implementation of such assignments would increase the leisure time of working women and create for many of them the opportunity to directly participate in public production. Along with the tremendous social significance of insuring women's factual equality, the systematic implementation of the measures earmarked by the party in this area is of major economic importance as well: it would insure the involvement in the economy of additional labor resources.

In the past 15 to 20 years the increased number of people participating in public production was largely due to the recruitment of housewives. Currently their number has declined. However, this is not to say that household work has lost its role as a potential source of manpower. At the same time, we must take into consideration regional characteristics: in a number of areas of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, Siberia and the Far

East, this level is considerably below the national average. We must also take into consideration the fact that, every year, because of family circumstances, many women drop out of the production process, in some cases for long periods of time. Such a forced break has an adverse effect on their skills and professional standards.

Let us look at the sociological studies conducted by the TsNILTR. Over one-half of the housewives expressed the desire to work in production: 30% on a part-time daily basis and 7% on a part-time weekly basis; 14% expressed the wish to work at home. On the other hand, no more than 15% of women in public production expressed the desire to convert to part-time work in connection with family circumstances (raising preschool-age children, taking care of the sick and the old, etc). We could assume quite reliably that in the case of some of them this possibility has become an alternative, as sociological studies among women working half-time have indicated that 50% of them, lacking the opportunity, would be unable to participate in public production over a longer or shorter period of time. The more extensive use of part-time work in the organization of female labor would prevent a substantial number of women from dropping out of production work because of family circumstances. Our assessment, based on sociological data, is that the overall working time balance would remain positive in such a case, thanks the hiring of women currently engaged in household work.

Naturally, reality may introduce its own corrections in conclusions based on such studies. It would be expedient, therefore, to experiment with part-time work on a regional scale. This would enable us, on the one hand, to better determine its socioeconomic effectiveness and, on the other, to acquire and test the organizational experience needed for its application on the scale of the entire national economy.

So far, no more than about 0.5% of all workers and employees are doing part-time work. This is a fact which proves, yet once again, that the managers of a number of enterprises and sectors fail to pay the necessary attention to the creation of conditions for the rational utilization of available manpower resources. As a result, recruiting working and employees, many enterprises either do not offer at all part-time work or else offer the type of part-time work which offers little prestige or does not require any skills.

The more extensive development of this organization form of employment demands, above all, the creation of the necessary conditions at enterprises, establishments and organizations. In our view, the plans of enterprises should mandatorily call for the hiring of a certain number of women on a part-time basis, above all women with children in the preschool age or junior-school age groups (under eight). Should the organizational aspect of this problem be properly resolved, it would take little time to prove the great advantages which this form of employment would provide both to working women and the enterprises.

Every year public production is replenished by young men and women graduates of secondary schools, technical schools and institutes. Many of them enter their careers having already somewhat at construction projects and industrial enterprises, kolkhoz fields or service enterprises. Even though this experience may be small, its role in the biography of a young person is not determined by its length alone. The work of a young student in public production is becoming an ever more important factor in molding an active life stance in the builder of communism. Participation in the work of university student detachments and secondary-school labor associations help many young people to become more familiar with their role in the collective, test their strength, choose a profession consistent with their interests and capabilities, acquire work skills and habits, and gain practical experience in the organization of the production process.

The productive work done by students involve them in the lives of labor collectives. It is a practical implementation of Lenin's instruction that "the Communist Youth League must combine its education, training and upbringing with the work done by the workers and peasants. . . . It is only in the course of the work, together with workers and peasants, that one could become a true communist" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, pp 316-317). Senior class men are a great help to industrial and construction enterprises, sokhozes and kolkhozes. In the summer vacation of 1978 11.5 million students in the eighth to tenth grades of secondary schools worked in training-production brigades, work and rest camps, labor detachments, repair-construction brigades and school forestry enterprises. The work they performed has been assessed at nearly 457 million rubles. This figure, impressive in itself, becomes even more important in the fact that it is achieved precisely during a season when manpower shortages are particularly acute in a number of economic sectors due to seasonal changes in levels of output and paid leave. After graduation, many senior class men or those demobilized from the Soviet Army join the enterprises where they acquired their first production skills.

The most effective and widespread method for participation by VUZ students and technical school students in public production is their third labor semester. With every passing year the number of student construction detachments grows and the scale of the work done by such students in various economic sectors broadens. Between 1965 and 1978 the size of the All-Union Students' Detachment grew from 40,000 to 741,400 people; in construction detachments alone it rose from 40,000 to 437,700 and the amount of construction work done rose from 72.9 million to 1,009,000,000 rubles. The range of activities of participants in the labor semester is steadily broadening. Today it covers the Baykal-Amur Main Line, the nonchernozem construction projects, the petroleum and gas deposits in Tyumenskaya and Tomskaya oblasts, the projects of Olympiad-80, and many others. University student detachments are used not only in construction work but in the food and fishing industries, agriculture and consumer services. In 1978 323,700 people worked in non-construction departments; those employed in material output produced goods worth 312 million rubles. In recent years

university student detachments of power workers, communications workers, medics, educational, trade and accounting workers, telephone switchboard operators, guides, and so on, have been established and have done successful work. This has made it possible, in a number of cases, to bring summer work closer to the specialized training offered by the school. This has had a very beneficial influence on both the labor and training-educational process. Today the number of such student detachments accounts for about 42% of the overall number of participants in the labor semester. In the future specific organizational measures will have to be taken to insure their steady growth.

Let us note that major shortcomings still remain in organizing the work of student detachments. Working facilities consistent with their vocational training are not always available. Some managers fail to display real concern for the creation of the required working and recreational conditions, which leads to the appearance of the notorious "difficulties" which cause not only economic but moral harm to the project. Particular attention of party and public organizations should be directed to the need to eliminate such shortcomings.

The problem of the fullest and most efficient utilization of potential labor resources, on the basis of the use of special organizational forms of employment, is one of the topical problems facing the socioeconomic development of our society. Its solution requires the coordinated activities of sectorial ministries, departments, health care organs and trade unions, and the organs of the USSR State Committee for Labor, which preform the functions of state control over manpower utilization.

The involvement of additional labor resources in the economy will contribute to the further advancement of the social of our society, the growth of the prosperity of the working people and the increased socioeconomic effectiveness of public production.

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UNDER THE NAME OF DOCTOR IORDANOV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 57-64

[Article by Z. Levina, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] V. I. Lenin's life took such a turn that for about 15 years he was forced to live abroad. His first life as an emigre began in 1900, soon after the end of his exile in Siberia.

In his final year of exile, Vladimir Il'ich comprehensively considered a plan for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party of the working class. The implementation of the plan required a tremendous amount of work--the unification of the numerous Marxist circles and groups scattered throughout Russia. Lenin believed that this could be accomplished only with the help of an all-Russian clandestine political newspaper.

The clandestine newspaper was to cover all events of Russian and international life from the viewpoint of revolutionary Marxism, develop in the opponents of the bourgeois-landowning system a united understanding of events, promote their feeling of hatred for autocracy and capitalism, teach unity of action and organize them for the struggle.

The publication of such a newspaper was impossible in czarist Russia. Lenin decided to publish it abroad. Doing the preparatory work at home, gaining the support of the Russian social democrats and setting up in a number of cities stable centers for the future organ, in July 1900 Vladimir Il'ich left the country. Initially he went to Switzerland for talks with the members of the Liberation of Labor group headed by G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Aksel'rod and V. I. Zasulich. He then left for Germany.

The organization of a clandestine political newspaper required most strict secrecy. For this reasons Lenin's contacts with Russia were circuitous, passing through Prague, Paris, Nuremberg, and so on. As we know, this tremendous amount of work was successful, as in December 1900 the first issue of ISKRA already came out.

V. I. Lenin settled in Munich, where the nucleus of the editorial board of the newspaper ISKRA and of ZARYA, the Marxist scientific-political journal,

was founded. It was here that he wrote such famous works as "What Is to Be Done? The Urgent Problems of Our Movement," which played an outstanding role in the struggle for a Marxist party, "The Agrarian Problem and the 'Criticism of Marx,'" and tens of articles and notes, and a tremendous number of letters. The Munich period is particularly important in Lenin's biography.

Lenin remained in Munich from September 1900 to April 1902. Initially he lived without a residence permit, in the home of a tavern owner, the social democrat G. Rittmeyer. Vladimir Il'ich took the name of Meyer. It was only in the spring of 1901, following the arrival of N. K. Krupskaya, following the end of her exile in Ufa, that the couple settled under the name entered in someone else's document: it was registered with the passport of the Bulgarian Iordanov, supplied to it by Bulgarian social democrats. Nadezhda Konstantinovna registered under the name of Maritsa, as entered in the passport.

The book by the West German publicist Friedrich Hitzer deals with the period of Lenin's stay in Munich. It is based on archive data, the German press of the turn of the century and published memoirs. It also includes a large number of Leninist data. The author has been able to find previously unknown documents. He describes in detail the Munich period of Lenin's life and activities, the organization of the publication of ISKRA and ZARYA, and the comradely aid given the Russian revolutionaries by the German social democrats. He cites documentary proof of coordinated activities of the governments of Germany and czarist Russia in their struggle against the revolutionary movement. At the same time, he convincingly depicts the international solidarity between German-Russian social democrats, the support the Bavarian workers gave their Russian class brothers fighting czarist autocracy. The book considerably enriches existing knowledge on the cooperation between the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party and Lenin and his fellow workers.

F. Hitzer has provided an extensive historical-documentary study, which was published in 1977 by the Bavarian Society for Assistance to the Development of Relations Between the FRG and the USSR. The title of the book is "Lenin in Munich." The book immediately drew the attention of the broad circles in the FRG and in other countries. It has now been translated into Russian and will be published by the CC CPSU Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoy Literatury. In its Russian edition the title of the book will be "Pod Imenem Doktora Iordanova" [Under the Name of Doctor Iordanov].

Until recently it was not clear as to who was this Iordanov whose name was used by V. I. Lenin in Munich. In the book by F. Hitzer an accurate answer, substantiated by documents, is provided.

Following is a journal presentation of one of the sections of the third chapter of the book.

On 20 March 1901 V. I. Lenin wrote to P. B. Axelrod that, in the future as well, he could "still write to Rittmeyer, for he will always direct the correspondence to me and I, in turn, will give him proper notice concerning changes of address."¹ On 25 April he requested Axelrod to write him at the same address: "Write to me care of Rittmeyer's."² In his 21 July 1901 letter Lenin communicated that, "Rittmeyer's address is no longer suitable (however, in case you have already sent something to that address before receiving this letter, we would nevertheless receive it)."³

What had happened?

The assumption that Lenin could no longer use Georg Rittmeyer's address, since the landlord "Zum goldenen Onkel," had private and commercial matters which were not developing quite successfully, as on 2 July 1902 Rittmeyer divorced his wife, has not been confirmed. Equally groundless are assumptions that there had been a break in relations between Rittmeyer and his guest, "Meyer."

By 21 July 1901 Lenin and Krupskaya had changed premises already twice. It was then that they received permission to reside in Munich.

It is also known that immediately following Nadezhda Konstantinovna's arrival, Lenin left his room in the house on 53 (today 46) Kaiserstrasse, and rented another room, in a worker's family of six, where the couple lived for about a month. In her "Vospominaniyakh o Lenine" [Recollections of Lenin], Krupskaya writes that the apartment was as small as the family was large. She could use the landlord's kitchen but all food had to be prepared in the room, silently at that, for at that time Vladimir Il'ich had already begun to write the book "What Is to Be Done?"⁴

Richard Scheid, who met Lenin at the Noris Cafe on Leopoldstrasse, recalled, in 1960, that "he was a shy but very polite young man," and that Lenin's landlord at the time was the worker Hans Kaiser.

In the course of a conversation with Richard Schied, the 85-year-old veteran of the Munich social democratic movement, he recalled that in the spring of 1901 a couple answering an announcement in the MUNCHNER POST, wanted to rent a room. He asked for 20 marks for a small room and dark pantry on the first floor of 106 Sleichheimerstrasse. "Leading Munich comrades" had recommended the new tenant as "the Russian Comrade Meyer." "They were Russian. The man was pale and stocky, almost bald, while his wife was somewhat heavier, with a good peasant face."

The new tenants rarely left the apartment. Virtually all the time Comrade Meyer was at home, writing. Occasionally both attended social democratic meetings, played with the young Kaiser, only several months old, or with children from the neighboring apartments; occasionally they visited the small Zur Frankenburg Restaurant at the corner of Sleichheimerstrasse and Georgienstrasse.

Today, as in those distant times, Sleichheimerstrasse is inhabited primarily by workers.

So far no other sources have been found pertaining to Lenin's premises on 106 Sleichheimerstrasse.

Actually, why question these recollections, the more so since all the circumstances related to the move agree with reliable facts? The classified ad, also mentioned by Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya in her memoirs, the habits of the two foreigners who rarely left their home, and the recommendation issued by "leading Munich comrades," considered in some works on this topic as an accidental or even private matter, rather than as an agreement among members of fraternal parties, confirm the veracity of these recollections.

The move, planned by Lenin even before his wife's arrival, is explained, most frequently, by the fact that Rittmeyer's room was too small for two people. Yet, the apartment of the large family of the worker Kaiser was hardly bigger or more comfortable. Rather, Lenin considered this premise temporary until, as it happened, they could find a permanent residence for their entire stay in Munich.

Nevertheless, why is it that instead of staying on at Rittmeyer's, to which the latter did not object, Lenin had to move to another place at which he remained no more than a month?

The circumstances are somewhat clarified by the letter dated 28 May 1901 sent by P. B. Axelrod to Lenin. Axelrod writes that, "... Following the brother's return (Plekhanov's), I am even more afraid for the entire group than I was."⁵

At that time Axelrod did not as yet know precisely Lenin's address in Munich. By "brother" he meant Georgiy Valentinovich Plekhanov, who had arrived in Munich for an editorial conference. The "group" referred to the ISKRA editors living in Munich.

Possibly something may have taken place in Munich in May during Plekhanov's stay which led Lenin to break his contact with Rittmeyer for security considerations. As to Plekhanov, a well-known Russian emigre, police surveillance of his premises in Geneva had been increased as early as April.

Could it be that a secret agent had followed him to Munich? All that is clear is that Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya's arrival in mid-April coincided with Lenin's decision to come out of clandestinity and establish for his wife and himself the possibility for a semi-legal existence.

Until then, he always referred to himself, even in very narrow circles, exclusively as "the Russian Comrade Meyer" and had no identity card,

largely relying of the reliability of the German comrades, his own training as an experienced clandestine worker and luck.

This type of existence was very risky. Furthermore, despite his entire individual reliability and discretion, objective reasons prevented Rittmeyer from providing the most suitable conditions for secrecy. Social democrats met in his tavern and meetings of the Swabian faction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany were held as well; such meetings were supervised by Security Commissioner Simon Herold.

Forged passports with which one could register with the police offered greater safety. Above all, they made it possible to give a true address without disclosing extremely needed convenience addresses.

Clearly, from the very beginning, the procurement of such passports was a structural aspect of the entire matter of setting up the publication of ISKRA.

"I believe," Lenin wrote to V. P. Nogin in London, "that a foreign passport (for entering Russia) may be procured (Bulgarian or German). I do not believe that it would be possible to acquire a Russian passport or even a form, i.e., a virgin passport. Naturally, this too may happen. However, I would advise you to take immediate measures to acquire a foreign passport. Otherwise you risk remaining without any passport at all."⁶

On 5 February 1901 Lenin sent Nogin yet another letter. "If you so wish," Vladimir Il'ich wrote, "I could supply you with a Bulgarian passport. Write me whether you need it and if you do, send particulars."⁷

Even before Krupskaya's arrival in Munich, all ISKRA editors and contributors who lived there had Bulgarian passports. Vera Zasulich went under the name of Velika Dmitriyevna Kirova; editorial secretary Inna Smidovich-Leman had a passport in the name of Dimka Baynova, nee Kirova.⁸ In April, Plekhanov, who lived in Geneva, received mail from the Munich editors addressed to Bulgarian student Simov.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna has written the way she and Vladimir Il'ich "took the passport of some Bulgarian, a Doctor Iordanov, entered the name Maritsa as his wife, and settled in the room rented from a worker's family in answer to a classified ad."⁹

Taking this statement literally, it would mean that they had procured the passport even before moving from Rittmeyer's to the worker's family; in any case, she directly relates this move to the assumption of a new name.

It may be assumed, therefore, that Lenin was forced to move twice, above all because any assumption that the clandestine Meyer was the semi-legal Iordanov was extremely risky: a situation in which someone could address Iordanov as Meyer, or Meyer as Iordanov had to be avoided. Possibly, it is

precisely this that dictated the expediency of not moving at once from Kaiserstrasse to the neighboring 14 Siegfriedstrasse, but live for a while with the worker's family. This was also in the interest of the German comrades and their party, who ascribed great importance to all details related to the security of the ISKRA editors. It would be hardly likely to assume that Lenin would move to premises without the guarantee of trusted members of the German party: both Kaiser, the social democrat from Munich, and Modracek, in Prague, wrote that they had responded to the party's request to help a Russian comrade.

In December 1965, in the course of a press conference in Munich, a registration form filled in in the name Dimitur Verdanov, i.e., Iordanov, was shown to the public.

Dimitur Verdanov was born on 3 October 1878 in Silistra and arrived in Munich on 31 October 1900 to study pharmacology. He lived at first at Schaffer's on 58/1 Arzisstasse and, subsequently, as of 3 April 1901, at Gur's, on 1/3 Massmanstrasse, and returned to Sofia on 7 November 1902.

To this day, Munich's state archives have presented, true, with reservations, this document as being the registration form used by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. By request, the document was sent to the Soviet Union as well.

The reservation was quite legitimate, for it was shared by historians as well. However, there has been no documentary proof to refute the fact that this registration form was not Lenin's.

As of 1965 this document has been mentioned in all publications related to Lenin's stay in Munich. However, an investigation revealed nothing in agreement with the familiar facts about Lenin-Iordanov: in the passport Lenin's name is Iordan. A certain Dimitur was also mentioned. Lenin's address was also not Verdanov's. A close investigation of dates of birth, arrival, moving and departure reveal profound contradictions: considering the strictly conspiratorial system followed by Lenin, a passport with such data (according to the address register, at that time there truly were registration forms signed by Dimitur Verdanov listing the Schaffer and Gur families as his address, where a person with a forged passport had never lived), would have been an inadequate and risky document. This is well was the reason for which, yet once again, I decided to check all possibilities and expressed, both in writing and verbally, my entire doubts, with a view to finding starting points with which to substantiate reservations concerning the address registration investigation.

One such opportunity occurred on 22 March 1977, when I shared my doubts with Manfred Hackel, an official with the Munich city archives. He drew my attention to the existence of still-unstudied foreigners' registration forms. My search was successful. I came across the factual registration address filled out by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin on the basis of a forged Bulgarian passport number 483226, registered in the printed form "Master List

of Residents of the Federal Land, the Reich and Foreigners" of the Munich Royal Police Administration, registration section. According to the form, the name listed was that of Iordan Iordanov, doctor of juridical sciences, born on 8 October 1876, married, living at 14/11 Siegfriedstrasse, native of Sofia, Bulgaria.

The registration form was filled out on 29 August 1901. The official noted that the passport holder had moved to the Siegfriedstrasse address on 8 May. All items in the form coincide with familiar facts. They also coincide with the address of apartment owner Joseph Filser, listed in the registration form.

Due to the fact that the "Iordanov family" had rented the second floor, right, of the Filser home, as equal cotenant, the registration had not been entered in the registration form of Filser himself: the stipulation requiring such a registration applied exclusively to residents who had rented rooms from an apartment tenant.

Furthermore, at that time frequent moves were not unusual: streetcars were a rarity in the city and there were no buses at all. The rich used buggies and bicycles had not as yet become a means of mass transportation. Most people walked. That is why, like the residents of other big cities, the people of Munich preferred to live closer to their jobs. There was also little furniture and it was not cumbersome enough to be excessively troublesome in a move. For example, in 1900 the list of tenants in the house on 53 Kaiserstrasse included master carpenter Smidtner, the wife of Leo the merchant, the widow of Karl the milkman, gardner Schwartzkopf, fitter Zegentner, master shoemaker Schmidt, the widow of a party worker Gehenberger, innkeeper Hartmann and the widow of streetcar conductor Lanz. In 1901 four new tenants were entered in the list of residents of the house on Kaiserstrasse. The professional breakdown of these tenants was largely consistent with the professional breakdown of the members and supporters of the social democratic movement in Munich. In such circles no one paid attention to whether or not one "Meyer" had established residence; in this respect the Kaiserstrasse house was no exception: the tenants of neighboring houses were people of similar trades. However, several families lived in the house on 14 Siegfriedstrasse, where the title "doctor" was most apt. In 1901 the list of residents of the house included master builder Bertle, innkeeper Baumgartner, barber Zelier, telegraph employee Robert Henneberger Jr, secretary of the General Office of Imperial Mails and Telegraph, and writer Otto Valkenberg.

One year later, in 1902, the Munich addressbook had a new entry: private owner Joseph Filsner, the new landlord.

As on Kaiserstrasse, in 1901-1902 the tenants on Siegfriedstrasse changed frequently. The addressbook had entries for eight new tenants with "more solid professions," such as, for example, an official of a horse-breeding farm, a merchant, the widow of a teacher, the owner of the Frueling Dress-making Shop, and others.

The writer Otto Valkenberg was one of those who had lived in that house the previous year. Subsequently, he greatly contributed to the fame of Munich's Kammerspiele Theater. In his recollections about people of Munich at the turn of the century Otto Valkenberg does not mention the fact that one of the tenants of the house he lived in was Doctor Iordanov with his wife, i.e., Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya. In 1901-1902 Valkenberg might simply have been ignorant of this fact.

The question remains open, therefore, as to could we continue to consider as accurate the date 18 May 1901 as the day Lenin moved into the apartment on Siegfriedstrasse. The date is mentioned first by Krupskaya in her "Vospominaniyakh o Lenine," in which she writes that they lived with the worker's family approximately one month. Xaver Streb names the date as 18 May, with no further reference source. Address registrations show that Iordanov and his wife moved into the apartment on 14 Siegfriedstrasse on 8 May. The reverse side of the form contains the note that Iordanov paid a tax of 6.38 marks.

The date was officially registered as late as 28 August, i.e., nearly four months later--an omission which did not cause any particular difficulties to the "doctor of jurisprudence." Nevertheless, we may note that there was a relatively long interval between the day Lenin obtained his passport and the day he registered. Compared with other forms, containing more accurate data as to family, origin, previous residences, as was the case, for example, with the registration of Yulian Markhlevskiy, the way the registration form was filled in also proves that Doctor Iordanov needed the help of knowledgeable friends who put in a kind word for the "writer-lawyer" who frequently and regularly visited the reading room of the Bavarian Royal Library.

On 25 May 1902 Lenin registered at the library as "Iordan K. Iordanov, doctor of jurisprudence, writer, 14/11 Siegfriedstrasse, right. . . ."10

Therefore, his handwriting in the "registration book" of the Bavarian state library dissipates any confusion which may exist on the personality of the Bulgarian under whose passport Lenin lived in Munich, as far as his full name was concerned.

The pharmacology student Dimitur Verdanov (or Iordanov) from Silistra vanishes following the registration. The older viewpoint, still shared by Bulgarian authors, claims that Lenin used the passport of one Doctor Stoyko Iordanov. This view still prevails despite the fact that the real Stoyko Iordanov was nearly 30 years older than Vladimir Il'ich.

The Varna Okrug State Archives contain documents on the life of Stoyko Iordanov:

A certificate in the French language, issued on 6 July 1876, by the Romanian mission in Paris, in the name of Mr Iordanov, Stoyko, Romanian citizen, born 15 August 1844 in Korel City, Shumen Okrug (Bulgaria);

An invitation to the marriage of Doctor S. Iordanov with Yovanka Barnova, dated Varna, 8 June 1880;

The obituary of Doctor S. Iordanov, who died in Varna, following a long illness, on 19 January 1890.

Born in 1844 (or 1841), Stoyko Iordanov studied medicine in Paris and graduated *cum laude*. In 1876, as chief physician of a Romanian field hospital, he took part in the Serbo-Turkish War. In 1877-1878 he participated in the Russo-Turkish War, initially as regimental and subsequently brigade physician. In 1878 he was appointed Varna Okrug physician. In 1879 he was elected deputy and became a member of the Constituent Assembly in Turnovo. Subsequently, Stoyko Iordanov participated in the drafting of the first Bulgarian constitution. As a physician he attended several international medical conferences.

It is hardly likely that Lenin and the Bulgarian comrades would consider reliable a passport whose owner, widely known in Bulgaria and abroad, had died precisely in 1890, in Varna.

Any of the details from the easy-to-check investigation data related to the so-far-familiar indications made by Krupskaya and Xawer Streb, is in conflict with the viewpoint that the data related to Stoyko Iordanov could have been in any way useful to Lenin as documents.

The identity of a Bulgarian named Iordan K. Iordanov has still not been definitively established. Yet the arguments in favor of Stoyko Iordanov, as well as those applicable to Dimitur Verdanov, have now been refuted.

My assumption is that Lenin used his move from Kaiserstrasse to his permanent Munich apartment for the purpose of eliminating the traces of the initial period of life of the clandestine Meyer, for which reason, for several weeks prior to his move to the Ziegfriedstrasse apartment, he did not come near it, but preferred to make yet another move, is confirmed by another, so-far ignored indication: Nadezhda Konstantinovna's arrival made a name change necessary. The Bulgarian social democrats supplied Vladimir Il'ich with a passport in the name of the Bulgarian I. Iordanov. It became necessary for Lenin to grow a "bulgarian mustache."

Therefore, the "stop" in the worker's family had no purpose other than to vanish for a while. It is also known that Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Vladimir Il'ich rarely left the apartment.

We are not aware of a photograph in which Lenin appears with a "Bulgarian mustache," which he, in all likelihood, grew following his first move, when the "Iordanov period" began.

In any case, a passport in the name of Doctor Iordanov offered Lenin new opportunities, particularly in terms of the freedom to move: the first

period of his stay in Munich was characterized by work to exhaustion, work which established the prerequisites for the second period, which lasted about one year, until his departure for London. During that year the basic work was created on the program and structure of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDWP). ISKRA and its organization achieved their initial major successes. Lenin began to write "What Is to Be Done?" along with works and studies on the agrarian problem which became the guidelines of the workers movement.

The Bulgarian passport improved Lenin's working conditions in Munich. The "Meyer" period came to an end. This also required a break in relations with Georg Rittmeyer. The point is that Lenin used his move not only for the sake of changing apartments, but also for converting from the clandestine Meyer to the semi-legal Doctor Jordanov.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 46, p 90.
2. Ibid, p 101.
3. Ibid, p 127.
4. See "Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine" [Recollections on Vladimir Il'ich Lenin], in 5 vols, Vol 1, Moscow, 1979, p 249.
5. "Leninskiy Sbornik III" [Leninist Collection III], p 178.
6. Lenin, op cit, Vol 46, p 77.
7. Ibid, p 85.
8. L. L. Murav'yeva and I. I. Sivolap-Kaftanova believe that Vera Zasluch and Inna Smidovich-Leman passed for mother and daughter (Velika Kirova and Dimka Baynova nee Kirova).
9. "Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine," Vol 1, p 247.
10. Friedolin Dressler, director general of the Bavarian State Library, found Lenin's handwritten entry in the "Registration Book for Visitors to the Periodicals Room" (1884-15 November 1902). The autograph was published by Friedolin Dressler in September 1977.

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TRACING A LOST LETTER BY V. I. LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 65-71

[Article by Alexander Jezek, candidate of historical sciences, director of the V. I. Lenin Museum in Prague, and Dr Ota Kotik, Czechoslovak publicist, Prague, 25 December 1979]

[Text] In the Place of Introduction

In this peculiar type of introduction we would like, even though roughly, to acquaint our Soviet comrades with some aspects of the close interconnection between the Russian and Czechoslovak revolutionary movements, traced to as early as the last quarter of the 19th century. The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers' Party was founded in 1878. Under the conditions of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy it became one of the largest, best organized and, at that time, most influential political parties. The working people of Czechia and Slovakia, who lived under the difficult conditions of political, national and social oppression, were already then experiencing the profound influence of the Russian revolutionary democrats, sanctified by great traditions. The names of Herzen, Belinskiy, Zhelyabov and others had become symbols of the revolutionary struggle for the bright ideals of mankind. In those difficult years the Czech and Slovak peoples linked their liberation to the Russian revolution.

In this case the fact that in 1897 a central printed organ of the Czechoslovakian Social Democratic Workers' Party PRAVO LIDU was founded, had a certain influence in this case. In addition to everything else, it regularly informed its readers and the broad public circles of events in Russia.

It was precisely at that time, specifically in September 1900, that V. I. Lenin reached Prague for the first time. Here he studied, among other things, the possibilities for the clandestine shipment of the newspaper ISKRA from neighboring Germany to czarist Russia. Shipments of clandestine revolutionary publications through Czechia, including via Prague, are confirmed also by a discovered document kept in the archives of the then Prague police: a police cable dated December 1901 reporting that

a shipment weighing 70 (!) kilograms had been intercepted. It contained issue number nine of ISKRA, the "Communist Party Manifesto" and several other illegal materials published in the Russian language.

As early as the spring of 1901 Lenin came once again to the city on the Vltava. This time, the main purpose of the visit was to check personally how correspondence was being transshipped into Russia. The other purpose of the trip was to request the Russian Consulate to issue a passport to N. K. Krupskaya, whose exile, by that time, was coming to an end. From Prague Vladimir Il'ich sent a form letter to his mother, Mariya Aleksandrovna, in which, among other things, he wrote that he liked the Slavic nature of Prague and regretted his unfamiliarity with the Czech language.

In subsequent years as well Lenin kept in touch with Prague. He kept in personal contact with the Czech social democrats and met with them at the meetings of the congresses of the Second International and the International Socialist Bureau--the leading organ of the international. In 1907 Vladimir Il'ich again met the Czech social democrats at the Stuttgart congress. The congress was held at a time when our people concernedly watched events in revolutionary Russia, expressing their feelings of solidarity and support for the Russian revolution.

To make the picture of the times more complete, let us add that by 1907 Prague had become a focus for Russian political emigres. Various groups of emigres from Russia joined a variety of societies and associations and through promoted the need to provide one or another type of more effective assistance to the Russian revolutionary movement and maintain contact with the Prague democrats. Let us recall that at that time our worker's party had legal status.

In 1907 the Czech social democrats acquired a house built as early as the second half of the 17th century, in the very heart the old city, which had once belonged to nobility. True, most of the building had fallen into an extremely decrepit state. However, with their inherent cunning, dedication and persistence, the Czech workers and artisans undertook its capital repairs and by 1910 had turned the house into a building which housed the editorial premises and printing press the newspaper PRAVO LIDU. Subsequently, this entire renovated complex was named "People's House." It also housed the leadership of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers' Party, the trade union center, the party school, the People's Academy and other party institutions.

This necessarily brief description of Prague's People's House shows that there could hardly have been a more suitable place for holding a clandestine conference, which was held here at the beginning of 1912 and which has been recorded in the history of the CPSU as the Prague Conference of the RSDWP. Thus, our Golden Prague joined the ranks of European cities connected with Lenin's name and with the great history of the CPSU.

On Looking for a Document Throughout the Lifespan of a Generation . . .

In the very first days of the unforgettable May 1945, soon after the heroic Soviet Army victoriously completed its Prague operation, a noteworthy event occurred in Prague's People's House. On the initiative of the Soviet troops and the Prague patriots who had assisted them in course of the street battles with the Hitlerites to open the way to the People's House, a Lenin Hall was inaugurated in the premise where the historical Sixth (Prague) RSDWP Conference had taken place. This was a contribution of the Czechoslovak people and the Russian and world proletariat. During May and June 1945 alone over 60,000 soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army and residents of Prague visited Lenin Hall.

Following the 1948 merger of the Social Democratic Party with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the CPC Central Committee decided to organize the V. I. Lenin Museum in this building of historical importance to our workers' movement. Its solemn inauguration took place in January 1953. It was attended by Klement Gottwald, the first Czechoslovak workers' president, CPC chairman, loyal friend of the Soviet Union and our unforgettable comrade. In his opening address he said: "Let the V. I. Lenin Museum be a school for communism for millions of our people!"

In subsequent years, these memorable words expressed by K. Gottwald became the real work credo governing the daily activities of the small collective of museum associates. With the help of comrades from the V. I. Lenin Central Museum in Moscow, we organized a good exhibit, which today numbers nearly 6,500 previously unknown most-important documents. Thanks to them and to annually organized exhibits, which are a necessary supplement to the permanent exhibit, we can better acquaint museum visitors with the personality of Lenin--the great leader, politician and state figure--who was also a simple, a modest person whose entire life was dedicated to the struggle for a better future for mankind. With the help of the Soviet comrades we also did everything possible for the documents of our museum to become a visual aid on the history of the CPSU, starting with the creation of the first Marxist circles in Russia to this day, when the CPSU is the universally recognized leading force of the Soviet people in the building of communism and the leading flag bearer in the struggle waged by the progressive forces of peace the world over.

Summing up, in rough outline, the results of our current activities, we happily note that Klement Gottwald's instruction has been carried out. The V. I. Lenin Museum in Prague became a school for communism for millions, not only of ours, but foreign visitors as well. Thus at the end of 1979, the one-millionth foreign visitor visited the museum. He turned out to be Komsomol member Aleksandr Kostin, worker at a Voronezh plant, who had come to fraternal Czechoslovakia with the "Friendship Train."

As an institution of the CPC Central Committee, in addition to political-educational and propaganda work, our museum engages in scientific research

as well. At one point a particularly important and inspiring assignment was issued: to find as many details as possible on Lenin's three historical visits to Prague. We took up the assignment with tireless zeal. We were able to hear and record a number of interesting and, from the research viewpoint, valuable recollections of noted leaders of our revolutionary workers' movement and its eldest participants. Naturally, in our research we relied on the recollections of our Soviet comrades--revolutionary veterans. This applies, above all, to the unique testimony of Yevgeniy Petrovich Onufriyev (1884-1967)*--former delegate of the Petersburg organization to the 1912 Prague conference. His memory was so clear on the events of those long past days as though everything had happened yesterday. Furthermore, throughout the entire conference, luckily, he shared a room with Vladimir Il'ich. He reminisced on the proceedings and atmosphere of the All-Russian RSDWP Conference which was "as significant as a party congress" ("Istoriya KPSS" [History of the CPSU], Vol 2, p 378).

Finally, the results of long years of research were summed up and publicized through the press. It was precisely this final initiative that, soon afterwards, unexpectedly enabled us to unravel the cluster of secrets which despite all efforts was concealed by a single circumstance. This was a letter whose senders address was "Vl. Oulianoff. 4. Rue Marie Rose. 4. Paris XIV," mailed to Prague on 1 November 1911. It was addressed to Antonin Nemeč, a Czech social democrat and editor in chief of the party newspaper PRAVO LIDU. The sender, no one other than Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, asked this noted Czech party leader for advice and help in an important matter. But let us look at the text of the letter, combining brevity of expression with clarity of thought.

"To A. Nemeč

"Paris, 1 November 1911.

"Dear Comrade!

"I would be very grateful to you for your advice and help in the following matter. A number of our party organizations intend to hold a conference (naturally, abroad). There will be about 20-25 people attending. Would it be possible to organize this conference in Prague (to last about one week)?

"What matters to us the most is the possibility to make it super secret. No one, no organization should know of it. (This is a social democratic conference, i.e., according to the laws of Europe, a legal one. However,

*Comrade Ye. P. Onufriyev visited our museum toward the end of the 1950's.

most of the delegates will have no passports and cannot reveal their real names.)

"I would be very grateful to you, dear comrade, should this be possible, to help us and to give me, as soon as possible, the address of a comrade in Prague who (should the answer be affirmative) could implement this assignment. It would be best of all for such a comrade to understand Russian. Should this be impossible, we shall discuss it with him in German as well.

"I hope, dear comrade, that you will forgive me for troubling you with this request. I thank you in advance.

"With party greetings, N. Lenin

"My address:

"Vl. Oulianoff.

"4. Rue Marie Rose. 4.

"Paris XIV" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 48, p 40) [Facsimile of the first page of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's letter shown].

Until January 1970 only photocopies of this text were familiar to the world public and the specialists. The original, written in German, had long been considered lost. Nevertheless, the Soviet comrades continued to look for it, and so did we, with our aktiv, associates of the V. I. Lenin Museum in Prague. It is believed that Lenin's letter was taken to Prague and delivered to the Czech social democrats by Iosif (Osip) Aronovich Pyatnitskiy (1882-1938). This version is supported also by the well-known Czech writer Miroslav Ivanov. However, as mentioned in his book "Lenin in Prague," he admitted the possibility of the existence of several more letters which Lenin could have sent at that time in connection with the preparations for the Prague conference.

How did the precise text of the Paris letter find its way into the volume of the Leninist Collection, published in the Soviet Union as early as 1930? The V. I. Lenin Central Museum in Moscow exhibits only two pages of the letter. In such a case, how could the entire text, covering three pages, show up in the Leninist Collection?

All this is clearly explained in a letter sent to Moscow by Stanislav Klika, a typesetter at PRAVO LIDU who worked together the son of the deceased Antonin Nemeč. Klika informs the Soviet comrades that Lenin's letter is in the possession of the A. Nemeč family and proves it by attaching a photocopy, which as a specialist he did not find difficult to

make while employed at the Prague press. It is precisely this that explains the appearance of its text in the Leninist Collection.

At this point all information as to the fate of the original Lenin letter came temporarily to an end. Furthermore, it seemed as though the last trace leading to the family of the receiver--Antonin Nemeč--the then social democratic leader, who had passed away in the 1920's, would be lost. We sought his relatives. No success. His grandson, the last remaining male member of the family, had left his homeland in the 1930's and moved to America. Until recently we had no doubt that he had taken the family records which were of such unquestionable historical value with him across the ocean. After Stanislav Klika's death, in World War II, nothing could shake the belief of our colleagues--predecessors that this unexpected event broke the last thread leading to the hope of ever being able to find the original of the letters sent by Lenin from Paris to Prague, which at this point was already of immeasurable historical value. We could not even conceive of the outstanding surprise which the end of the 1970's was to offer us. . . .

Then, as though proving the poetic statement that the last thing to die is hope, at the turn of the 1980's we experienced a very joyful event. This was immediately after our museum's scientific collective had completed yet another long stage of work in restoring Lenin's historical heritage. In this we were also helped by journalists. In January 1979, for example, the newspaper VECERNA PRAHA published a series of interesting materials on the Sixth RSDWP Conference, containing a number of specific assumptions and hypotheses on the still undiscovered documents related to the conference, including the original of Lenin's letter sent from Paris to Prague before its opening. This initiative triggered an unprecedented interest among the broad public in the country, particularly in Prague, on the subject of important historical documents. In turn, we had not abandoned the hope that perhaps a few of them might be found with the help of the population.

We were not wrong. Furthermore, reality outstripped all our expectations. One frosty January morning a pleasant looking and still energetic old woman, warmly smiling, entered the office of the director of the V. I. Lenin Museum in Prague. She identified herself as the granddaughter of the deceased Antonin Nemeč, Helena Vogelova. After this amazing announcement, she produced from her purse a small envelope with franked foreign stamps and three small sheets covered with a fine German text. Openly amazed, we looked at the original of Lenin's letter, which we had tried to find for such a long time and with such incredible efforts. We could not trust our eyes. Reading the letter addressed to Antonin Nemeč, the then chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers' Party--that same editor in chief of PRAVO LIDU--our doubts vanished entirely.

As we know from accessible copies of the original, Lenin's letter preceded the preparations for and organization of the Sixth All-Russian Clandestine Conference of the RSDWP, which was held in Prague's People's House in

January 1912. It convincingly proved the close ties between Vladimir Il'ich and our workers' movement. It also represented a priceless document describing the preparations for the Prague conference of Bolsheviki-Leninists.

On the surface, it looked an ordinary letter. The ink had somewhat faded and the thin paper had turned yellowish. Almost 70 years had passed since it was written. The content, however, written in Lenin's characteristically energetic handwriting, was, luckily, easy to read.

The letter was dated 1 November 1911. This means that Lenin's request for help in preparing the conference to be attended in strictest possible secrecy by some 20-25 people, was carried out with honor in record time and with the effective participation of several Czech organizers--in less than two months--literally under the nose of the emperor's police, which, as we know, cooperated with the czar's Okhranka. . . .

I recall the way, in the course of the informal talk, 72-year-old Helena Vogelova said: "As you can see, grandfather's letter, as we describe it, was kept by our family for over 67 years. First by grandfather, then by father and, after mother's death, by me. To tell the truth, after I got it I forgot about it. Life goes by so fast. . . . I had other things to think about. It was only when a friend drew my attention to the recent announcement in the press and to the efforts of the museum to find Lenin's letter to Antonin Nemecký, I suddenly realized that I had it! Why? Why should I have it? So, I came here. Bringing this small envelope with the sender's address written as 'Vl. Oulianoff. 4. Rue Marie Rose. 4. Paris XIV,' I could not even imagine that everyone would get so excited and that the response would be such. Yet, I feel guilty for not having brought the letter earlier! I am glad that I have had the opportunity to do so and that this extremely rare family document of ours has been preserved."

This ended the long search by the associates and activists of Prague's V. I. Lenin Museum. Now that this extremely rare document has finally been found, one could briefly sum up the extensive research it involved. However, it would be difficult to find the proper words to describe the efforts devoted by researchers and, not in the least, the journalists, before they were crowned by such outstanding success. Such is the brief story of this most precious document, which henceforth will exist not only as a photocopy but in the original, and which had already been classified as being irrevocably lost to our contemporaries and the future generations.

To conclude, on 5 February 1979 Helena Vogelova personally presented the original of V. I. Lenin's letter to Comrade Gustav Husak, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee general secretary.

Consequently, the CPC Central Committee passed the entirely just resolution to present the original of the historical document to the CPSU Central Committee. Today it may be found in the Lenin Fund of the Central Party Archives in Moscow--where it should be. Visitors of the Moscow and Prague V. I. Lenin museums may see an artful facsimile of the original.

CREATIVE POTENTIAL OF LEISURE TIME

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 72-82

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. Grushin]

[Text] "Leisure time means scope for the development of capabilities." K. Marx.

Leisure time, and human activities outside their main production job and life, has long been justifiably considered as playing a very important, tremendous and comprehensive role in the life of the socialist society. Here, as in labor, the molding, the socialization of the individual, take place, and the exposure of the people to the basic norms and values prevailing in society at large and in its various social circles. It is here that a variety of human activities are carried out related to the consumption of mass information and culture, which determine the scale and trend of development in society of a number of sectors of material and spiritual production, including the so-called leisure-time industry. Finally, it is here that possibilities are discovered for the manifestation of a variety of talents and for the all-round development of the individual. It was precisely when discussing leisure time when K. Marx assessed it as "wealth itself: partially used for the consumption of products, partially for free activities not determined, like labor, by the pressure of external objectives which must be reached and whose reaching is a natural necessity or a social obligation . . . (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 26, pt III, pp 265-266).

In the future leisure time will become even more important in social life, since it is in this area that the radical difference in the orientation of presently existing socioeconomic systems will be manifested ever more clearly.

Under contemporary capitalist conditions leisure time largely becomes a field of action for anti-humane forces. Through mass, systematic and purposeful imposition on the member of society of stereotypical means of consumption and ways of thinking, such forces are trying to convert an individual into a "man of the masses"--a kind of averaged unit, deprived of

individual characteristics and of the ability to critically consider the environment, developing identical value concepts and reactions and, subsequently, reduce such mass, standardized qualities to a minimum. This leads to the appearance of Herbert Marcuse's "one-dimensional man." The uniqueness of the individual, that author noted, bearing in mind the indicated objective trend of social development and the individual's autonomy, humanism and tragic and romantic love, become characteristics of the past. The present belongs to the one-dimensional man with an entirely conformist mind (H. Marcuse, "Der eindimensionale Mensch. Studien zur Ideologie der fortgeschrittenen Industriegesellschaft" [The One-Dimensional Man. Studies of the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society], Neuwied-Berlin, 1972). Like H. Marcuse, the bourgeois philosophers and sociologists do not consider the solution to this situation in the least as lying in the further development of humanistic culture and the exposure of the masses to it, but ever more frequently in the creation of some kind "counterculture" related to the development of an individualistic outlook, a "non-intellectual" mind, irrational individual behavior, and so on. (See, for example, M. McLuhan, "Counter Blast," Paris, 1972; Th. Roszak, "The Making of a Counterculture," London, 1972.)

Conversely, Marxism-Leninism considers leisure time a "scope for free activities and development" of the individual (see Marx and Engels, "Soch.," Vol 26, pt III, p 264). Marx formulated his famous thesis that under communism the main yardstick of social wealth will be leisure, rather than working time. It is precisely this approach to leisure time that is becoming ever more characteristic of the developed socialist society.

The achievements of the USSR in the development of high-level culture among the toiling masses and the unparalleled purposeful penetration into the realm of leisure of a number of progressive types of activities which play a primary role in the development of a rich personality, are well known. They are reflected in the works of Soviet philosophers, sociologists and historians which study the basic changes occurring in the spiritual life of the Soviet people in the course, and as a result of the cultural revolution (see, for example, "Kul'tura Razvitogo Sotsializma. Nekotoryye Voprosy Teorii i Istorii" [The Culture of Developed Socialism. Some Theoretical and Historical Problems], Nauka, Moscow, 1978; A. I. Arnol'dov, "Kul'tura Razvitogo Sotsializma" [The Culture of Developed Socialism], Politizdat, Moscow, 1975, and others). They are convincingly proved by the annual comparisons of statistical data which show the steady spreading throughout the country of the evening and correspondence educational systems, the networks of newspapers, radio, television and motion pictures, the size of the editions of journals and books, museum and theater attendance, and the number of members of sports groups and amateur art circles. Finally, this is also confirmed by the results of special sociological studies. For example, a long-term comprehensive study conducted in Taganrog (1967-1964, USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute and USSR Academy of Sciences of the International Workers' Movement), affecting various aspects of activities of the urban population in the

realm of relaxation, most clearly indicated that today's urban residents have become actively involved not only in cultural consumption processes but in the processes of cultural dissemination and creation in the form of amateur creative work, interpersonal communication and participation in the management of various aspects of social life.

At the same time, the progress of society toward communism, taking place with the development of the scientific and technical revolution, raises a variety of problems of different depth and complexity related to the further increase in and use of opportunities offered by leisure in resolving the social and ideological problems facing society. Leisure time is an important sector in the implementation of the comprehensive program for communist upbringing, extensively reflected in the C. C. P. Order, "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

Following will be a consideration of some of these problems related both to the theoretical and philosophical-sociological study of the leisure time phenomenon, as well as the area of social practice characterizing the contemporary status of the realm of leisure time in the Soviet society and defining the development of this area in the immediate and more distant future.

I

On the theoretical level, naturally, the problem of the specific scientific study of the concept of "harmonious development of the individual," or, which is one and the same, the "harmonious development of man," should be accepted as being presently the most important of all.

Only 30 to 40 years ago, as we know, social practice did not demand a strict specific-sociological definition of such concepts. The situation today has changed radically. The realm of leisure and, consequently, the development of the individual, closely linked with it, are becoming targets of national and socioeconomic programming and planning, not only for the short term, such as the next five years, but in the long range, aimed at the distant future. Naturally, this would require the detailed consideration of a number of questions: what will the man of the future represent from the viewpoint of his (basic) physical and spiritual qualities? What way of life and means of activities will he have? What should be the direction to be followed to today and tomorrow by society to insure the effective development of such a person, consistent with the upbringing of all members of society?

Marxist-Leninist science has long provided a general answer to these questions, linking the future of mankind with the ideas of the molding of a free, creatively active and comprehensively developed individual, perfect both physically and spiritually. According to Marx, Engels and Lenin the man of the future will be far from merely homo oeconomicus (the economic man), and even less a passive consumer of culture, even of its highest

samples, but an active subject of comprehensive creative activities, developing all kinds of culture--material and technical, sociopolitical, spiritual and physical--in the course of the manifestation of his forces and individual self-development.

Today, however, it is a question of an essential concretizing of such definitions and, in the final account, of modeling this type or, rather, these types of individuals coinciding with the concept of the "harmoniously developed man." It is entirely clear that this will be not one, but, precisely, several models which would take into consideration differences bio-social types of individuals in general, the non-coinciding cultural-historical (national, ethnic and other) conditions of human existence, and so on. This makes the problem even more difficult. Its solution, in our view, is most closely linked with the possibilities offered by the development of a general theory of activities--a sector of knowledge developing at the confluence and using the results of a multiplicity of sciences: philosophy, sociology, political economy, ergonomics, psychology, pedagogy, medicine, and others.

As of the present science and practice must already formulate and try to resolve the problem of the optimum (from the viewpoint of the all-round development of the individual) correlation between working and non-working time, work and recreation, and basic characteristics of the labor process which would provide maximum opportunities for reaching the target under consideration. In terms of the subject we are interested in now--leisure time--a philosophical-sociological and a concrete scientific study of the various types of leisure-time activities should provide answers to the following questions: Which among these types, and in which ratios, would be most progressive (from the stipulated viewpoint), and consequently be most promising in terms of their intensive and extensive dissemination in the present and subsequent development stages of the socialist society? Clearly, the problem of the rational--present and future--use of the creative potential of leisure time should also be assessed according to the type of solution offered for such problems.

We must point out that a great deal of work has already been done in the field of sociology of leisure time and related sectors of knowledge, and that considerable results have been achieved following studies of the variety of human leisure-time activities. Today we are familiar with a number of classifications which range from 150 to hundreds of different occupations and ways to spend time. Most such studies, however, are primarily focused on the present leisure-time structure, i.e., on the breakdown of the time spent by the members of society in one or another activity, containing unnecessary "enumerations." Any eventually suggested classification, in this case, is based not on objective trends and scientific programming of the development of the individual and society, but exclusively on existing leisure-time characteristics. Detailed classifications are most frequently unsuitable even in studying the way of life of the people, for a description of the various types of activities does not include many of their

major features. The problem of assessing the various types of leisure-time activities should be considered unresolved the more so since we must bear in mind the historical significance of such activities and their value from the viewpoint of the prospects of social development, taking the scientific and technical revolution into consideration. What characteristics of activities should be essentially taken into consideration in solving this problem?

In our view, this applies, above all, to those related to the functions or objective role of one or another type of activity in terms of its overall influence on the individual or, in Marx' words, on the "human essential forces" (Marx and Engels, "Soch.," Vol 42, p 121). From this viewpoint, usually we distinguish, on the one hand, functions aimed at restoring the strength lost by a person in the course his work and other unavoidable occupations and, on the other, the functions of the development of the individual per se. It is obvious that a specific scientific study should "identify," in terms of each of these functions, the numerous types of human activities carried out in their leisure time and determine (naturally, within stipulated historical boundaries applicable to the various stages of social development) the optimum ratios among activities of each type. The problem cannot be successfully resolved on the level of general definitions with assumptions governing the further breakdown of said functions (values) of activities. Thus within the framework of the first type it is obviously necessary to distinguish among functions aimed at restoring the physical, mental and emotional forces of a person; within the second type--functions related to the development of the person's physical, spiritual, emotional, intellectual and other aspects, gifts and capabilities.

Furthermore, the study should take into consideration activities which, in themselves, by virtue of their one-sided emphatically negative nature (such as occupations related to the so-called anti-cultural phenomena), or which, carried out under certain circumstances (some positive occupations engaged in to an excessive degree) leads to the impoverishment of the spiritual and physical world of the individual, not to his development, but conversely to the weakening and even the atrophy of his beneficial gifts and capabilities. It is obvious that such activities cannot be included in the models of the way of life of the man of the future and that the contemporary socialist society must pursue the type of social policy which would reduce such activities, while comprehensively broadening possibilities for occupations which would contribute to the regeneration and, particularly, to the development of the physical and spiritual forces of man.

The next important aspect of the study of leisure time from this viewpoint is singling out characteristics of activities related to its general nature or direction. In this respect, as early as the publication of "German Ideology," Marxist social science had distinguished types of activities such as production, in the strict meaning of the term, and "production of ideas, concepts and awareness" (see Marx and Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 24);

in the broad meaning of the term this includes consumption, including the consumption of culture, knowledge, spiritual values, and so on. Finally, it includes activities consisting of various types of "physical," "spiritual," and other types of communication among people (Marx and Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, pp 24-25). We know that the idea of the harmonious development of the individual includes the concept of mandatory combinations among all such types of activities. Yet which among them, specifically, and in what proportions and specific aspects (at one or another stage of social development)?

The third essential type of characteristics is related to a distinction among areas, i.e., among sectors of social reality within which one or another activity takes place. It is obvious that should we describe as cultural all types of leisure-time occupations (participation in cultural activities), such a study could not fail to take into consideration the fact that this concept encompasses a number of non-coinciding areas of physical and spiritual social life. For example, within so-called spiritual culture alone we must distinguish among types of activities related to areas of education; mass information (press, radio, television, motion pictures and verbal propaganda media); science; artistic creativity (musical, theatrical, graphic and other arts), and so on.

The "crisscrossing" of such types of characteristics of activities in which people engage in their leisure time would precisely lead, in our view, to the desired classification of occupations on the basis of which we could resolve the problem of the models of human individuals at one or another stage of social development. This will make it possible to approach the solution of the problem of the expedient and rational utilization of the creative potential of leisure time, today and tomorrow, not only by eye--based on common sense and general concepts of what is necessary--but scientifically.

Obviously, at its highest level of summation, with a combined consideration of the characteristics of activity "functions" and "direction," such a classification would assume the following aspect:

- A. Creative activities coinciding with the production of culture (leading, above all, to the development of the individual).
- B. Consumption of culture, insuring primarily relaxation and recreation.
- C. Consumption of culture insuring primarily the enrichment and development of the individual.
- D. Transmission of culture within the frameworks of interpersonal contacts, insuring relaxation, entertainment and the development of the individual.

Naturally, like any classification related to human activities, this enumeration is quite arbitrary. In the majority of cases one or another

specific activity could fulfill, at the same time, several functions, and even follow several directions. Suffice it to cite examples such as seeing a feature film in which rest could be organically combined with the intellectual and aesthetic development of the viewer, or a meeting of comrades where the consumption of information is, as a rule, inseparably linked with its transmittal. All this contributes to the solution of the problem. Furthermore, a specific, particularly sociological, study which covers a number of other characteristics of activities, such as content, such arbitrariness is considerably reduced in favor of stricter definitions.

II

However, regardless of how important future theoretical elaborations may be, as of now social practice has formulated a number of vital problems related to the use of their leisure time by all members of the socialist society. It is as of now that we must already develop specific concepts related to the grounds and means for the solution of the majority among them.

Considered in general and as a whole as sociohistorical categories, leisure time and rest are characterized by three basic parameters: size, structure and content. Naturally, a formal approach would leave the problems related to the amount of leisure time outside the topic of the present article. However, we must point out that such problems remain within our society and are quite sensitive (particularly for some social strata). As sociologists and practical workers have frequently pointed out, in this respect the introduction of a five-day work week had a far lesser effect than could have been expected. Essentially, the matter is that most of the increased non-working time is being absorbed, as before, by the way of life (in the strict meaning of the term): various types of inevitable and mandatory occupations related to household chores, public services, care for children, and so on.

On the other hand, insufficiency of leisure time directly affects its structural and meaningful characteristics. It reduces opportunities for its best and most creative utilization with a view to the all-round development of the individual. In fact, sociological studies and studies of time breakdowns conducted by statistical organs have shown that the overall amount of leisure time of the population in the Soviet Union averages three to four hours per day. This means that a number of progressive types of occupations conducted during the leisure hours involve considerable time outlays (such as, for example, evening classes, theater attendance, tourism and so on). This circumstance alone greatly restrains the dissemination and development of such occupations. Hence, increasing the amount of free time as such remains one of the important directions in upgrading the creative potential of leisure time.

Nevertheless, the main problems today are still related to the effective utilization of the leisure time at the disposal of the members of society.

The first among them is that of improving further the structure of the leisure time of the Soviet people. In this connection, what are the phenomena to which the management organs and the public at large should pay particular attention? In our view, above all, the fact that the most progressive occupation from the viewpoint of the development of the individual in leisure time--related to the involvement of people in culture--is still characterized by relatively modest absolute figures.

According to L. A. Gordon and E. V. Klopov, who made a study of the non-working time of the urban population in the European part of the country, such activities include the following: In big cities, for the men, 19 hours and 50 minutes; for the women, 11 hours and 50 minutes per week; in the small cities (Pavlovskiy Posad), 15 hours 30 minutes for the men and only 6 hours and 10 minutes for women for the week (L. A. Gordon and E. V. Klopov, "Chelovek Posle Raboty. Sotsial'nyye Problemy Byta i Vnerabocheho Vremeni" [The Individual After Work. Social Problems of Life and Non-Working Time], Nauka, Moscow, 1972. Appendix, table 29, p 26). A substantial amount of time, in the small cities in particular (and, let us add, in rural areas), is spent by people in so-called inactive recreation, visiting or having visitors, and non-sports games (dominoes, Lotto, cards, and so on).

The second essential aspect is the considerable, one could say even the drastic predominance in the structure of the daily cultural life of the population of a variety of activities coinciding with cultural consumption.

We already pointed out that the members of the socialist society are clearly involved in processes of active creative work, non-professional output, and dissemination of culture, such as social projects, rationalization and invention movement, amateur arts, and so on. With all this, however, the present involvement of the population in culture remains primarily passive, consumerist, and consequently far from the concepts of harmony. According to the authors of the study mentioned above, the specific consumption of culture (excluding evening and correspondence training or various forms of self-education) accounts for two-thirds to three-quarters of the overall time outlay of urban workers involving participation in culture. More specifically, the figures are the following: In big cities, 14 hours and 20 minutes for men, and 7 hours 40 minutes for women per week; in small cities, 12 hours 10 minutes for men, and 4 hours 10 minutes for women (ibid).

Finally, the third aspect involves the major shortcomings in the structure of the population's cultural-consumer activities themselves, which impoverish the leisure time and lower opportunities for the utilization of the free time for the full development of the individual. Here, sociologists and practical workers include most frequently the following two shortcomings: First, the very partial consumption by the population of available types of culture in society; second, the existence of undesirable disproportions in the pursuit of such activities.

In the first case, this means that only some, a few (frequently very limited in number) of the essential varieties of cultural consumption--the reading of newspapers, periodicals and books, listening to the radio, viewing television, seeing motion pictures, attending theaters and concerts and going to museums, sports events, and so on--are factually used by the population. Therefore, the more-or-less regular and systematic exposure to all types of cultural values offered by society is far from characteristic as yet of all members of society.

In the second case, we take into consideration the fact that some of them (above all the consumption of information disseminated through mass-communications media, television in particular) account for a disproportionately large share of the popular types of such activities, thus becoming clearly detrimental to all other types of activities, including some which play an important role in molding a harmoniously developed personality. In this connection, let us refer yet once again to the data of the "Chelovek Posle Raboty": Of the 14 hours and 20 minutes which men (in large cities) spend weekly on culture, the lion's share--13 hours and 10 minutes--goes to the so-called individual consumption of culture, i.e., television, radio and reading, and only 1 hour and 10 minutes goes to public entertainment forms, which include a large number of very progressive types of activities: visits to movies, theaters, museums, exhibits, and so on. Among women in big cities the breakdown of such activities is, respectively, 6 hours and 20 minutes, and 1 hour and 20 minutes, and so on (ibid).

Such characteristics of population cultural-consumer activities make the problem particularly grave, if we consider that the consumption of some types of culture in society is not as yet consistent with the theoretical concepts of an individual involved with high-level contemporary culture and the processes and achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. Selective sociological studies have shown that approximately one-half of the country's population do not attend theatrical performances, and almost three-quarters do not visit exhibits or museums.

At the same time, there is yet another aspect of the problem, less well studied by scientists and practical workers, related to the nature of ratios among the individual kinds of cultural consumption or, rather, the nature of the results of such activities. For example, it has been long noticed that excessive viewing of television not only impoverishes the individual, depriving him of many other useful occupations, but creates a type of person characterized primarily, or even exclusively, as a passive recipient of culture. This, however, is not all.

Bearing in mind the entire system of relations between the individual and culture, particularly in the area of the consumption of spiritual values created by mankind, the communist ideal directs the socialist society toward developing in the individual an overall ideological-artistic outlook and a comprehensively developed intellectual and aesthetic attitude toward

reality. In addition to everything else, this problem is resolved by exposing the person to the entire set of spiritual methods for mastering reality--all forms of creative activities, all types of art, and so on. It is clear that should major disproportions develop within the system of cultural consumption, and should any specific type of occupation (even viewing of a range of television transmissions) begin to sharply predominate over all others, or even worse to limit them, the desired integral outlook of the individual is replaced by a certain fragmentation, a mosaic pattern and a clear division, contradictoriness in the individual's ideological-artistic value concepts and orientations. Such phenomena were quite clearly identified in the study of the population's level of information and the prevailing public opinion concerning a variety of events in the worlds of science, literature and the arts.

In this connection we should also mention the existence within society of a number of problems affecting the third dimension of leisure time: its content, i.e., the quality of one or another type of occupation in which people engage in their leisure time. Most such problems are based on the level of cultural development of the members of society and their cultural requirements and needs.

As we know, socialism offers the toiling masses a historically unparalleled access to all the riches of culture. At the same time, in principle it excludes the leisure-time industry as being openly anti-humane, anti-social and anti-artistic. However, it is not able to eliminate in one fell swoop the historically developed gap between the masses and culture, which took centuries to develop on the basis of the professionalizing of artistic creativity. It is, therefore, unable to eliminate the gap between the developing possibility to use culture, on the one hand, and the factual level of cultural requirements of the population, on the other. This leads to the fact that guiding society toward the elimination of various artistic "rejects" from the realm of the output of culture does not, in itself, eliminate the need for it on the part of some population strata, the way even the widest possible dissemination of true cultural values does not result in itself in their comprehensive and universal perception on the necessary level.

Naturally, to a large extent the problem of the content of the leisure time is also related to the composition ("repertory") of cultural values offered by society to the population, i.e., the activities of organs engaged in the production and dissemination of culture. In particular, on the basis of a number of sociological studies of individual forms of cultural output--press, television, motion pictures, theater--there is proof that scientific, artistic and other such information created and transmitted to the population suffers from a number of essential gaps, including the dissemination of domestic and foreign classics, monuments to the history of world culture, and so on. Nevertheless, we repeat, the main feature here is the effect of subjective factors, the existing level of the cultural development of the members of society.

The problems of the leisure-time structure are of a different nature. Their solution is based, above all, on the effect of objective factors related to the further development of the material facilities for recreation in the country, the broadening of their production capacities, increased output, organization of respective (old and new) mass forms of spending the leisure time, and so on.

Thus the required changes in the ratio between the active and passive and production and consumption types of population participation in culture could be achieved providing that society would begin to encourage more intensively than in the past the various types of non-professional creativity of the masses and their participation in the creation of material and spiritual values. Here it is a question not only of the further dissemination and development of types of optional activities as participation in amateur arts or in the movement of plant rationalizers, but the creation of the material, organizational and other conditions (including those related to a specific psychological climate) for the extensive development of the numerous forms of amateur work, non-professional research activities, artistic occupations, and so on.

Such activities, the CC CPSU decree "On Measures for the Further Development of Amateur Artistic Creativity" (1978) emphasizes, is an important means for enhancing the cultural standard of the people's masses and their political and labor activeness, and improving the organization of the leisure time. Furthermore, a movement in this direction could have a major influence on the solution of another social problem encountered by Soviet society in its development. By this we mean the social problem, long defined by sociologists, arising as a result of the higher educational standard of the working people and, therefore, the increased need for creative work, on the one hand, and the existence within society of monotonous, meaningless work which hinders the normal satisfaction of this need, on the other.

As to improvements in the ratios among the various types of cultural consumption, they could be achieved, above all, by eliminating the uneven availability of culture offered the population throughout the country. Here it must be a question of changing the situation both in terms of offering the population as a whole individual types of culture, as well as in terms of offering all types of culture to the various population groups.

Naturally, today no one has any kind of strict norming concepts as to the volume of output and consumption of one or another type of spiritual value needed for the fuller development of all members of society (such as, for example, norms existing in material production, consumption and nutrition). It is clear, however, that even without such computations it can be asserted that, in general, the "ration" of spiritual "food" supplied to society is currently obviously "short" of types of artistic culture such as graphic arts (exhibits, books, albums, painting reproductions, and so on) or the theater. Differences among the individual population groups in terms of cultural values available within society have become entirely clear.

In this respect, two aspects of such an assessment appear particularly essential.

First, the uneven functioning of the individual cultural information channels throughout the country's territory. Let us bear in mind that about 20% of the population is deprived of the possibility to receive television transmission and that 3 television channels cover only a limited part of the center of the RSFSR. Cultural institutions, such as movie theaters, bookstores, parks, and so on, are located equally unevenly in the various parts of the country (taking population density into consideration).

The second aspect is the uneven distribution of individual types of culture among the various social environments, above all between town and country, big and small cities, and big and promising and small fading villages. We know that professional theaters, museums and painting galleries still retain all the features of a typical urban culture, the culture of a big city at that. Conversely, the club and the mass library prove to be the elements of spiritual life in the villages above all. Thus in 1978, out of 136,200 clubs in the country, the rural areas accounted for 117,500, i.e., 86%; they accounted for 95,100 of the 130,900 public libraries, i.e., for about 73% (see "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g" [The USSR National Economy in 1978], Moscow, 1979, pp 483, 488).

The 10 November 1977 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Improve Further Cultural Services to the Rural Population" was of major importance to the solution of this problem. With a view to bringing closer in the future the living standards of the urban with the rural population, the decree earmarked a broad program for the building and strengthening of material facilities for cultural institutions in the countryside. In particular, it stipulated the creation of television receiving facilities through a satellite communications system, the building of low-capacity relay towers and connecting cables, and the extensive development and comprehensive utilization of mobile technical facilities to provide cultural services to small settlements lacking permanent establishments, and so on.

III

The progress of the developed socialist society toward the communist ideal is most closely linked with the overall solution of problems related to the effective utilization of the leisure time by the members of society. Such solutions must not only be operative but long range as well.* This is achieved through the instruments of social policy, based on the planned and

*The concluding part of this article draws on some concepts expressed in the report "Trends of Cultural Development Based on Scientific and Technical Progress," coauthored by S. N. Plotnikov.

programmed development of all national economic sectors, and consequently including the elaboration of a broad system for immediate and more distant targets of social advancement. We know that, so far, frequently purely quantitative approaches predominate in such activities, in which concepts specifically dealing with development targets are replaced by data comparisons showing the simple growth of existing, current indicators. Yet in reality this should deal with something else: with the formulation, on the basis of the study of the contemporary stage of social development and of concepts concerning its future, of various alternate solutions and the choice of alternatives which would make it possible to resolve the problem most effectively (in accordance with available resources) and to insure the reaching of the targets.

It is easily understandable that such developments must apply, above all, to the quality characteristics of the developing social projects and relations, and take into consideration the essential social changes which are occurring, and will continue to occur within society in the course of the scientific and technical revolution. In particular, in terms of upgrading the creative potential of the leisure time, they must not merely reflect the increased volume of one or another occupation of the population in the realm of culture, but above all the future changes which will occur in the very nature of relations between the individual and culture. In other words, they must take into consideration the future changes which will take place in the position of culture within the structure of the individual and the position of the individual within the structure of culture. It is only on the basis of such qualitative assessments that the necessary quantitative computations would be sufficiently accurate in terms of one or another stage of social dynamics, becoming the base for reliable social development programming and planning.

Let us take as an example the problem of improving the leisure-time structure. It is obvious that in defining its present and future policy in this respect, society should consider the totality of available basic solutions and choose those among them which it considers most expedient, effective and realistic.

Thus, bearing in mind the production of artistic culture and the creation of spiritual values, the development program could be based either on the further priority (faster) development of professional creativity, or on a priority (faster) development of amateur, non-professional creativity by the masses; or else, it could be based on the type of development of both forms of production of culture, which would preserve their existing proportions.

In terms of the consumption of culture by the population, such a program should also rate a number of possible alternatives. For example, in terms of offering cultural values to the population, it could be a question of retaining the existing ratios among the different types of culture (press, television, theater, and so on), or of changing such ratios in one or

another direction, such as, for example, curtailing or increasing the making of motion pictures at the expense of increasing (reducing) theater activities, and so on.

In terms of the distribution of cultural values among the various population groups, obviously, today the only possible solution is that of surmounting existing inequalities. However, this too is far from absolute, for it is closely linked with a broad sociodemographic context related to the development of the urban and rural populations, the immediate and more distant future of small towns and gigantic cities, of one or another part of the country, and so on. For example, should the rural population at large be reduced, particularly that of the villages, such a differentiation could be eliminated "by itself," so to speak. Should the sociodemographic situation be preserved over a historically long period of time, a broad system of measures will have to be adopted to saturate villages and small towns with culture with a view to the elimination of said differentiation.

Problems of the content of the leisure time should be resolved similarly. This particularly applies to improving the structure ("repertory") of the culture consumed by the population. In this case a variety of alternatives could be presented on several grounds, such as, for example, along the lines of "past-present," "domestic-foreign," "culture of socialist countries-culture of other countries and civilizations," and so on. It is precisely through such studies that we should consider the place which monuments of the history of world culture have in shaping the contemporary individual; the possibilities, limits and prospects for cultural exchanges under the conditions of the ideological confrontation between the socialist and capitalist systems; socialist integration in the field of culture, and so on.

The quantitative indicators which mark the pace and various lines reached in the course of societal progress should be determined in accordance with the qualitative assessment of the objectives of social development. Let us take as an example the future of television, today customarily linked with the idea of the unconditional accessibility of television throughout the country, the further expansion of the network of relay and translator centers, the replacement of black-and-white with color images, the increase in the amount of telecasts, the increased number of channels, the increased number of television sets per family, and so on.

Obviously, only a few of these concepts are unquestionable and valid regardless of the selection and development of one or another qualitative alternative. This would apply, for example, to the need to surmount existing inequalities (in terms of possibilities for television reception) among population groups living in various parts of the country. Or else the concept which, on the basis of scientific and technical progress as such, calls for the need to replace obsolete types of transmitting and receiving systems with newer and more advanced ones.

At the same time, should we ignore the immediate and more distant objectives of social development, we cannot today accurately assess (plan) indicators for the development of television today and in the future, such as the overall volume of broadcasting, the number and nature of channels, the type of content ("repertory"), and so on. All other conditions being equal, increased amounts of transmission could lead to a further increase in the share held by television within the overall balance of cultural consumption by the population, and consequently to lowering the pace of development of active creative efforts by the masses in the field of culture, and to intensifying within the leisure-time structure of specific types of culture and behavioral models.

A similar drastic development of the methods for training specialists with the help of television presumes the need for making changes in the entire educational system throughout the country, which must be assessed on the level of planning (normative) indicators only in accordance with this prerequisite.

Here is yet another example affecting the development of book publishing in the country. We know that the USSR is among the leading countries in the world in terms of reading. In 1978 about 85,000 books and pamphlets were published here totaling 1.8 billion copies. On the basis of the idea of the future saturation of the leisure time through reading, the corresponding planning organs are currently considering edition sizes of 3.6 billion volumes of books per year for the 1990-2000 period. However, do all these figures agree with the characteristics of an "ideal" structure of leisure time at the beginning of the next decade, not to mention the real possibilities for increasing the share of book reading within the overall balance of the leisure time? Do such computations take into consideration possible quality changes in the future forms of relations (contacts) between the members of society and books?

Yet a consideration of merely the last of these factors makes a future program for the development of book publishing quite speculative. A special study must be made to determine what society would prefer--household library of books (or films, records and so on), created under specific historical conditions and aimed at private forms of cultural activities, or a public library (reading room, films, records), to replace the former, offering an essentially different (more effective, convenient, economic and so on, both in terms of society at large and the individual) organizational system for cultural consumption. Should collective forms of book use predominate in the future, in all likelihood book trade and, consequently, the size of editions would have to be considerably reduced. . . .

Obviously, our considerations must be structured along the same lines in all other cases of assessing the development of one or another type of cultural leisure-time activities. The solution of the problem in the realm of leisure time, as in all other realms of life of the developed socialist society, must be based on social development targets, on a truly comprehensive approach, and on substantiated planning.

"... Whereas, as a whole, we have improved the planning of the working time from the work place to the entire national economy," wrote 15 years ago G. A. Prudenskiy, one of the noted students of the social problems of the times, "there are no norms whatever applicable to a truly free non-working time. This leads to the question as to whether or not we should, as of now, become familiar not only with the factual, but with the planned amount of the individual elements of non-working, including leisure, time." "A number of production and consumption ratios must be closely linked, within a planned socialist economy," with such figures (G. A. Prudenskiy, "Vremya i Trud" [Time and Work], Moscow, 1965, p 339). How accurately said! The adoption of such an approach is a major prerequisite for the effective solution by society of existing leisure-time problems and problems related to the further enhancement of the creative potential of the leisure time of the Soviet people.

5003

CSO: 1802

PEDAGOGICAL PROBLEMS IN THE FOCUS OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

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[Article by Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences Professor K. Salimova]

[Text] In the mid-1970's the British scientific public was shaken up by a sensation: a study of the files left by the famous psychologist and pedagogist S. Bert showed that over a number of decades . . . he was engaged in forgeries--he forged facts and data, invented results of "experiments" which had never been conducted, and published "studies" by non-existent scientists.

The fact that in the West people are becoming ever less squeamish, even in the sciences, at the use of even the most impermissible ways and means is nothing new. It is not amazing that, frequently, Western scientists sin against their own professional ethics and the rather base reasons for doing so are understandable. Nevertheless, for the sake of what "truth" did S. Bert do his "work"? What kind of "concept" did he substantiate?

Its essence is not new. Plato himself said that, "All people are brothers, but that in the case of those who could rule, God put in their gold at their birth, for which reason they are the most valuable," whereas he put iron and copper in "the farmers and various craftsmen." Now, in our age, S. Bert undertook to prove the idea "scientifically" (!). He decided to convince the world that the fact that people belonged to one or another social "stratum" was predetermined by the different intellectual capabilities with which they were born. To the question of what is intellect, S. Bert answered: It is a quality of the mind, an "essence" inherited by the child like the color of his eyes, hair, and so on. It is "an innate general cognitive capacity," whose quantity does not change, either under the influence of education, or of any other external factors, and is constant from birth to death. It can be determined with the "IQ" tests that show the so-called "intelligence coefficient."

From the very beginning critically thinking scientists realized that such writings had no scientific base and were good only for engaging in a tendentious social selection. Essentially, they represented the

characteristics of spiritual development naturally acquired by the children in accordance with their environment. However, the results were presented as given by nature. Bourgeois pedagogy has made active use of the statistical data based on such testing, as they made it possible to "scientifically" formulate the thesis that only an insignificant part of mankind has the right to full education and development, for only this part (naturally, the privileged) has biologically inherited corresponding intellectual capacities. The overwhelming majority of people can acquire such capacities neither from birth nor through education, and education cannot help them. . . . It was precisely through the "scientific" confirmation of this "concept" that S. Bert dedicated himself.

The bourgeois press, even the one hardly considered liberal, considered this "creative" heritage as the most shameful phenomenon of 20th century science. However, even such a decisive assessment would seem light bearing in mind the fatal consequences which resulted from this false viewpoint, "substantiated" through immoral means, after half a century of application in the school practices of Britain, the United States and many other capitalist and developing countries.

"The planned and deliberate restriction imposed on the educational opportunities of the children of the working people" is merely one of the assessments of the results of the theory and practice of IQ testing. Supporters of intelligence testing, writes the theoretical organ of the U.S. Communist Party, gathered tremendous statistical data to prove the accuracy of their concept. Despite this, however, they proved the reverse: they proved to the entire world the class nature of education in bourgeois society (see POLITICAL AFFAIRS, No 12, December 1971).

As a special study quite recently conducted by the U.S. department of education indicated, the school system in that country is unable to provide basic knowledge to the majority of American children. Thus out of over 500,000 school students in New York--the biggest city in the United States--60% have major reading difficulties; 52% are unable to resolve even the simplest arithmetic problems.

From the very beginning when S. Bert's concept appeared, its initial psychological-pedagogical postulates were sharply criticized, not only by Western Marxist pedagogists, but by progressive bourgeois scientists as well. However, the official school authorities relied, and continue to rely on the obviously false concept consistent with the interests of the policy of the monopolies in the realm of education, openly directed toward restricting the spiritual development of the children of the working people. They continue to use, if not S. Bert's name, at least his arguments.

The experiments conducted by the end of the 1960's by the American scientist A. Jensen were structured on such "theoretical" foundations. However, whereas S. Bert used psychological data, A. Jensen turned to another

science--genetics. Again on the basis of mountains of statistical data based on IQ testing, he claims that the ability to engage in mental activities is programmed in the genes and is controlled by the genes, and that it is precisely the genes that account for 80% of the mental development of a person and that only 20% is related to the influence of social and environmental factors. Hence the familiar conclusion that there are two types of intellect, genetically determined: one noted by the ability to engage in simple learning, memorizing and repeating; the other has the ability to think creatively. A. Jensen concludes that the former is inherent in the "inferior" races and toiling classes, whereas the latter is found among the middle and higher social strata.

Thus, by hook or by crook, the inherent mental insufficiency of the working people, the poor and the colored is being "proved."

What about a person's morality, his moral qualities and ethical characteristics? Here again the same "logic": They too are inherited.

The notorious B. F. Skinner, Harvard University professor, who formulated the theories of the failure of human freedom and dignity and moral responsibility of the individual, helped bourgeois pedagogy to "deal" with the problems of moral upbringing. Relying on S. Bert's and A. Jensen's arguments and, once again, on extensive statistical data based on IQ test results, Skinner manipulated the idea of the "genetic coding" of the individual as a fully "proven" science and takes it farther. According to Skinner not only the mental qualities of the individual, but moral features are inherited as well. For this reason, allegedly, contemporary science is "forced" to interfere in the human mind and to "rectify" it, or in general to protect society from morally inferior people. Skinner described his theory as "behavioral modification." What means does it recommend? Chemicals, narcotics, brain surgery, electric shock and hypnosis. According to this so-called scientist these are the means suggested for "improving" the behavior of individuals conflicting with bourgeois society.

These are not merely speculations: such morally faulty pseudoscientific concepts are energetically taken up by those whom they suit. Those who oppose by all means the introduction in a number of states of the so-called compensatory education, whose purpose was to help the children of the most needy social strata to enter grammar school, based themselves precisely on A. Jensen's research. It was precisely the ruling elite that adopted B. F. Skinner's ideas and, with the approval of the Nixon cabinet, "generously" spent millions of dollars on plans for "behavioral modification." According to 1973 data about 300,000 school students were especially treated with ritalin--a drug whose pathological physiological action has been proven medically. Such experiments are continuing. If, as Skinner and like-minded people claim, there are 2.5 million children in the United States who should be "raised" by this method, one could easily imagine the bigoted role played by such scientists. Marx pedagogists have justifiably described this mass "pedagogical" measure as "hidden, concealed fascism" (POLITICAL AFFAIRS, No 1, January 1974; No 5, May 1974).

The flood of figures, documents and facts which were particularly emphasized in the world press last year, the Year of the Child, contained striking data on harming the rights of millions of minors in the capitalist countries--the children of working people and national minorities--and, above all, the violation of their basic right to education.

In some areas of the globe, 9 out of 10 children grow up illiterate. In over 40 countries in Africa, Asia and Oceania primary education is not mandatory. In Latin America 33 million children out of 73 million aged 5 to 14 are unable to go to school at all; in Brazil alone 5 million children are not going to school. However, even in such highly developed capitalist countries as the United States there are 2.4 million children not going to school; 7 million have reading disabilities and 22% of all Americans over 17 are totally illiterate.

Depriving the growing generation of the opportunity to acquire a systematic education and to be actively exposed to the achievements of civilization (there are 100 million children on earth not going to school), capitalism, nevertheless, continues to exploit them. According to the International Labor Organization, in violation of the International Convention Banning Child Labor, today over 55 million children under 15 are being mercilessly exploited at industrial enterprises, earning pitiful wages or no wages at all. And all this is happening in a civilized age, when mankind has reached outer space, conquered atomic energy and acquired immeasurable material and spiritual riches!

In the final account, the children are the real future and the meaning of all constructive activity. Fighting for a better future, creating, building and improving social relations, defending superior spiritual values, preserving historical and cultural monuments, and optimizing our interaction with nature and defending the world from the threat of an atomic war, it is above all of them that we think.

At the same time, we are not indifferent also to what they will become in the future we are building today. It is not astounding that the problem of the child and of the molding, educating and raising of the growing generation find themselves today in the center of the ideological struggle and of the attention of all fighters for true human rights, peace, democracy and socialism. The Marxist pedagogists in the capitalist countries are struggling systematically and uncompromisingly for the democratization of public education and against the anti-humane and anti-people's bourgeois pedagogical concepts. Such activities are closely linked with the solution of grave political, social, economic and scientific problems, and are an inseparable and important part of the struggle for socialism.

Over the past 150 years, starting with the first organized mass political labor movement--Chartism--demands for proper education of the working people were raised to the level of political tasks and, subsequently, always considered an organic and indivisible part of the revolutionary

struggle of the proletariat. Yielding to such demands and taking into consideration objective economic requirements, the bourgeoisie was forced to raise the level of the "yardstick" of education itself, described in his time by F. Engels as follows: "If the bourgeoisie is concerned with the existence of the workers only because it needs this, there is nothing amazing in the fact that it would give them an education only to the extent to which this is consistent with its interests" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 2, p 343). The capitalist class was forced to raise this level to meet the requirements of social and scientific and technical progress.

Presently the most important concession to the struggle waged by the working people in the capitalist countries has become the extended period of primary education and the easier access to secondary education. However, to this day its "yardstick" remains limited, not to mention the fact that, as before, schools are out of reach for millions of deprived children. That is why the program documents of the communist parties in the capitalist countries always include a special section on education as an inviolable human right.

The communists in Western countries have frequently confirmed at their party congresses such an uncompromising position on the matter. "The German Communist Party," we read in the program adopted at the Mannheim congress of the German Communist Party (October 1978), "is guided by the principle according to which all citizens have the right to comprehensive education and to access to the achievements of science and the products of humanistic culture" ("Mannheimer Parteitag. Programm der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei" [Mannheim Party Congress. Program of the German Communist Party], Berlin, 1979, p 55).

In the theses of their 15th congress (March 1979), the Italian Communists consider the struggle for adequate schooling part of the struggle for the ideological and cultural hegemony of the proletariat, and as an "important factor in the liberation, development and insuring the equality of people" ("Progetto di tesi per il XV Congresso Nazionale del PCI" [Draft Theses for the 15th National Congress of the Italian Communist Party], Rome, 1969, Thesis 63, p 9).

Today's conditions in education, emphasized E. Berlinguer at the congress, are among the most dramatic proofs of the inability of the old ruling classes to cope with the crisis in this area.

Today's crisis, stated G. Marchais, in his report to the 23d CPF Congress (May 1979) affects not only the economy but all realms of social life, working conditions, distribution of commodities, the educational system, ideology and morality.

The world crisis caused by the historical transition from capitalism to socialism, G. Hall emphasizes, inevitably leads to the aggravation of

contradictions within the United States between the escalation of military expenditures and meeting the domestic needs of the country, including those of education. This conclusion is also contained in the resolution passed at the 22d congress of the U.S. Communist Party (August 1979).

Summed up, the basic characteristics of the crisis experienced by the bourgeois general education school, as pointed out by the communists, are the following: A great lagging of the school behind the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and industrial production, and behind changes in the structure of the population's professional training; a clear drop in the number of graduates of one or another school compared with new enrollment; an educational level inconsistent with the contemporary level of scientific knowledge and social practice; depriving students in economically backward and rural areas and school students in schools for national minorities of the opportunity to acquire a proper education; a narrowing of the general educational range of school instruction and intensifying the utilitarian nature of vocational training; worsening material facilities of schools, shortage of skilled education cadres, paralleled by the practice of "purging" educators for political reasons, blocking progressive element from the teaching profession, and increased teachers' unemployment.

All this goes into a general social result: the mass waste of the talents of the new generations and loss of human potential. As was justifiably pointed out in the CPF journal LES CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME, in no case should the problem of education be considered a separate area for specialists only; education is closely related to the economic, political and other realms of social life (see No 9, September 1971). According to French Marxist educators, over the past 20 years the 15 different education ministers have, as a rule, marked their activities with ever new reforms clearly showing the trend of attacking the democratic principles of mandatory, free, lay education, gained in the course of a lengthy struggle (see L'ECOLE ET LA NATION, No 264, October 1986; No 269, March 1977; LES CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME, No 5, May 1975). These reforms and, particularly, the reforms of the 1970's, confirm, in their view, again and again the scientific accuracy of K. Marx' concept that the objective need stably to raise the level of general education of the workers with the development of production forces conflicts with the class interest of the bourgeoisie. The Marxist emphasize that the harm to education done within the contemporary bourgeois society leads not only to a reduction of the economic potential, which the official authorities themselves are forced to acknowledge, but, above all, the degradation of the individual. "Segregation in education," writes French Marxist scientist P. Juquin, "is directed, above all, at depriving the children of workers and peasants of real education and adding them to the ranks of the unemployed" (L'ECOLE ET LA NATION, No 208, April 1972, p 12).

Therefore, since the focal point of the political struggle waged by the international communist and workers' movement today, as throughout its

entire history, has been the struggle for man, for his proper status, his rights and the orientation of social progress exclusively toward man as the purpose of all social development, the problems of the theory and practice of education and training the young generation remain the subject of the closest possible attention. What does this mean, above all? The formulation of basic program requirements for the school system; critical analysis of bourgeois policy in the realm of education and of bourgeois pedagogical concepts; practical activities for the communist upbringing of children and young people; study and dissemination of the progressive experience of schools and education in the Soviet state and the other members of the socialist comity. Relying on the factual historical gains of Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice is a guarantee for further successes in this field. As was justifiably noted, for example, in the "Proposals of the French Communist Party for a Democratic Reform in Education," the continuity of activities requires increased efforts at each new stage.

Today, when the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism has become sharply aggravated, the further elaboration of theoretical pedagogical problems based on Marxist-Leninist methodology has become particularly significant. The communist parties are setting up their own scientific centers for the thorough study of this subject.

Marxist pedagogical journals are being published, such as L'ECOLE ET LA NATION, in France, RIFORMA DELLA SCUOLA in Italy and EDUCATION TODAY AND TOMORROW in England. They carry materials of conferences colloquiums and discussions organized by communists for the broad teaching strata, parents and the public. Ever greater attention is being paid to the theoretical problems of the science of education in the communist party journals POLITICAL AFFAIRS (United States), MARXISTISCHE BLETTER (FRG), RINASCITA (Italy), COMMENT and MARXISM TODAY (Britain) and the newspapers MORNING STAR, DAILY WORKER, UNSERE ZEIT, and many others; they regularly discuss theoretical and practical problems of communist activities in the field of education. Educational problems are assuming an ever greater role in the lecturing and propaganda work of the communist parties. Thus the New York Center for Marxist Education and similar institutions of other communist parties, attended by workers, teachers and students, sponsor extensive debates in the course of which bourgeois pedagogical concepts are critically analyzed. The programmatic demands of the communists for the democratization of public education are explained and the fatal results of the application of bourgeois pedagogical ideas in school practices are analyzed.

The increased attention paid to pedagogical problems is also confirmed by important and thorough monographs written by Marxist scientists such as P. Juquin and G. Snyders (France), B. Simon (Britain), M. Manacorda, D. Jovine and A. Bini (Italy), H. Aptheker and C. Lightfoot (United States), and many others.¹ The number of such works is growing. The Italian Communist Party publishing house Editori Riuniti alone has published in the past few years about 60 monographs on problems of

education and upbringing in the special series Paeda (including translations of the works of Soviet scientists A. S. Makarenko, L. S. Vygotskiy, A. N. Leont'yev, A. R. Luriya, and others).

Such greater attention paid to the theoretical problems of upbringing and education is not accidental. It is closely linked with the urgent tasks of today's class struggle waged by the working people of all countries. This interest becomes ever greater the more refined bourgeois methodology becomes, while the pedagogy it nurtures (based on idealistic and metaphysical methodology) operates in more concealed, one could say "scientifically" camouflaged forms, pharisaically claiming that, allegedly, its objective is to offer every person an "equal opportunity" of development and education. It is precisely such "equal opportunity" that is loudly proclaimed in the pedagogical works of S. Bert, B. F. Skinner, A. Jensen and others. In this connection the basic theoretical problems related to the subject of pedagogy and the individual as the object of education and the objectives and tasks of his training, become particularly important.

The proper formulation and accurate solution of these problems can be accomplished only on the basis of dialectical-materialistic methodology, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature of social phenomena, of the nature of man himself, above all. Closely linking them with the practice of school training, the Marxist pedagogists aim not only at showing and exposing the faults of the anti-people's and anti-scientific school practice of reactionary monopoly circles, but above all to provide a scientific substantiation to the program of democratization of the public education system.

Let us note that today the bourgeois theoreticians have no clear definition of the subject of pedagogy as a science. This is no accident. They are trying to reduce the basic function of pedagogy the molding of the "partial" individual. Thus the supporters of the psychological line in pedagogy emphasize the development of only individual mental characteristics and qualities; the supporters of the sociological line in pedagogy reduce all its problems to personality relations, and so on. The Marxists expose such means of breaking the subject of pedagogy into individual problems and oppose their inadmissible exaggeration (see L'ECOLE ET LA NATION, No 227, June 1973; No 240, June 1974; G. Snyders, "Pedagogie Progressiste" [Progressive Pedagogy], Paris, 1975; F. Seclet-Rioux, "Henri Vallon--Scientist, Fighter, Man," SOVETSKAYA PEDAGOGIKA, No 8, 1960). The main fault of bourgeois pedagogy is that it focuses its attention mainly on individual differences among people based on a clearly false understanding of the nature of such differences, and deliberately ignoring problems of social inequality in the capitalist society.

Each individual science, writes French Marxist philosopher L. Seve, must determine the nature of its subject. To do this, however, it must be equipped with a truly scientific, a Marxist methodology of knowledge. The claim made by bourgeois philosophy of being able to substitute for any

specific science proves to be groundless. Approaching the subject of pedagogy from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism, the Marxists showed its factual organic links with the subjects of other sciences, related to one or another extent to individual aspects of human nature. At the same time, pedagogy concentrates within itself the knowledge of man with a view to formulating the content and ways and means of educational influences on man. The subject of pedagogy must be considered in its entirety, within the context of, above all, social, economic and political problems and their dialectical interconnection.

The Marxists-Leninists emphasize that the subject of pedagogy is the all-round and harmonious molding of the individual. For this reason they substantiate the need for the type of educational process in the course of which the new generations not only acquire the knowledge accumulated by mankind, but the ability to engage in practical transforming activities and in social and cultural creativity, along with developing themselves within the unity and variety of their essential qualities on the basis of the absorption of richest of culture, and the mastering of historical experience and, above all, the experience of the class struggle. Such precisely are the specifics of the pedagogical ideas of Marxism as distinct from bourgeois pedagogy. It is precisely this that runs throughout the works of Marxist scientists in Britain, France, Italy, the United States and other developed Western countries. They convincingly prove that the purpose of Marxist pedagogy is to make a contribution to social progress and to bring closer a truly humanistic future. The bourgeois purpose is to retain the obsolete.

The communist pedagogs counter contemporary bourgeois pedagogy with its pessimism, lack of faith in the possibility for the comprehensive development of every person, becoming ever more refined in its aspiration to mold a "partial" individual, the Marxist-Leninist theory of education as the only one which gives pedagogy a scientific development possibility. We are faced, writes British Marxist pedagog B. Simon, with a number of serious and unresolved problems. However, "there is no single pedagogical problem, big or small, which we, Marxists, equipped with a scientific methodology, would be unable to resolve." He cites as the most topical problem a definition of the content of education. In this connection the Marxist pedagogs turn to V. I. Lenin's works. "Guided by them," B. Simon says, "we must see to it that the working people's children would acquire, even under the conditions of a bourgeois school, an amount of knowledge in the sense bequeathed to us by the leader of the world proletariat; the approach left by Lenin will enable us to train not only knowledgeable generations, but generations capable of acting and struggling" (MARXISM TODAY, June 1976, pp 175-176).

L. Seve expresses himself in similar terms: "To this day we are following V. I. Lenin's idea proclaimed at the Third Congress of the Russian Communist Youth League, to the effect that it is only on the basis of mastering the knowledge acquired by mankind that we could shape generations of new

people who could create a society in which every person will be offered truly real conditions for his all-round and harmonious development" (L'ECOLE ET LA NATION, No 207, March 1972, pp 42-43).

Therefore, the problem of shaping the individual, located at the crossing point of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, psychology and sociology, is pivotal in a number of general theoretical problems of scientific pedagogy. It is its proper solution that determines, above all, the practices of upbringing and education. The works of R. Leroi, L. Seve, P. Juquin, G. Sim, G. Crique and P. Boutan (France), M. Manacorda, D. Jovine and A. Granese (Italy) and B. Simon, J. Freiser, T. Sade, B. Wolverson (Britain) and others provide a convincing study of the factors of the formation of the individual and the characteristics of his socialization. They describe the psychological mechanisms of his development and the specific requirements governing his upbringing under contemporary conditions. This aggravates the discussion on the correlation among environment, heredity and upbringing in the process of the shaping of the individual.

The Marxist pedagogs describe the 1970's as the epoch of the "restoration" of the essentially biological concept of innate mental gifts which do not change in the course of the education process, when reactionary scientists such as A. Jensen and others formulated new "arguments" supporting the allegedly fatal genetic "code" of the development of the talents of children belonging to the lower social strata. In Henry Winston's metaphorical expression, A. Jensen "catapults the racist myth of the 'inferiority' of the blacks out of the past and directly into the center of contemporary pedagogical theories." H. Winston stresses that it is on the basis of the fabrications of A. Jensen and his minions that racist concepts are being developed of the "inferiority" of black students and "the necessity" is substantiated to expel them from universities and restrict their educational possibilities within the limits of general educational schools, and engage in selectivity based on IQ test results (see POLITICAL AFFAIRS, No 12, December 1973, p 16).

The problem of the factors governing the education and development of the individual is becoming one of the most topical also because it is related to the theoretical substantiation of the latest school reforms and is most directly expressed in school practices.

B. Simon proves the way bourgeois science is tendentially using data borrowed from genetics, neural physiology and psychology with the sole purpose of restoring biology-leaning concepts refuted by Marxist science. It is entirely clear that in order for the human body to operate normally, a certain minimum of "gene equipment" is necessary. Yet, for example, what does A. Jensen do? Taking up the data of medical genetics, he transfers the chain of logical views to another level--the social one--and, pointing out the familiar cases of pathological influence of biological heredity on the physiological system, abstracting himself from the "gene-characteristic" formula, he places his conclusions in the supra-biological area where

one should mention nothing but the social heritage. Strictly speaking, the premises do not agree with the consequences.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS, the journal of the U.S. communists draws attention to the fact that the geneticists themselves do not in the least claim that genes could be of a "higher" or "lower" quality, or that a group of genes could be the "carriers" of abstract concepts, or factors in the types of "intellect" or class affiliation of a person, or of the level of person's mental and moral development.

Incidentally, the West German author A. Hirsch draws attention to the fact that A. Jensen's views lack a clear definition of intellect, which actually A. Jensen himself is forced to acknowledge. The question is, what kind of "intelligence coefficient" (high or low) could there be a question of, in this case, when the basic concept remains unclarified? What, strictly speaking, is genetically inherited and what remains unchanged (and what, in such cases, is "measured" with the tests)? The groundlessness of the starting postulate, according to A. Hirsch, determines the pseudoscientific nature of A. Jensen's pedagogical conclusions, particularly those dealing with the individualization of education. On the surface, A. Hirsch writes, statements on the need to individualize education would appear entirely acceptable. The Marxist pedagogues do not object to the individual approach, considering that the reasons for personality (i.e., social) differences among individuals to be found only in the characteristics of the molding cultural environment, and the infinite multiplicity of factors which would be quite difficult to take into consideration, therefore requiring the need for a delicate pedagogical approach. However, according to A. Jensen such individualization should be consistent with "genetically programmed capabilities." This clarifies his logic directed against the equal education of all children, against the children of the working people (see DEMOKRATISCHE ERZIEHUNG, No 5, 1976).

Pointing out the socially dangerous consequences of the conclusions drawn by A. Jensen and like-minded people, B. Simon emphasizes that their theory and practice support and strengthen each other with a view to preserving a segregated and selective educational system, a system whose purpose it is to serve the bourgeois society; a system offering opportunities and advantages only to an elitist minority, while keeping, at the same time, the majority of children at lower educational levels (see B. Simon, "Intelligence, Psychology and Education," London, 1971).

The Marxist-Leninists exposed the faultiness of the ideas of bourgeois theoreticians who are persistently trying to reduce the contradictions of the socioeconomic system to personality contradictions, trying to prove, furthermore, that they depend on inborn (referred to, in the past, as God-given and now as coming from the genes) characteristics inherent in the individual himself, along with features which are allegedly genetically inherited, innate and therefore fatal. The set of arguments used by the Marxist educators, refined over decades, is improving its critical methods

It is emphasized, in particular, that the very formulation of the question: biological or social (understood metaphysically), i.e., the handling of two conflicting factors which in reality are most closely interlinked, is the basic methodological fault. As pointed out by B. Simon, T. Sade and G. Sim and others, the very formulation is unscientific, for it tries to depict man as a massive product either of heredity or of environment (MARXISM TODAY, No 1, January 1973; L'ÉPOLE ET LA NATION, No 226, May 1973; No 227, June 1973).

Yet, as Marxism has irrefutably proved, the biological is dialectically combined with the social in the course of the active acquisition by the individual of historically acquired culture. The existence of a physiologically normal brain is one of the material prerequisites for the personality, but not the personality itself. The process of the appearance of a personality is a process of transformation of a biologically given material by the factors of social reality. In the course of this process Marxism considers specific and active labor activity a decisive link.

True, bourgeois pedagogy and psychology have also begun to pay, of late, very close attention to the problem of human active efforts. Suffice it to mention the thorough works by the Swiss psychologist G. Piaget or, for instance, the supporters of Italian "activism" (F. Bartolomeis, A. Visalbergi and others).

G. Piaget is, unquestionably, a major modern scientist who has had a noticeable influence on educational thinking in many parts of the world. Noting his influence, G. Snyders, the French Marxist pedagogist, agrees with him in his critique of traditional pedagogy for converting education into animal training and the study-education process into a mechanical repetition of easy to absorb truths. According to G. Piaget true pedagogy is one whose objective is to shape the activities of children. G. Snyders, however, emphasizes that Piaget does not provide a satisfactory answer to the question of how to mold such activities, and what role does the creativity of the children play, for his theory blocks the solution of most important pedagogical problems with the idea of the "spontaneity" of the intellect, which is convenient and salvatory to the bourgeoisie. Educators such as J. Freiser, B. Wolverson (Britain), A. Bassi, V. Curlotto and M. Valli (Italy), and others subject to a critical analysis G. Piaget's attempts to limit the tasks of pedagogy to the shaping of "intra-individual activity." The more important G. Piaget is in the field of modern psychology, concludes G. Snyders, "the deeper becomes our disappointment when we observe his attempts to enter the field of education." He reduces the tasks of pedagogy and dilutes its subject in individual psychological problems, whereas this science has its own topic of research and its own set of problems (see G. Snyders, "Pedagogie Progressiste," Paris, 1975, pp 231-233).

As has also been pointed out by Soviet scientists A. N. Leont'yev, P. Ya. Gal'perin and others, G. Piaget's position indeed leads to the fact

that education must adapt itself to the "existing possibilities" of the child, that the child's development is "immanent" and that, in the process of his interrelationship with the environment, "a coordination must develop" between the possibilities of the child and the level of the knowledge presented to it. Should disharmony develop in the course of this process, it must be eliminated, allegedly, thanks to the activity of the child itself. As we may see, G. Piaget's assessment is fully shared by Marxists in France, Britain and Italy, and by Soviet scientists. Both reject the shaping of the child as a process of "development" of its spontaneous activities.

Marxist educators counter this and similar concepts by offering an essentially different solution, emphasizing that the involvement of the child in specific activities is the basis of the processes governing the shaping of the personality (see G. Snyders, "Pedagogie Progressiste"; RIFORMA DELLA SCUOLA, No 8/9, 1976; EDUCATION TODAY AND TOMORROW, No 3, Spring 1975).

The Marxist view of the nature of man as being a totality of social relations is the most important methodological postulate of Marxist scientists in resolving all specific problems of educational theory and in defining the strategy and tactics of education.

The scientific elaboration of these theoretical problems offers a reliable foundation for the formulation of communist requirements toward the public education system in the capitalist countries, with a view to its democratization. The communist parties formulate the following principles contained in their programmatic documents: A unified lay mandatory school which would insure for all children the right to good-quality education; continuity of education at all levels; unity of educational objectives, functions and structures; high scientific level of education; opportunity to apply when at work knowledge acquired at school.

The fact that the essential Marxist positions on the basic directions to be followed in scientific and practical activities in the field of education are shared does not exclude different approaches to one or another problem. Naturally, the specific conditions and traditions of the individual countries influence specific research and pedagogical work. Furthermore, the socioeconomic conditions of the developed capitalist countries are similar in their general aspect and it is natural that, creatively applying revolutionary theory in resolving educational problems, the Marxists would invariably reach similar conclusions.

In the course of their systematic and principled struggle for the right of man to good-quality education, the Marxist educators of these countries rely on the experience of pedagogical science and practice in the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity. They regularly inform their readers of the successes achieved by these countries in improving and developing schools of a new type, compulsory for all children, general educational, laic, free, in the native language, based on the achievements of science and culture, and closely linked with life.

For example, the Western Marxist press is extensively popularizing the works of N. P. Dubinin, A. N. Leont'yev and other Soviet scientists with a view to providing a true interpretation of the achievements of the natural and social sciences, and in finding fruitful ways and means for the full development of man (see L'ECOLE AT LA NATION, No 223, April 1973; No 269, March 1977). The article by G. Reichel "How Aleksandr, Sergey and Yuriy Were Taught to See the World" triggered a number of letters and readers' questions addressed to UNSERE ZEIT. In that article the author described a unique Soviet experiment conducted by the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences on the upbringing and training of blind, deaf and mute. This experiment, as the editors pointed out, convincingly proved, yet once again, that talent is not a genetically coded quality of the individual, but must be formed and guided (see UNSERE ZEIT, 15 July 1977).

Through the efforts of the Marxist educators the works of Soviet scientists are being translated and published, of pedagogs and psychologists such as A. S. Makarenko, L. S. Vygotskiy, V. A. Sukhomlinskiy, V. V. Davydov, A. R. Luria, L. V. Zankov and many others.

This is understandable, for the 60-years experience acquired by the Soviet schools and over 30 years of experience of the schools of the other socialist countries proves that a school organized according to the basic stipulations of Marxist pedagogy is consistent with the progressive expectations of mankind. For the first time in history the educational system is guided by the need for unity among mental, moral, labor and physical education.

One hundred and ten years ago, addressing a meeting of the General Council of the First International, Marx said: "On the one hand, the organization of a proper educational system requires a change of social conditions; on the other, a proper educational system is needed in order to change social conditions . . ." (Marx and Engels, "Soch.," Vol 16, p 595). Marxist educator Alsira Legaspi de Arismendi, a Uruguayan public figure, quoting this citation in her book "Pedagogy and Marxism" added that, "Having become somewhat familiar with the educational system in the Soviet Union, I became convinced of the accuracy of these words."

A great number of good things were said about our country and the other members of the socialist comity at international forums held on the occasion of the Year of the Child. Speaking in Moscow, Frieda Braun, the noted public figure and international Lenin Prize winner, emphasized that, "I am absolutely certain not only that the Soviet Union is giving the children the best it has, but that the entire system of formal and informal education in that country is aimed at promoting love of peace and true humanism."

The achievements of the socialist countries in the field of the education and upbringing of the young generation have made made unquestionable the fact that the experience of socialist pedagogy is of international significance.

Under the conditions of the progress of the revolutionary process in which, as Lenin predicted, new generations and social strata and ever broader toiling masses are becoming actively involved, the theoretical and practical activities of the communist parties in the fields of education and upbringing become particularly important. The comprehensive activities of the communists in this area confirm the accuracy of the basic stipulations of the Marxist theory of education in terms of the complex conditions of our time as well, convincingly proving that the communists are loyally serving the lofty ideals of mankind. In the final account, their struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, and for giving every person true right to comprehensive and harmonious development is a struggle for each child for the right to the full development of all his forces and capabilities and richness of personality, and for social progress.

FOOTNOTE

1. P. Juquin (editor) "Reconstruire L'Ecole" [Rebuilding the School], Paris, 1976; G. Snyders, "Pedagogie Progressiste" [Progressive Pedagogy], Paris, 1975; M. Manacorda, "Il marxismo e l'educazione. Testi e documenti (1843-1966)" [Marxism and Education. Proofs and Documents (1843-1966)], Vols 1-3, Rome, 1964-1966; D. Jovine, "Storia della didattica" [History of Pedagogy], Vols 1-3, Rome, 1976; B. Simon, "Intelligence, Psychology and Education. A Marxist Critique," London, 1971; C. Lightfoot, "The Effect of Education on Racism. The Two German States and the USA," New York, 1972, etc.

5003

CSO: 1802

HALF A CENTURY OF VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 95-105

[Theses on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding, on 3 February, of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The theses were published in NHAN DAN, newspaper of the CPV Central Committee, have been somewhat abridged]

[Text] Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam the Vietnamese revolution is 50 years old. Tirelessly following the course charted by the party, the Vietnamese people won a number of great victories. Following the three revolutionary actions (1930-1931, 1936-1939 and 1940-1945), the people of Vietnam successfully made the August 1945 revolution. For 30 years they successfully fought French colonizers and American imperialists. They liberated and reunited the country, led it to the path of the building of socialism and helped to liberate the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea.

They defeated the Chinese reactionaries who mounted an aggressive war against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and helped to overthrow the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, which was pursuing a policy of genocide.

The great victories won by the Vietnamese people over the past 50 years are inseparably linked with the activities of the CPV.

The Great Stages of the Revolution

In the middle of the 19th century, in the epoch of the breakdown of feudalism, French imperialism conquered and enslaved Vietnam. Several generations rebelled against colonial oppression. All of them were defeated, for they followed a path inconsistent with the evolution of human society in the new age.

The great victory of the October Revolution in Russia marked the beginning of a new age in the history of mankind. At the same time, it indicated to the Vietnamese people the way to national and social liberation. Nguyen Ai Quoc (the future president Ho Chi Minh), the first Vietnamese communist,

disseminated Marxism-Leninism in the country. The combination of Marxism-Leninism with the workers' and patriotic movements in Vietnam laid a qualitatively new foundation which led to the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

From the very beginning, Nguyen Ai Quoc said: "There is no way leading to the salvation of the homeland and the liberation of the nation other than the way of the proletarian revolution." The founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam and leader of the Vietnamese revolution accurately resolved the key problem of the national-liberation revolution in the new period, consisting of the need to closely link the national liberation with the world proletarian revolution.

1. The birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam, founded, led and trained by President Ho Chi Minh, represented a radical turn in the history of the Vietnamese revolution.

The basic strategic and tactical problems of the Vietnamese revolution were properly resolved in the "Political Theses," i.e., the draft political program of 1930, formulated immediately following the founding of the CPV. They pointed out that the Vietnamese revolution must undergo two stages: the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the stage of the socialist revolution.

Asserting the leading role of the working class, the "Political Theses" emphasized that the union between workers and peasants is the nucleus of the revolutionary forces. They properly resolved the problem of relations between the working class and the entire people, of the relationship between the struggle against feudalism and the struggle against imperialism, the relationship between patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and so on.

Having entered the right way, the revolutionary movement spread in towns and villages like a typhoon.

2. The revolutionary actions of 1930-1931, culminated in the creation of soviets in [Nghe Tinh] proved that, led by the communist party, the Vietnamese revolution had turned to the offensive.

3. The period of the Democratic Front of 1936-1939 represented a new upsurge in the revolutionary movement of Vietnam and a specific stage of party maturity.

Subsequently, in World War II, the party founded the Vietminh Front. The tremendous successes achieved by the party and the period of the Democratic Front prepared new forces and conditions for extensive actions for the salvation of the homeland in 1940-1945.

The actions of 1930-1931 were the first and those of 1936-1939 the second dress rehearsal, which led to the August revolution.

4. The victory of the August revolution was a glorious page in the history of the Vietnamese people.

The August revolution marked a big turn in Vietnamese history. It laid the beginning of a new age, the age of independence, freedom and socialism. Following the victory of the August revolution, the Vietnamese people became free and, from clandestine, the Communist Party of Vietnam became a ruling party. From a colonial and semifeudal country Vietnam became the first independent democratic people's state in Southeast Asia. The valuable experience of the August revolution was developed further during the resistance movement against the French colonizers and, later, the American imperialists.

5. The great victory Dien Bien Phu, in 1954, which completed the exceptionally difficult and courageous nine-year period of resistance by the Vietnamese people and their armed forces against the French colonizers supported by the American imperialists, eliminated forever colonial rule in Vietnam and marked the beginning of a period of breakdown of colonialism on a global scale.

6. Thanks to the great victory in the spring of 1975, the Vietnamese people destroyed imperialism in the nation of Vietnam forever, made its homeland independent and united, and took the entire country on the way to socialism.

This victory proved even more clearly the great truth of our age: since socialism has become a global system, while the imperialist system has sunk deeply into a state of general crisis and decay, the peoples, pursuing a revolutionary line and using proper revolutionary methods, and marching under the two banners of national independence and socialism, rallying all patriotic and progressive forces around the revolutionary political party of the working class, closely allied with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the workers' and democratic movements, the national-liberation movement and the progressive peoples the world over, will be able to successfully to wage the struggle for national liberation and follow the way to socialism.

7. The Fourth CPV Congress marked a new stage in the development of the Vietnamese revolution. It was a congress of total victory in the struggle for national liberation and the entry of the entire country on the path to socialism. The congress analyzed the experience of the people's democratic revolution in Vietnam, ratified the first achievements in the building of socialism in the north and formulated the line and objective of the socialist revolution in Vietnam.

The victory of the resistance movement of the Vietnamese people to American imperialism and the birth of a united independent and socialist Vietnam also represent an important victory for the members of the socialist comity and the people the world over fighting for peace, national independence,

democracy and social progress. These represented severe defeats inflicted on the imperialist forces and international reaction, particularly to the reactionaries within the Chinese leadership.

All the old and new enemies hastily united in an attempt to belittle the significance of the victory of the Vietnamese people and in their desire to surround and isolate Vietnam, hoping to weaken and seize it. The Chinese reactionaries, closely conspiring with imperialism, openly asserted their treachery: they tried to annex Vietnam and the Indochinese Peninsula in order, subsequently, to conquer other countries in Southeast Asia. Once again the Vietnamese people had to accept the new challenge: it was forced to fight China's great-power expansionism and its allies--imperialism and other reactionary forces.

The Beijing reactionaries chose for their aggression precisely the time when the Vietnamese people had not as yet recovered from the consequences of 30 years of war and a number of natural disasters. They used their agents Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to pursue a policy of genocide in Kampuchea and of criminal war on the southwestern border of Vietnam. They incited the huaqiao to organize trouble, stopped their aid to Vietnam, undermined its economy and then committed 600,000 troops, launching an aggression on the northern border and using all possible treacherous methods to isolate Vietnam and to lower its prestige in the international arena.

The Vietnamese people and their armed forces wrecked their criminal plans: they won both wars started by the Chinese reactionary authorities, asserted the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their homeland, fulfilled their international duty to the Laotian and Kampuchean revolutions, made an active contribution to the defense and to strengthening the influence of socialism, energized the movement for national independence and the consolidation of the peace in Southeast Asia, and contributed to the unification of the world revolutionary movement.

8. Since the Fourth CPV Congress of four years ago, the Vietnamese people achieved great successes in the building of socialism.

Following the gaining of total independence and the reunification of the country, the Vietnamese people could have dedicated all their forces to peaceful toil, national renaissance, elimination of the consequences of the war, restoration and development of the economy, the development of culture and the gradual improvement of living conditions.

However, they had to experience many new difficulties and trials. Even though the material and technical base of the economy remained weak and backward, even though the country had been bled white by decades of war and had severely suffered from the consequences of neocolonialism and of a number of natural disasters, it was forced to repel the pressure from the Beijing reactionaries, who, conspiring with imperialism and the other hostile forces, are constantly trying to weaken Vietnam ever further and to annex it.

Nevertheless, the Vietnamese people achieved successes in healing the wounds of the war, in fighting natural disasters, restoring and developing production, meeting its vital needs, accelerating socialist reorganization of the south, strengthening new production relations in the north, gradually undertaking the building of the material and technical foundations for socialism, the upsurge of education, culture, science and medical services, and the development of forces of national defense and security, and strengthening and upgrading the political and moral unity throughout the country. They can be legitimately proud of these successes.

On the foreign political level the Vietnamese people defeated all treacherous enemy intrigues aimed at isolating Vietnam and lowering its prestige in the international arena. It strengthened its combat solidarity with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea even further. The Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed between the Soviet Union and Vietnam and the close alliance and comprehensive long-term cooperation between Vietnam and the members of the socialist camp are giving the Vietnamese people tremendous new strength. The relations between Vietnam and countries which have gained their national independence, with the nonaligned countries and the capitalist countries and the international organizations are developing steadily, while Vietnam's political and moral prestige continue to rise.

The Communist Party of Vietnam--Organizer of All Victories of the Vietnamese People

1. The great victories of the Vietnamese revolution are closely related to the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, its ruling Marxist-Leninist party founded and tempered by President Ho Chi Minh, infinitely loyal to the interests of the working class and the entire people, and to the just cause of the international working class and the freedom-loving peoples.

The most important factor which insures the role of the party as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is that the CPV is infinitely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, supporting it with all its heart and creatively applying it. The party successfully resolved numerous problems related to the development of the national democratic and the socialist revolutions.

The combination of national independence with socialism became the base of the entire line and revolutionary policy of the party. From the very beginning, this defined the entire strategic orientation and deployment of revolutionary forces: the exercise of the right of the working class to head the revolution; the creation, on the basis of the alliance between workers and peasants, of an alliance between all patriotic and progressive forces in the nation, and the alliance with the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and with all democratic and progressive forces in the world.

The implementation of this strategic line, fully consistent with Marxism-Leninism, is a mandatory prerequisite for the mobilization of all vital

forces of the nation and makes it possible to earn profound international sympathy and most extensive support.

In the course of its activities the CPV has always combined a principled nature of strategy with a flexible nature of tactics, with a view to insuring the implementation of the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people.

2. The Communist Party of Vietnam is a party of the working class of a new type, the true spokesman for the interests and expectations of the masses and of the entire people.

Immediately following its establishment, in its first political program, the party reflected the close combination of Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement and with the patriotic movement of the Vietnamese people.

3. The CPV always combines true patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

The party has defined the proper line of international solidarity and is implementing it systematically. It is benefiting from the decisive support and great and effective aid of the socialist comity and the revolutionary and progressive forces of our age.

In the interests of the revolutionary cause of the peoples the world over, the party and people of Vietnam try to fulfill their international duty in defending the alliance among revolutionary forces in Europe and, above all, among the fraternal socialist countries and communist and workers' parties, for the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism from opportunistic trends, particularly the trends of narrow-minded nationalism and great-power chauvinism.

4. The CPV is a great force, for it is closely linked with the masses.

5. The correctness of the revolutionary line and methods of activity of the Communist Party of Vietnam are based on the profound mastery of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the party of the working class of a new type and its always accurate application in the party's ideological and organizational construction.

As in its organizational work, as well as in all types of activities, the party always firmly obeys the principle of democratic centralism and all norms of party life formulated by V. I. Lenin. This is the origin of its real ideological and organizational strength.

The party is engaged in extensive educational work and is effectively struggling to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Of late it has been conducting such work in all its organizations, seeing to it that all party members are able to clearly distinguish

true Marxism from pseudo-Marxism and be able to criticize and surmount the fatal influence of Maoism.

The People of Vietnam Are Marching Toward New Successes Under the Leadership of the Communist Party

1. In the present age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale, the cause of national independence is inseparably linked with that of socialism. The building of socialism in independent and united Vietnam is the natural path consistent with objective historical laws and with the profound expectations of the Vietnamese people. "Socialism and communism alone will be able to free the oppressed peoples and the working people throughout the world from slavery." The wise ideology of President Ho Chi Minh, the great student of Marx and Lenin in our country, was expressed in the first political program of our party. The president pointed out that, "The Vietnamese revolution is a continuing revolutionary process, starting with a people's democratic revolution, under the leadership of the working class, directly turning into a socialist revolution, bypassing the capitalist stage of development."

The successful building of socialism gives our homeland independence and freedom, prosperity and development forever, assuring the working people of our country a cultural life, happiness and upsurge of creative forces. This enables them to be the masters of their society, nature and destiny.

Our age, when the socialist system has become the greatest of realities, and when, one after another, the peoples on all continents are taking the path of socialism, is providing our country with uniquely favorable objective conditions for the building of socialism and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

The Fourth CPV Congress defined the course of the socialist revolution in our country as follows:

"Firm implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; developing the rights of the working people to be a collective owner; make, on a parallel basis, three revolutions: in the field of production relations, a scientific and technical, and in the field of ideology and culture. In this case the scientific and technical revolution is the key one; accelerate socialist industrialization and consider it the main task of the entire transitional period to socialism; create a system of socialist collective economic management, large-scale socialist production, a new culture and a new socialist person; eliminate the exploitation of man by man and poverty and backwardness; steadfastly upgrade vigilance and steadily strengthen defense and protect the political security and public order; successfully build a peaceful, independent, united and socialist Vietnamese homeland; actively contribute to the struggle waged by the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The course toward a socialist revolution in our country embodies the principles and the laws of socialism combined with the economic, political, cultural and social characteristics of our country and of the international situation at the present stage. Adopting this course, the party summed up the initial experience of our country and took into consideration the rich experience provided by the socialist revolutions in the fraternal countries. Within its general line the party defined the targets, motive forces and foundations of the policy of building socialism in our country, and the content and dialectical ties among the three revolutions: in the areas of production relations, the scientific and technical, and the ideological and cultural, based on the scientific and technical revolution. It is precisely this course that is our party's program at the new revolutionary stage.

The most important problem of the building of socialism in our country is developing in the working people the feeling of a collective owner. The highest objective of the socialist society is the prosperity and happiness of all working people, reached on the basis of highly developed production and the transformation of the toiling people into the masters of their society, nature and destiny. Becoming the true collective owner, the working people will develop to the fullest extent their infinite creative possibilities for building the new system and the new economy and culture, and the raising of the new man. The feeling of collective ownership shared by the working people is both the objective and the motive force, the factor and the result of the building of socialism.

The economic base of the system by which the working people perform the role of the collective master of the country is large-scale socialist production, which contributes to the steady upgrading of social labor productivity and accumulation of material values. Having mastered the laws of transition from petty to large-scale capitalist production and the laws of the transition to socialism, as well as the economic laws of socialism, and at the same time proceeding from the basic socioeconomic characteristics of the country, the CPV has earmarked the natural way for a direct transition from petty to large-scale socialist production. The essential content of the party's economic policy is the priority efficient development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry; the combination, from the very beginning, of industrial with agricultural production; the development of a modern industrial structure; combining the building of a nationwide economy with local economies within the framework of a single national economic organism; combining production forces with production relations; insuring the reciprocal acceleration of these two factors in a common, harmonious and balanced progress; combining the economy with national defense and of national defense with the economy; full utilization of manpower resources, farmland, timber, seas and other production conditions in the country, along with the development of international specialization and division of labor.

The building of real and a developed socialist society calls for the creation of a new culture and the raising of a new, socialist man. This as

well is one of the important objectives of the socialist revolution, inseparably linked with the enumerated tasks. We must mandatorily raise a new person, the collective master of his country, harmoniously combining the private with the public and the collective, while, at the same time, seeing to it that the new culture is turned into daily reality and embodied in the actions of all members of society.

2. The socialist revolution is the most profound and most radical in history. This is a very difficult and complex process aimed at fully changing the nature of the country: the building of a new system, a new economy and a new culture, and the raising of a new socialist person. This is complex and difficult also because our country shifted directly from petty to large-scale socialist production, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, as well as because the already backward economy of our country experienced major dislocations in the course of 30 years of war. Furthermore, we had not even succeeded in healing the wounds of war when, once again, we had to counter the aggressive plans of China's reactionary rulers who entered into a conspiracy with international imperialism.

The historical mission of our party at the present stage is to guide the people and the armed forces in the successful building of socialism, the defense of the socialist homeland and the gradual improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people.

The party faces new tasks in the implementation of this great mission.

It has acquired a rich experience in the national-democratic revolution and the revolutionary war. Yet the socialist revolution is still new to it. In the socialist revolution the party heads the building of a state of proletarian dictatorship and a society in which the working people are the masters of the country, and the building of a socialist economy and socialist culture.

For this reason it must more rapidly raise its level in the fields of theory and science, including the social and natural sciences, and its ability to engage in practical activities, particularly in economic and social management. Empiricism, bureaucracy, subjectivism, authoritarianism and all manifestations of individualism, sectarianism, parochialism and egotism harm the party's combat activities.

In order to be worthy of the title of leading fighter at the new stage, every party member must gain new qualities. The resolution of the Fourth CPV Congress states that, "Our party, all cadre workers and all party members not only must raise even further their standards of morality, personal qualities and knowledge, particularly in the areas of theory and methodology, the economic laws and the laws of the class struggle, under conditions in which the party is in power, but display new capabilities in the field of the practical organization of the socialist revolution--an area in which at the present time the party suffers from a number of weaknesses."

Every party member must develop splendid party qualities and traditions, such as inflexible loyalty, pure revolutionary spirit, heroism and readiness for self-sacrifice, militancy, a creative and scientific approach to everything, organizational capabilities, discipline, a healthy way of life and simplicity. Everyone must strengthen within himself the revolutionary spirit and communist outlook and consider the fulfillment of his duty to the greatest happiness in life, surmounting within himself all manifestations of individualism, careerism and self-interest, not to oppress the masses and not to encroach upon state property or the interests of the people.

Under the conditions in which imperialism and the international reaction, the Chinese reactionaries in particular, have abandoned their aggressive plans against Vietnam and the fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea, when the armed forces and the people must increase their vigilance and be ready to defend the homeland, it is the primary duty of every party member to be the first in the defense of the fatherland, to be ready to fight and win, actively to participate in labor and socialist competition, and fulfill his international duty.

Upgrading the moral qualities of the communists and strengthening the party's combat capabilities at all levels, particularly in the primary organizations, must become a permanent work target. The revolutionary effectiveness and dynamics of the masses must be used to retain the purity and upgrade the militancy of the party ranks. The primary organization is the main combat unit, the living party cell, and unless we are concerned with its strengthening, the party would be unable to fulfill its major and difficult assignments.

Our party must always be the party of the mind, energy and high moral qualities.

3. The party must constantly preserve and strengthen its close relations with the people's masses. This is the source of its strength. It heads the state apparatus and its organizations are everywhere. This creates very favorable objective conditions for strengthening its ties with the masses.

Under socialism the working people are the masters of the country. The principle which insures the right of the people to be the collective owner is embedded in the organization of the state headed by the people. The party guides all revolutionary activities of the people. However, it cannot take the place of the masses and the state. The functions and rights of the party organizations and power organs and social organizations must be clearly defined in the respective mandatory stipulations.

The party has no objective other than serving the interests of the people. As President Ho Chi Minh taught us, the party must always be "the head and the loyal servant of the people."

4. Presently our country faces many difficulties. We are faced with the following problems related to the economy and daily life, demanding solutions: Production is developing at a slow pace; public labor productivity remains low; the management of the economy and society does not meet the requirements of the present and the new tasks. Difficulties and privations may be found in the life of the people, along with many negative social phenomena. These difficulties are the result of a number of objective reasons; their surmounting will require a relatively long period of time. One of the main reasons is backward and small-scale output, and the lack of a strong material and technical base. Furthermore, we must surmount the severe consequences of the war and of neocolonialism, and a number of natural disasters and enemy actions. A direct reason for the difficulties and, at the same time, the most serious obstacle erected on the path to the building of socialism today is the hostile policy of the reactionary circles in the Chinese leadership, who in a conspiracy with imperialism are always threatening us with war, forcing us to maintain a constant battle readiness to protect the homeland, depriving us of the possibility to focus all our efforts on economic construction and on improving the living conditions of the people.

Subjective shortcomings in the organizational and management work result in the slow surmounting of difficulties, while the positive factors are not rapidly developed. The general party line and course of economic construction are absolutely correct. However, they are still not being implemented in full in all realms and at all levels. Shortcomings and errors in economic and social management and in ideological and organizational work have had an adverse effect on the development of democracy, the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative potential of the masses. In the course of our further progress such shortcomings must and will be decisively surmounted.

Under the current circumstances, continuing to implement the basic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution as earmarked at the fourth party congress and fourth and fifth CPV Central Committee plenums, the party, the people and the armed forces must focus their efforts on the implementation of the following urgent tasks:

The most important one is the maximum mobilization and organization of the entire people and the armed forces for the intensification of agricultural production, forestry resources and fishing, in order, above all, to satisfy on a steady basis the population requirements for food and consumer goods, and to rapidly increase export opportunities.

Vital problems related to organizing the life of the population, particularly in the areas experiencing the greatest difficulties, must be resolved operatively.

Initiative and combat readiness must be steadily maintained in order to repel all attacks on the part of the aggressor, firmly guard the fatherland and strengthen political safety and public order.

Organize among the people's masses an extensive revolutionary movement for steady production intensification and for upgrading the people's standard. Encourage positive factors and firmly surmount adverse social phenomena.

5. The Beijing expansionists and hegemonists are planning another military adventure against Vietnam. They are maintaining a steady military pressure on our country. They try to slander it and do everything possible to weaken and destroy our homeland. That is why the building of socialism must take place along with the defense of the socialist fatherland. More than ever before, the entire party, the entire armed forces, the entire people must comprehensively enhance their spirit of patriotism, dedication to socialism and loyalty to heroic revolutionary traditions. They must consolidate their gains, boldly surmount difficulties, firmly struggle against shortcomings, achieve an upturn in the economic position and material living standards of the people and advance the building of socialism and, at the same time, steadily upgrade their vigilance, comprehensively strengthen national defense and political security and public order and combat readiness for the defense of the fatherland.

6. We have never had more favorable domestic and foreign conditions than at the present. Our revolution is based on the power of the heroic, invincible, talented and creative people--the collective masters of their socialist homeland--and on the correct and creative line pursued by a courageous and experienced party in a united, independent country, following the path of socialism, on a strong labor force, on very rich natural resources and on the strength and solidarity among the three fraternal peoples--Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea--who have become the masters of their countries and are enjoying the tremendous and comprehensive international aid and support of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the communist and workers' movements, and the national-liberation and democratic movements the world over. Thanks to this invincible force, unquestionably, our people will successfully build socialism and protect their socialist fatherland.

7. Therefore, the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the CPV, the 90th anniversary of Ho Chi Minh's birth and the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnamese state is taking place under the conditions of the new age.

Looking back at the past, difficult fiery years, our heart fills with pride in our people, our party and in President Ho Chi Minh--the great leader and beloved teacher of the Vietnamese revolution. In order to be worthy of the memory of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, who created and hammered out our party, it must preserve its inflexible loyalty to his lofty ideals, fulfill his legacy and behests, and do everything possible to strengthen its leading role and combat capability. We are full of pride and faith in the party's Central Committee, headed by General Secretary Comrade Le Duan. The Central Committee is a collective of comrades, outstanding perpetuators of Ho Chi Minh's cause and of the traditions of our party, who have led the

Vietnamese revolution through many trials to great historical victories and who are leading it to new and even greater accomplishments.

Celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the party, we are fully resolved to fulfill to the end the appeal of the CPV Central Committee Politburo: "In the name of the communist ideals and the blossoming of the socialist homeland and the people's happiness, let us participate with all our revolutionary zeal, knowledge and ability in the preparations for the celebration of the founding of the great party, the birth of the great President Ho Chi Minh, and the founding of the new Vietnamese state, and the organization of the nationwide labor competition for the building of socialism, the defense of the fatherland and the building of the party, which is strengthening with every passing day."

5003

CSO: 1802

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AS A TOOL OF THE FINANCIAL OLIGARCHY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 106-116

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences R. Ovinnikov]

[Text] The nature of the policy pursued by one or another country, whether domestic or foreign, is dictated above all by the ruling class. As V. I. Lenin emphasized, economic interests, the economic position of the ruling classes account for the deepest roots of the domestic and foreign policy of a country (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 327).

The policy of the biggest imperialist country of our time--the United States, which includes its international policy as well--offers clear proof of this law. It is self-evident, in general, that, since the economic rule of the country is the hands of the big bourgeoisie, its elite above all--the American financial oligarchy, this predetermines who here is the main political force.

It is no less important, however, to trace precisely how, through what specific mechanism and groups is the American financial oligarchy practically implementing its control as a class over the country's foreign policy. This becomes even more topical considering that, of late, imperialist propaganda has been shamelessly stating the foreign policy of the leading Western country is governed by the good principles of "freedom," "justice," the protection of "human rights," and so on. It is particularly interesting, under such circumstances, to establish who is making this policy and to what purpose.

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The facts of recent decades, summed up in the works of Soviet and progressive American researchers, offer a very clear picture. It is above all the groups of the American financial oligarchy concentrated around Wall Street that have assumed a dominating position in the U.S. economy. This applies, above all, to the biggest among them--the Morgan and Rockefeller groups--and other groups extensively cooperating with them in the eastern part of

country--Ford, Brown Brothers, Harriman-Neumont Mining, Lehman Brothers, Kuhn Loeb, Dillon Reed, and many others. The fierce competition among these groups does not prevent them from acting jointly when it comes down to "external" enemies. No "upstarts" which have appeared in recent decades among new groups in the western part of the United States or Texas oil men, for example, have been able to change this situation as a whole.

On the basis of their unquestionable economic predominance, the financial groups in the eastern part of the United States gained a corresponding key role in determining the foreign policy of American imperialism. The secret of their domination in this area is the concentration in their hands of the entire system of foreign political controls as it developed in the course of the three-and-a-half postwar decades.

The center of a carefully woven net which links the numerous individual parts of the mechanism for the generation of basic foreign political decisions is the so-called philanthropic foundations of three financial groups--the Morgans, Rockefellers and Ford. In the case of the Morgans, these are "philanthropic" foundations inherited from E. Carnegie, the steel king, and, above all, the Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Foundation for "international peace"; in the case of the Rockefellers it is the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation and others. Finally, the biggest among all American private foundations is the Ford Foundation.

There are three basic directions along which the complex of groups of the American financial oligarchy operate through said foundations, insuring the consistency between U.S. foreign policy and its interests. The first of them is determining the objectives and foundations of the policy itself. In this respect the foundations are both the direct makers of the respective doctrines, as well as the customers of their products by the American political-academic world of universities and scientific research companies. The other direction is the fact that the foundations insure the ideological substantiation and organizational promotion of their concepts as "objectives consistent with the interests of the entire nation." This is done with the help of separate organizations specialized in such assignments, to be discussed later. The third is the selection, training and promotion within the state apparatus of cadres who guarantee the practical implementation of a foreign policy based on such azimuths.

The effectiveness of the influence of the "philanthropic" foundations of the three financial groups in all these directions may be explained by a number of circumstances. Having tremendous capital at their disposal, ranging from \$8 to \$10 billion (depending on the fluctuations of the shares in which they invest their money), these foundations are generously able to finance supported institutions which extensively disseminate their influence throughout the entire U.S. political system. The closely interwoven interests of the foundations enable them to act as an entity. Thus, traditionally, Rockefeller and Carengie Foundation trustees, the director

of Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank and the director of Morgan Guarantee Bank are members of the board of the Ford Foundation. The trustees of the Carnegie Corporation and Carnegie Foundation include managers of the Morgan and Rockefeller companies. The foundations are also linked through collective guarantees based on the reciprocal ownership of blocks of shares of corporations owned by the three financial groups. They reciprocally coordinated their financing programs as well. Finally, the particular strength of these foundations lies in the fact that they act as though on behalf of the entire complex of financial groups of the U.S. Eastern Establishment. Therefore, one could speak with full justification of a kind of triumvirate of foundations which, on behalf of and in the interest of some 15 basic groups of the American financial oligarchy, have monopolized the molding of the dominating features of the country's foreign policy.

The end of the 1950's offers an example of the direct, decisive influence which the foundations of the "trio" have on formulating the strategic concepts governing U.S. foreign policy. It was precisely then that they initiated the dangerous spiral in the arms race in the United States under the pretext of "increased threat" presented by the Soviet Union. The foundations' two specific "contributions" in this respect were the so-called Geiter report and the report of the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation.

The former, drafted in 1957 by a special group, was named after its chairman, R. Geiter, who was the head of the Ford Foundation; the group included the vice president of the Carnegie Corporation and other representatives of the Morgan interests. The meaning of the recommendations contained in the report, which was declassified as late as 1973, was reduced to the stipulation that additionally \$19 billion were to be spent over a 5-year period for the production of armaments. As President Eisenhower's memoirs show, the U.S. National Security Council, after considering the Geiter report in November 1957, adopted all but one of its recommendations.

In turn, the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation prepared a series of reports with suggestions on the solution of foreign and domestic political problems of the United States, covering a period of 10 to 15 years. Here again the main theme of the recommendations was a course toward an accelerated arms race. They called for an increase in U.S. direct military expenditures alone by \$3 billion annually. The basic conclusions of the reports were submitted by Nelson Rockefeller to President Eisenhower without delay. However, unlike the Geiter report, they were subsequently published in order to properly influence the "broad public."

The practical consequences as they affected U.S. policy were not long in coming. According to American authors, the behavior of the two nominees for the 1960 presidential elections differed only in the fact that in the case of one of them, R. Nixon, N. Rockefeller had "forced" to include in his program the recommendations of the foundations, while the other candidate, J. Kennedy, accepted them "of his own free will." The American

journalists recalled subsequently that, "Whenever a foreign political question would arise, Kennedy would shout at Salinger (one of the managers of his electoral campaign--the author), 'Hey, Pierre, take the study of the Rockefeller Foundation. Everything is there.'" It is not astounding that even in the United States these reports were described as a "draft plan for increasing military expenditures between 1958 and 1970." Indeed, the level of U.S. military expenditures during that period rose by \$40 billion. In other words, it was increased, on an average, at precisely the pace indicated by the foundations. It was precisely with the leaven of such expenditures that the Moloch of militarism reached such tremendous scales, and which President Eisenhower, passing the power on to his younger heir Kennedy, described, for the first time, publically, as the military-industrial complex.

Subsequently, however, the foundations themselves chose to withdraw from the public eye. In April 1965, on Henry Ford's initiative, a special meeting of the U.S. Cabinet was convened. It was decided at the meeting that, in the future, a "method for maintaining unofficial contacts" between the government and the Ford Foundation, as the head organization, would be organized, "on the level of senior officials of both." Meanwhile, the foundations triumvirate energized the use of the arsenal of levers of its indirect and yet no less effective influence on the shaping of U.S. foreign policy.

II

Control over higher education and over the political-academic world of the country at large became an important means through which the American financial oligarchy influences all political life in the United States, including the shaping of its foreign policy.

As early as 1947 one of the leading trustee organizations of the triumvirate proclaimed that American colleges and universities "should assume growing responsibility in guiding U.S. foreign policy, for they are presently training the future makers and administrators of this policy." As a result, toward the mid-1960's, one-third of the trustees of the 12 biggest "philanthropic" U.S. foundations, i.e., the foundations of the "trio" above all, became either university presidents or members of the boards of regents.

The next step of the foundation was to create in the United States a department which would centralize the education of the American youth in a spirit suitable to the financial magnates. These functions were entrusted to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which was established in 1953. Its initiator was N. Rockefeller, who also became its first secretary [text: deputy secretary of state] under Eisenhower. Under Johnson the department was headed by J. Gardner, until then head of the Carnegie Corporation. In the Carter Administration the department was headed by J. Califano, alumnus of the Arnold and Porter law firm--yet another tool of the financial elite.

Consolidating its control over higher education, the Wall Street financial oligarchy also took over the scientific research organizations in this area looking for foreign political alternatives.

The Morgan-Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford foundations were at the origins of the creation of special centers for foreign political research set up in the 1950's and 1960's at leading American universities. Here the greatest attention was paid to two such centers--at Harvard University, near Boston, and at Columbia, in New York. However, the foundations of the "trio" have total control over them, as three-quarters of such centers are financed precisely by them.

The "philanthropic" foundations also set up specialized institutes for the study of foreign political problems, working on government assignments. The best known and most influential among them is the Brookings Institute in Washington. It was the product of the merger of three research institutions previously established, on a separate basis, by the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefellers and the businessman R. Brookings, a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation. Subsequently, the Ford Foundation joined in financing the Brookings Institute. However, in this area its role became even greater: it was the main force behind the creation of a series of scientific research institutions of the kind--the Rand Corporation, the Defense Analysis Institute, the Political Research Institute, etc.

The example of the Brookings Institute clearly proves the extent to which such strictly theoretical organizations affect the practical policy of the U.S. Government. One of its tasks is to advise U.S. presidential candidates and draft recommendations on foreign political problems for the benefit of new administrations. In the 1960 elections, for example, the Brookings Institute instructed both Republican candidate R. Nixon and Democratic candidate J. Kennedy "on problems which the new president would face." Following Kennedy's victory, the institute placed more specific data at his disposal.

For the 1968 elections, using Ford Foundation funds, the institute drafted for the Nixon machinery a detailed memorandum on foreign political problems. The work was published under the title of "Agenda for the Nation" in the "edited" version, i.e., after the secret recommendations had been deleted. One did not have to be a specialist to see the direct influence of this work on the practical steps taken by the Nixon Administration in the international arena. This applied, above all, to American-Soviet relations.

Aware of the changed ratio of forces in the world, the Brookings Institute suggested far more solid foundations on which to base relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, compared with the past. Thus it recommended that reliance on U.S. military "superiority" be abandoned, emphasizing the "reciprocal advantage of achieving a stable balance at the lowest possible level." It was also suggested that the United States show

its readiness to move "in the direction of greater cooperation" with the USSR as a whole. Finally, it was pointed out that "if that which the Soviet Union means by peaceful coexistence (or 'struggle,' as it is frequently described) is a competition between the two systems using all possible means other than war," the United States should accept this. True, this thesis was clearly equivocal ("peaceful struggle"), and, subsequently, gave birth to the shoots of "psychological warfare." As a whole, however, at that time the approach taken by the Brookings Institute concerning relations with the USSR reflected the greater realism of U.S. ruling circles shown in assessing their possibilities. At that time the Nixon Administration largely accepted this approach, not in the least because it obeyed the "instructions" of a single, even though influential, institution, but because the Brookings Institute itself acted in the course of such recommendations entirely in accordance with the limited possibilities now realized by the American financial oligarchy.

Equally interesting is the reflection of the concepts expressed in the "Agenda for the Nation," concerning U.S. Middle East policy. As to that area, the Brookings Institute recommended a "concentration on the need to keep the peace along the existing cease-fire lines" (i.e., the lines reached by Israel as a result of the 1967 aggression) and be ready for a "period of extensive deadend" in the area of peaceful political settlement. In extremis, the suggestion was to impose upon the Arab countries--the victims of Israeli aggression--"partial settlements" and "separate bilateral measures." One can easily see that the outlines of the factual policies pursued by the Nixon and Ford administrations in the Middle East were entirely within the framework of these recommendations: between 1969 and 1973 the United States did everything possible to prevent a peaceful settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict, after which it converted to promoting separate deals between Egypt and Israel.

In the 1976 presidential elections 10 Brookings Institute associates were members of the group of foreign political advisers to presidential candidate Carter. The study released at that time by the institute "Toward Peace in the Middle East," and the big volume on "Formulation of National Priorities: The Next 10 Years," contained a detailed set of recommendations subsequently adopted by the Carter Administration. In terms of that same Middle East, for example, this time the institute seemed to recommend a more realistic course of "all-embracing settlement." What was worth noting, however, was that the authors of the recommendations seemed to be somewhat "unclear as to the extent to which the PLO would be able to conduct talks on behalf of the Palestinians," and the fact that they openly called for finding other "trustworthy Palestinians." As we know, this was precisely the path followed by the Carter Administration: initially raising the slogan of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East and of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union on the means for the establishment of such a settlement by October 1977, several months later it openly began to undermine the positions of the PLO and adopted the intrigues of the Palestinian quislings, selecting as its tool President Sadat's system.

The mark of the Brookings Institute recommendations is clearly visible also in the line followed by the Carter Administration on matters such as the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, U.S. policy in the Far East, and others.

Law firms and management consultant firms are yet another influential link in the mechanism of the domination of U.S. foreign policy by the financial magnates.

"New York and Washington lawyers," wrote American historian T. White, "play an absolutely amazing role in national affairs. . . . They are the mid-wives of decisions involving the most important state, national and industrial problems." It is indicative that two-fifths of all State Department employees, half the governors and members of the House of Representatives, and two-thirds of all presidents and senators have been or are lawyers by training or as their initial occupation.

The secret of the power of law firms lies in the fact that they serve the biggest financial and industrial corporations in their interrelationships and their relations with the government and foreign partners. A part of this general function is protecting the international interests of the biggest American monopolies, which develops into their direct involvement in foreign policy.

The Washington law firm of Carvington and Burling, which, in particular, is one of the main pioneers and organizers of the "technique" for promoting the cold war against the Soviet Union, related to the Morgan group, is among the best known in this respect. Even though anonymously, its lawyers have directly participated, for this purpose, in United Nations Security Council meetings. The firm's partner in charge of its international affairs, D. Acheson, was U.S. secretary of state in 1949-1952. Carvington and Burling pupils have held most important positions in the Eisenhower and Johnson administrations. They are represented in the Carter Administration as well. In another Washington law firm, Arnold and Porter, two-thirds to three-quarters of the personnel are government service veterans who have replaced one another from the Truman to the Carter administrations.

Particularly worth mentioning are two law firms closely linked with the Rockefellers. The first is New York's Sullivan and Cromwell, which is also linked with other financial groups. As early as the end of the 1920's, a study pointed out, it was an "age when one could seriously prove that Sullivan and Cromwell eclipsed the Department of State in the execution of U.S. foreign policy." Its partner, J. F. Dulles, was U.S. secretary of state in 1953-1959. Another purely Rockefeller firm is also New York's Cravat, Swain and Moore, with a no less active Washington branch of Wilmer, Catler and Pickering. The firm has its representatives in the current American administration as well.

Among the consulting firms specializing in administrative functions and offering their services to the U.S. Government we should name, above all,

the Mackenzie Company, which maintains close ties with the Carnegie Corporation. It provides a broad range of recommendations, including on matters of insuring military cost effectiveness. One of President Carter's advisers is, precisely, firm director A. MacDonald.

III

Particularly noteworthy among all the institutions and organizations maintained by the American financial oligarchy as tools for its influence on politics, is the unofficial Council for International Relations, based in New York, the citadel of this oligarchy. It is precisely here that the main coordination is achieved among the basic strategic doctrines developed by American imperialism under the sponsorship of the three familiar financial groups and their implementation in U.S. practical policy in the international arena.

This agency has about 2,000 specially selected individuals who, under the management of a board of 25 directors, form a kind of general staff of the American financial oligarchy for the final choice of corresponding options and decisions. The council combines all organizationally autonomous factions of makers of American foreign policy. Fourteen percent of its members are administrators of "philanthropic" organizations and, above all, of those same foundations; 28 are directors of financial and industrial companies; 10 are partners in law firms; 19 are members of the political-academic complex; 15 are senior government officials; finally, 10 are heads of mass information media whose purpose is to manipulate public opinion; "others" account for 4%.

For the nearly six decades of its existence, the council's management has been in the hands of those same financial groups--Morgan, Ford and Rockefeller--with the gradual assumption by the latter of a dominant position. The "philanthropic" foundations of these groups serve, here as well, as the main control force. They provide from one-quarter to one-third of the council's budget and account for the majority of its directors, one-quarter of whom today are trustees of the Rockefeller and Rockefeller Brothers foundations.

The Council for International Relations is the main operative center which synthesizes the efforts of all other institutions of the American financial oligarchy operating in the realm of foreign policy. In the last third of the century all basic foreign political doctrines of American imperialism have seen their birth within this institution or with its active participation. Most of them have been of a clearly manifested anti-Soviet nature. The infamous "containment" doctrine was not only developed in advance by the council, but officially proclaimed in its printed organ--the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS--in July 1947. The doctrine of "mass retaliation," of sad memory, was proclaimed by U.S. Secretary of State Dulles at the council's January 1954 meeting. Even the recent American diplomatic "novelty" presented as the "human rights" campaign is the offspring of this organization.

The council officially formulates its four basic objectives as follows: First, the timely determination of ripening problems in the international arena ("plowing virgin land in the consideration of international problems") with a view, naturally, to trying in advance to direct their solution toward a channel suitable to American imperialism; second, seeing to it that the U.S. foreign political course remains unaffected by Democratic or Republican Party considerations ("contribute to the shaping of American foreign policy in a constructive manner independent of political parties"); third, make U.S. foreign policy independent of changes in administrations ("insuring the continuity in managing the conduct of our foreign affairs"); fourth, organize the application of the stipulations of the council and of the financial oligarchy at large in the American ideological and propaganda machinery ("reaching a broader public through publications and other means"). It is easy to realize that no American administration would risk even the formulation of such an ambitious program, not mention its inability to implement it. Big capital alone, relying on the inviolability of its positions, could allow itself to think in terms of decades. The individual U.S. administrations could remain in power between no more than four to eight years, which to big capital is a transitional phenomenon.

The so-called "Plan for the 1980's" has become a convincing proof of the not in the least abstract but strictly practical nature of the objectives of the council, and as one of its large-scale measures. It is a question of an attempt to forecast the most probable course of events in the international arena over the next 10 to 15 years and, on this basis, earmark the optimum strategy and tactic of American imperialism. All in all, 80 individual studies are being drafted within the framework of this huge operation, which was started several years ago and is nearing completion. Naturally, the same old donors financed the project--the Ford and Rockefeller foundations along with three other private foundations. It has been decided to publicize only 25 of these studies, abridged at that. The bulk, particularly the conclusions and recommendations, will be placed on the desks of high government officials as manuals. Therefore, even though no one knows what kind of administrations may take over in the United States in the future, the main directions of American foreign policy for the 80's have already been programmed.

It cannot be said that the basic concept of the Council for International Relations are, generally speaking, unrealistic. For example, the council realizes that the second Soviet-American agreement on the limitation of strategic armaments (SALT II) achieved in 1979 is consistent with the mutual interests of the parties and of universal peace. Unlike many irresponsible publications in the United States, the official council organ, the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS, has quite consistently supported the agreement. This has led to charges of "prejudice" on the part of extreme militaristic forces in the United States, which think only within the narrow categories of the interests of military-industrial companies. The journal FOREIGN POLICY, "related" to this organ, published by the Carnegie Foundation, has also been, all in all, in favor of the conclusion and,

subsequently, the ratification of SALT II. From time to time both organs, as well as other institutions and organizations of the ruling class (such as, for example, the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Dresser Industries company, Sperry-Rand, and others) have spoken out also in favor of developing trade and economic relations between the United States and the USSR.

However, the discrepancy in the positions held by the American financial oligarchy (and the Council for International Relations as its main foreign political instrument) on basic contemporary problems is obvious. Between 1977 and 1979 the council held a series of meetings to consider two inter-related main problems: The prospects of the policy of detente and the future of Soviet-American relations. The result of the "heated debates," as its last annual report states, was the following: "The dominant view in the council was a growing feeling in Washington (i.e., in the U.S. Government--the author) was support of both the treaty (SALT II--the author) and increased military expenditures." Previously the council had already favored "reliance on . . . the strengthening of NATO." As a result, as early as the summer of 1979, articles appeared in FOREIGN AFFAIRS openly calling for the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. In the autumn FOREIGN AFFAIRS published a shameless call for a termination of all talks on reductions of armaments and disarmament.

This time again, the official policy of the American Government followed the tracks laid for it. In December 1979, under U.S. pressure, the NATO Council approved the aggressive and adventuristic course leading to a new and even more dangerous round in the arms race. Then Washington proclaimed the implementation of a program of unprecedented scale for the growth of armaments on a long-term basis. At the beginning of January President Carter called for putting off the ratification of the SALT II treaty for an undetermined time. Here again it is less a matter of the fact that the U.S. military-industrial complex (together with the merchants of death in Western Europe) imposed the course. In the final account, the military-industrial complex itself is merely the misformed offspring of that same financial oligarchy, rearing its head only when allowed to do so.

We must point out that the "Plan for the 1980's" itself, which we mentioned, was conceived as a kind of foreign political bible, not only for the United States, but if possible for its partners. That is precisely why one-fourth of its authors were not Americans. However, in order to insure the truly active cooperation of Western European and Japanese financial and industrial circles in this respect, clearer organizational frameworks were needed. Thus on the initiative of D. Rockefeller, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank and the Council for International Relations, and with the assistance of the Brookings Institute and the financing of the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, a corresponding organization--the Tripartite Commission--was created in 1973. Its first chairman was Z. Brzezinski, member of the Center for Russian Studies and Center for International Problems of Harvard University and, subsequently, director of the Institute of Problems of Communism of Columbia University, today's assistant to the president for national security affairs.

Representatives of the main groups of the American financial oligarchy, from Wall Street above all, became commission members. Western European capital was represented by Royal Dutch Shell and Unilever, the Anglo-Dutch companies, the FRG Bankers' Federation, the French companies Pechinet and Saint-Gobain, and the Italian company Fiat. Also active in the commission were the Japanese companies Mitsubishi, Hitachi, Bank of Tokyo, and others. State and political leaders within the newly created strategic "triangle," who joined the financial magnates, completed the picture.

The task facing the commission was of a clearly aggressive nature: to rally against the socialist world and the developing countries the three regional centers of world capitalist power. "The united front of the developed Western industrial societies," wrote FOREIGN AFFAIRS, discussing the main idea of the commission, "seems to many observers to be the only effective means for countering the new demands and militant actions of the Third World (such as the 1973 OPEC boycott) and for a response to a possible threat of the Soviet Union."

Actually, before the "tripartite" idea had begun to develop properly, the Rockefeller Foundation began to finance the development of a new variant for the regrouping of forces aimed at preserving and strengthening the positions of American imperialism—the so-called Pacific Commonwealth. In a word, means change but targets remain. . . .

IV

Taking this entire impressive number of levers at the disposal of American financial oligarchy, we could say with full justification that, in themselves, such methods used to influence U.S. foreign policy make its influence predominant, due to the fact alone that all such organizations and institutions are aiming at the same target, on a purposeful and coordinated basis. Yet what makes this influence close to total control is the placing by the financial complex of "its own people" in key positions within the governmental apparatus. We have already named individual examples of this "presence." Now we come across the fact that this direct representation at the helm of the government of members of the head organizations of the financial groups (with their specialized institutions) is extensive and permanent. It is an inseparable feature of all American administrations, whether Republican or Democratic.

Naturally, we should not oversimplify the situation and claim that a person whose path has crossed one or another foundation becomes, as of that moment, the blind tool of the foundation. Political life is a complex area. It is familiar with many cases of differences of views and clashes of interests even within financial groups. In this case we should take the sum total of facts into consideration. As the American publicist R. Scheer noted in the book "America After Nixon," the unsurmountable truth is that prior to their appointment to governmental positions, the overwhelming majority of high officials of any American administration have worked for

the biggest private companies and banks, serving the interests of the latter. "In this quality," the author goes on to say, "they became experts in the problems encountered by American corporations abroad and their job was to facilitate the solution of such problems. . . . Nevertheless, we are expected to believe that such a view of the world (on the part of such people--the author) would simply vanish when the time comes for them to formulate foreign policy." Naturally, one cannot trust such claims made by imperialist propaganda, and life itself offers convincing examples of the way the pattern of individual facts emerges in the final picture.

As could be expected the "philanthropic" foundations and, above all, those within the Rockefeller empire, are most extensively represented in high governmental positions in the United States. For example, over the past quarter of a century the position of U.S. secretary of state has remained almost invariably in such hands. Let us recall that J. F. Dulles moved to this position from the position of chairman of the board of trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation (and from a similar position in the Carnegie foundation). C. Herter, who followed him, was the son of an old friend of the Rockefeller family and was related to the Rockefellers through the Pratt family. Dean Rusk, who headed the Department of State under Kennedy and Johnson, had been the president of the Rockefeller Foundation. Nixon's first secretary of state, W. Rogers, may have appeared to upset the general picture, having been a partner in the relatively small law firm of Kenneth Royal. However, his first deputy was J. Ervin II, Rockefeller Foundation consultant and partner in Rockefeller's legal firm of Sullivan and Cromwell. In turn, prior to his appointment to the Nixon Cabinet, H. Kissinger was N. Rockefeller's foreign policy adviser in the 1964 and 1968 presidential election campaigns. Leaving the government, he became a trustee of the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation and a consultant to the Chase Manhattan Bank. Finally, C. Vance, today's U.S. secretary of state, came to this position directly from that of chairman of the board of trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Under such circumstances, it would be hard to convince even a most naive person of the absence of any clear pattern in all this. Let us also add that both trustees and administrators of the Morgan-Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford foundations have been invariably represented in many other of the highest positions of all postwar American administrations without exception.

In turn, far exceeding the limits of a nominal role of "generator of ideas," the Brookings Institute has managed the budgetary policies of all recent U.S. administrations, regardless of party affiliation, supplying them with leading cadres in this area. Under Truman the institution's vice president, E. Noors, headed the Council of Economic Advisers, while H. Stein, an institute associate, held the same position under Nixon. Under Kennedy and Johnson the management of the budget was headed by C. Gordon and one of his leading associates--Ch. Schultze. The latter assumed the position of head of the Council of Economic Advisers under

Carter. In the present administration members of the institute hold leading positions in the Treasury Department (two), the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (three) and the presidential advisers staff.

The Council for International Relations has become an even more extensive supplier of leading personnel for the governmental and, above all, the foreign political apparatus. As early as 1955 it proudly reported that at least 500 of its 1,100 members (at that time) had held official positions or had been consultants to the government. When J. Kennedy became president, "at least 63" of a list of 82 candidates for high-level positions within the U.S. Department of State, i.e., 77%, were council members. They numbered 176 under President Johnson and 110 under Nixon. As a whole, between 1945 and 1972 45% of all high governmental officials holding foreign political positions were council members. In the Carter Administration as well they number in the dozens. It would be entirely accurate to conclude that, essentially, the U.S. foreign-political governmental apparatus and the membership of the Council for International Relations have merged.

The fact that the institutions of the American financial oligarchy, influencing U.S. foreign policy, are represented in the state machinery has yet another characteristic. By virtue of their closely interwoven nature, an individual who is a member of the government frequently represents the interests of a number of such organizations. For example, M. Blumenthal, secretary of the treasury in the Carter Administration (until the middle of 1979) was not only a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, but also a director of the Council for International Relations and a member of the Tripartite Commission. W. Miller, who replaced him, was also a member of the council and partner in Rockefeller's legal firm of Cravat, Swain and Moore. H. Donovan, senior presidential adviser, is a trustee of the Ford and Carnegie foundations, a director of the council and member of the Tripartite Commission, and so on. Tens of similar examples could be cited.

Naturally, this picture does not cover the entire, even thicker and denser network of dependencies on "councils" and "recommendations" of the American bourgeois class involving the U.S. governmental apparatus, including foreign policy. Depending on specific conditions and problems other organizations and institutions representing big, occasionally average, and sometimes even small capital have played a noteworthy role at one or another historical stage. This has included, for example, the Business Council, the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a variety of lobbyists and other business representatives in Washington, political action committees of individual monopolies, set up in recent years, and so on.

However, the described mechanism for influencing policy is a distinguishing feature which places it at the head of all other individual organizations of the ruling class. By virtue of its coordination it is the backbone through which the capitalist class is exercising its influence as a whole.

That is why it is above all this mechanism that determines the main lines of pressure exerted by big capital on American foreign policy.

It is precisely the financial empires of the Morgans, the Rockefellers and the Fords, allied with one another and possessing the most powerful influence apparatus, that have organized on behalf of the main groups of the American financial oligarchy and are providing effective final and operative control over the course followed by the American administrations in the international arena. In the United States governments come and go, while the "triumvirate" remains a permanent factor impervious to all the hazards of "democratic" electoral procedures.

Such are the secret inner strings of U.S. foreign policy. The profound social injustice of the usurping role played by the main groups of the American oligarchy in the country's economic and political life also predetermine the openly imperialistic nature of the foreign policy of the United States.

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USEFUL EXPERIENCE

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[Review by E. Arsen'yev of the book "SSSR-Frantsiya. Opyt Sotrudnichestva (Shestidesyatyie-Semidesyatyie Gody)" [USSR-France. Experience in Cooperation (1960's-1970's)] by Yu. V. Dubinin and V. N. Kelin, Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 304 pages]

[Text] Cooperation between the Soviet Union and France plays a particular role in the contemporary system of international relations. It embodies the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different sociopolitical systems. With every passing year it is becoming ever more active and varied, developing on the basis of a variety of agreements between the two countries in the political, economic, cultural and scientific and technical areas.

Soviet-French cooperation has introduced many new aspects in international life. It laid the way to detente and to the creation of a favorable political climate in Europe. It contributed to the cause of the peace and security of the nations. The Soviet Union and France have acquired extensive and useful experience in reciprocal interaction whose significance and role, unquestionably, exceed the limits of bilateral relations and are a good example for other countries. That is why the task of interpreting and summing up this experience and emphasizing its most valuable and important aspects is quite topical. It is also precisely the topic of the book by Yu. V. Dubinin and V. N. Kelin, who have directly participated in the efforts to develop Soviet-French relations.

Using extensive factual data the authors trace the main stages of the development of such cooperation between the two countries over the past 15 years, describing its main directions and problems. Particular attention has been paid to summit meetings and talks, which have invariably provided an impetus to mutually profitable relations between our countries and have raised them to a qualitatively new level. This was vividly illustrated by the April 1979 talks between L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and French President V. Giscard d'Estaing, which yielded major results. The program for the

further development of cooperation between the USSR and France in favor of detente and peace, adopted as a result of this meeting, earmarked guidelines for the intensification of the process of lowering international tension and indicated the specific means for reaching this objective.

The authors study the dynamics of Soviet-French cooperation and its progress and extension into new areas, such as power industry, outer space, environmental protection, and so on. They show the way, step by step, at the cost of adamant and patient effort, the two sides discovered ever new possibilities for establishing and broadening reciprocal understanding and interaction on most important matters and, above all, in the field of insuring European and international security. A number of obstacles were encountered on the way. The political realism, belief in the historical need for close cooperation and coincidence or closeness of national interests and the profound friendship and respect binding our nations helped to surmount them. All this made Soviet-French cooperation an inseparable part of the building of European peace and security, developed through the joint efforts of all nations on the continent. It would be no exaggeration to say that it is one of the most important foundations for European security.

As the authors justifiably note, the reserves and possibilities for the further development of cooperation are far from exhausted, particularly in the areas of military detente and disarmament. This formulation of the problem becomes even more topical in connection with the decision passed at the December meeting of the NATO Council to deploy in Western Europe the new American nuclear missile. The French public believes that the country cannot remain indifferent in the face of the sinister attempts made by the United States and its partners to complicate the European atmosphere and encroach on France's independent foreign policy. Its democratic forces are calling for Paris to assume a more constructive position on problems of military detente and disarmament and become more active in the international efforts aimed at terminating the arms race.

The authors cite a number of examples showing that Soviet-French relations are not a cloudless idyll and that they demand a constant and decisive struggle against the intrigues of the enemies of detente and friendship with the Soviet Union, and for reaching new heights in reciprocal cooperation. Rather influential forces may be found in France who dislike a favorable development of Franco-Soviet relations. However, the overwhelming majority of French citizens favor the strengthening of such relations. Unquestionably, the book would only have benefited had it described in greater detail the tireless activities to promote Franco-Soviet friendship and cooperation carried out by the French working people and many political and social organizations in the country.

The French Communist Party, which recently called for the conclusion of a mutual security treaty between France and the Soviet Union, is in the vanguard of the struggle for strengthening Franco-Soviet friendship and

cooperation. The implementation of this suggestion would be, unquestionably, consistent with the interests of the peoples of both countries and of European peace and security. Problems of the development of Soviet-French relations were also discussed in the course of the high-level talks conducted between the CPSU and the PCF last January. As the joint communique states, "Both parties will continue to promote the development of more dynamic and balanced cooperation between the USSR and France in the political, economic, technical and cultural areas, organized on a long-term basis."

The authors have done extensive work. The long and valuable experience in the field of Soviet-French relations, summed up in their book, convincingly proves that such relations benefit the peoples of the two countries and stimulate detente and European cooperation. Now, when Western militaristic circles are trying to turn the world back to the cold war, it is important for the cooperation between the USSR and France to continue to play the role of a powerful factor in favor of European peace, detente and security.

5003

CSO: 1802

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 118-120

[Review by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Anat. Gromyko and Doctor of Juridical Sciences G. Starushenko of the book "Aktual'nyye Problemy Sovremennoy Afriki" [Current Problems of Contemporary Africa] by P. I. Manchkha, Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 343 pages]

[Text] Even against the background of the tempestuous and dynamic development taking place within the area of the national-liberation movement, saturated by sharp turns, profound changes and unforeseen fluctuations, the political circumstances on the African Continent may be singled out by their particularly strong and frequent changes. These circumstances have both their specific and general features. The entire range of problems of the liberation movement are concentrated here as in a lens, ranging from the direct struggle against colonialism and racism to the choice of ways of development and of reaching true political and economic independence. It is entirely understandable that those interested in the processes occurring in Africa need not only new factual data, but a profound summation and interpretation of complex, comprehensive and occasionally contradictory processes. This is precisely the nature of the monograph by P. I. Manchkha, the noted Soviet specialist in African problems.

The author formulates a number of basic social and political problems encountered by the peoples on the continent engaged, under difficult conditions, in a decisive struggle against the combined forces of colonialism, racism and neocolonialism, which enjoy the comprehensive support of the United States and other Western powers. In the course of this struggle the new Africa is developing, seeking effective means to surmount backwardness and wishing to reach the highroad of social progress. It is entirely natural that the author has focused his attention on the study of the current stage of the liberation movement on the continent, and the struggle for a progressive direction in the development of the young African states and for the definition of its specific ways.

With the help of extensive factual data the author convincingly reveals the main features of the national-liberation movement in Africa, particularly

its growth into a social struggle. In this connection the author considers the meaning of the process of socialist orientation which is gathering strength in a number of African countries. The importance of this process is enhanced by the fact that some foreign political figures and scientists are trying to define the current stage in the development of the countries with a socialist orientation as socialist.

Studying the experience of the African countries which are trying to bypass the capitalist stage, the author concludes that it is inadmissible to identify the non-capitalist with the socialist ways of development. "A socialist orientation," he notes, "is a form of transition to socialism through a number of intermediate stages, a transition which requires the great efforts of perhaps several generations" (p 31). Both the inevitability and length of the transitional pre-socialist stage is predetermined for such countries by a number of factors, above all by the low level of development of production forces and low socioeconomic development. This formulation of the matter makes it possible to avoid a fatal anticipation and groundless and dangerous attempts to bypass historically unavoidable development stages.

The nature of the state-political institutions of countries with a socialist orientation also depends on the level of socioeconomic development of society, but to a lesser extent than the content of the process itself. For this reason, the revolutionary forces of such countries, as the author indicates, have the possibility, in accordance with local conditions, to improve their state, taking it, step by step, closer to a state of a socialist type, as well as their party, gradually reorganizing it as a Marxist-Leninist party. In most countries with a socialist orientation such a possibility is achieved by strengthening the already established national-democratic states. Obviously, this will remain the main direction for the immediate future as well. At the same time, countries such as Angola and Mozambique are trying to develop national-democratic states. "The strategic objective of the MPLA--Labor Party," its bylaws stipulate, "is the building of a socialist society by going through the transitional stage of a people's democracy. . . ."

Portions discussing the political leadership of the liberation movements and their motive forces are of considerable interest. In Africa, as throughout the world, the working class is the leading class in society. Even though the numerical strength of the African proletariat as a whole remains small (15-20 million), considerable proletarian detachments may be found in a number of countries: some 3 million in Nigeria, 1.2 million in Zaire and over 500,000 in Ghana (see p 40). The role of the working class at the present stage, when the struggle for social liberation continues to expand, is growing rapidly. The proletariat and its organizations play an important role in the establishment and strengthening of a socialist orientation in Congo, Angola, Ethiopia, and other countries.

The working class is the main social base of the Marxist-Leninist parties. There are 10 such parties on the continent with a total membership in

excess of 70,000 (see pp 185, 188). Such parties must work in a variety of complex conditions which largely determine the nature of their activities. The communists in the Republic of South Africa and the Kingdom of Lesotho oppose the oppression of the African population by the racists. The Marxist-Leninists of Nigeria, Senegal and other countries in tropical Africa are focusing their main efforts on the struggle against the neo-colonialist order. The communists in North Africa are operating in accordance with the tasks of the liberation movement in their countries. They include the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, the Party for Progress and Socialism (Morocco), the Sudanese Communist Party and the Tunisian Communist Party. The Marxist-Leninist parties are steadily strengthening and expanding their ranks and gaining ever new supporters. On the African Continent as well the practice of the revolutionary struggle has convincingly proved that there are no more consistent fighters for the basic vital interests of the working people than the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

No longer dealing with the period of the struggle for national independence, since today no extensive proletarian movement exists as yet on the continent and since the Marxist-Leninist parties have not as yet become mass parties, in a number of countries the revolutionary-democratic forces and their parties have assumed the leadership of the liberation struggle. "In the course of the struggle for national independence," the author states, "they acquired a prestige and earned the recognition of the peoples of the continent. At the present time . . . the revolutionary-democratic parties play a leading role in countries with a socialist orientation. Their objective is to build a society free from the exploitation of man by man" (p 7).

The interests of the revolutionary-democratic and the Marxist-Leninist parties largely coincide. For this reason, the author writes, the communists are not aspiring toward political monopoly . . . but are tirelessly promoting the creation and strengthening of a single anti-imperialist democratic front. They clearly realized that the creation of such a front is a necessary prerequisite for the successful development of the African countries on the path to national independence and social progress" (p 210).

Tracing this new trend in party construction through the examples of Angola, Mozambique and Congo, the author notes that because of the unfinished nature of the class-shaping processes it would be erroneous to raise in all African countries with a socialist orientation "as of now the question for the need for the immediate creation of a party of the working class, i.e., of a Marxist-Leninist party." Of late "the idea of the gradual reorganization of the revolutionary-democratic parties into vanguard parties of the working people developed quite naturally" in some of these countries (p 332). Such parties are being built on a more clearly defined class basis and are pursuing their ideological and organizational activities on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism.

In a separate chapter the author discusses the fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the African countries in various areas and the broadening and strengthening of the various links between the CPSU and the revolutionary-democratic parties. Such links, he points out, rest on position jointly held "on basic problems of our time, the aspiration to strengthen the union between the forces of socialism and national liberation, and their joint interest in the fastest possible elimination of colonialism, racism and all types of oppression on the African Continent" (p 307).

The author raises other topical problems as well, including problems which have recently appeared in African political life. They include the broadened scale of the armed struggle waged against the racist regimes, the increased role of African countries in the world arena, the attitude toward religion, the increased effectiveness of the national economy, and the difficulties experienced by countries with a socialist orientation and the ways to surmount them. Some of these problems are considered in greater detail. Others are described briefly, in rough outlines, for practical experience alone could provide their definitive answer.

Many of the author's ideas are controversial, differing somewhat from the viewpoints of the reviewers. Thus the author classifies the liberated countries on the African Continent into three groups: "those which have chosen a non-capitalist way of development, countries following the capitalist way of development and countries which . . . have not as yet clearly defined the specific way of their further development" (pp 21-22, 338). Yet such a classification does not take into consideration the characteristics of African reality. One could hardly consider as having clearly defined ways countries which are developing today in the capitalist direction (such as, for example, Malawi or the Central African Republic). As indicated by the experience of Ghana or Mali, the socialist choice as well was not the definitive one. Consequently, countries which have not as yet definitively established the direction of their development are not only those classified by the author in the third group, but countries belonging to the first and second groups as well. Perhaps, in terms of most African countries, we should speak only of an orientation of their current development--toward capitalism or socialism. Correspondingly, it would be more logical to classify the countries on the continent into countries following a capitalist or a socialist orientation.

The controversial nature of some of the author's views and some inaccuracies of editorial or factual nature do not lower the value of this monograph. It has been written with high theoretical and professional standards and contains rich and very fresh factual data. This has made it possible for the author to draw important scientific conclusions and summations which broaden our concepts on topical problems of Africa and which make a substantial contribution to the scientific development of such problems. Unquestionably, this new book by P. I. Manchka will be welcomed with great interest both by specialists in African problems and the readership at large interested in the development of a new life in Africa.

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Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 120-121

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5003

CSO: 1802

LETTERS TO THE JOURNAL: JULY-DECEMBER 1979

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 80 pp 122-128

[Text] In the second half of last year KOMMUNIST received over 900 contributions. They included 126 articles, notes, essays and reviews, 91 responses to materials published in the journal, 179 questions and wishes addressed to the editors, and 519 citizens' statements and requests.

As previously, the KOMMUNIST mail has remained exceptionally varied in content, covering literally all aspects of life in our society and international relations, profoundly and comprehensively reflecting the interests and feelings of the working people. It convincingly proves the unanimous support by the Soviet people of the domestic and foreign policy of the communist party and the economic, social and ideological-political measures taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

Particularly numerous in the flood of letters are materials discussing matters of Marxist-Leninist theory, its further development and propaganda, and the struggle against the distortion of its principles and conclusions; materials dealing with the economic tasks in the building of communism at the present stage and the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan; letters covering the entire range of problems of ideological-political, moral and labor upbringing, strengthening organization and labor discipline, and the struggle against various antisocial phenomena.

Toward the end of the year KOMMUNIST received many letters from workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, specialists and workers in culture speaking out in the defense of the peace and in support of detente. They point out with concern that the NATO bosses are complicating the international circumstances in Europe and are relying on the growth of their nuclear forces and on gaining advantages in the military area compared with the Warsaw Pact members, and on the further expansion of the arms race.

The authors of many letters emphasize that whenever our country formulates constructive suggestions aimed at backing political with military detente,

the answer of the Atlantic Bloc is silence, evasions, procrastinations and occasionally new adventures as well. Establishing American nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Western countries, the leaders of the bloc would like to engage in talks with us "from a position of strength." However, the hopes nursed by these gentlemen are vain. The letters express the firm confidence that the fraternal socialist countries, closely allied with the Soviet Union, will take urgent measures to strengthen their security should the aggressive circles of the Pentagon and NATO disturb the balance of forces existing in Europe.

Readers V. G. Krasnyukov (Bezhetsk), S. S. Mikhaylov (Moscow), V. O. Arutyunov (Yerevan) and other comrades warmly approve the Leninist peace-loving foreign political course of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government aimed at the implementation of the peace program formulated at the 24th and developed at the 25th party congresses, controlling the arms race and insuring reliable peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Taking into consideration the interest shown by broad readers' circles in international topics, the editors systematically publish articles, surveys and other materials on the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the members of the socialist comity, as well articles showing the nature of the policy of imperialist countries, or describing important international events. Such materials provide extensive answers to questions on such matters received by the editors.

A number of articles, notes, letters to the editor and thoughts were triggered by the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Party workers, lecturers, propagandists, party organization activists, teachers, instructors in VUZ's and technical schools, and people practicing a variety of professions have provided profound studies of the ideological and educational activities of party and state organs, public organizations, schools and leading cadres, and of the ideological-political and moral atmosphere in collectives of working people, and various aspects of the Soviet way of life.

In his correspondence, Docent N. A. Kostikov, candidate of philosophical sciences and chief of the chair on culture and the arts of the Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin, studies the role of the political culture of the Soviet people at the present time. The author points out that the development of Soviet democracy, the ever more active and mass participation of the working people in the administration of governmental affairs and the need for sensibly combining the real rights and freedoms of the citizens with their obligations and responsibilities to the Soviet society, thus insuring its blossoming and safety, and the intensification of the ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism raise the question of further upgrading the political standard of the Soviet people, which under present conditions plays the role of booster of progress toward the building of communism. Indeed, helping to develop high political

standards is a most important task facing the party, state and public organizations responsible for the communist upbringing of the working people. That is also why KOMMUNIST systematically publishes data on the theoretical problems related to shaping the political standard of the Soviet people and summing up specific experience in this area. They cover a broad range of problems related to upgrading the ideological and political standards of the working people, and particularly those raised by N. A. Kostikov.

In his article P. S. Nikitin, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent at the chair of philosophy and scientific communism of the Smolensk State Medical Institute, considers the rising significance of the moral upbringing. The author lists among the characteristics of the contemporary stage of development of our society the steady growth of the material prosperity of the Soviet people above all, and the increased amount of leisure time of the working people. This offers to millions and millions of Soviet people favorable conditions to upgrade their professional, educational, political and cultural standards, and for their comprehensive spiritual and physical development. However, as P. S. Nikitin emphasizes, far from everyone is trained properly to handle his material possibilities and to organize his leisure time in a way useful to himself and to society. Frequently the benefits which socialism gives the people are used by some of them to their own detriment, and to the detriment of those around them and to our entire society. We know, for example, what great difficulties are caused by drunkenness. The most terrible of them is the degradation of the personalities of the worshippers of the "green dragon." As a rule, the ideals of goodness, beauty, honor, dignity, responsibility and duty are valueless to such people. The drunk has a demoralizing effect on those around him, particularly on the young and the children. The author considers active and convincing anti-alcoholism propaganda and a sensible organization of leisure time, which must include a constructive and creative aspect, one of the means in the struggle against such social evil.

Many readers are concerned by the insufficiently effective struggle against drunkenness in many parts of the country and with the habit of organizing drinking bouts on all sorts of occasions. In his letter, L. K. Kiselev (Moscow), member of the social commission for the struggle against alcoholism, points out that some departments are poorly implementing the familiar CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees aimed at uprooting alcoholism and drunkenness. The letter contains suggestions and wishes, which according to the author could contribute to success in this work. The editors have also received letters from medical specialists who have considered the specific problems related to organizing the treatment of alcoholism and the use of new methods and medicines. One such letter, for example, is that of I. V. Sukhov, a psychiatrist-drug addiction specialist at the Moscow City Polyclinic imeni Semashko. Unable to publish all received materials, the journal's editors direct them to the respective departments for consideration.

V. Ye. Mikhal'tsov, docent at the MVTU [Moscow Higher Technical School] imeni Bauman, discusses in his letter another aspect of the topic of communist education. He discusses the question of developing in all members of the socialist society sensible requirements based on concern for the good of society, the desire to contribute to it as much as possible and the adoption of a new, communist attitude toward labor.

A. G. Moskalenko, doctor of philosophical sciences and associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy, and A. L. Simanov, candidate of philosophical sciences, sent an article entitled "Molding an Active Life Stance in Scientists"; I. F. Bogodist, doctor of historical sciences and professor at the Cherkassy Pedagogical Institute, submitted a study of the practical experience, means and process itself of molding an active life stance in students; Docent A. P. Troyanovskiy, from Leningrad, subjects to a critical analysis individual aspects of ideological and educational work in VUZ's; V. I. Lashevskiy, mechanical engineer from the Sovetskiy Settlement, Krymskaya Oblast, writes on the vocational guidance of students in agricultural technical schools and on the teaching of special subjects in secondary technical schools. He raises the question of the need to improve curriculums and training methods in such subjects.

M. Ya. Vinogradov, honored labor veteran from Dnepropetrovsk, shares his thoughts on waging uncompromising struggle against moral vices and recurrences of petit bourgeois mentality, such as hoarding, grubbing, bribery, use of official position for mercenary purposes, negligence and waste, callous attitude toward people, misuses in trade and household and communal services, and so on. Like others, this letter is imbued with sincere and profound concern for uprooting from the life of our society the opposites of communist morality. The author submits a number of practical suggestions aimed at fighting manifestations of philistine and grubbing mentality.

As previously, in the second half of the year the editor received a number of contributions on problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. They are characterized by the broad spectrum of the problems considered and the aspects of their philosophical analysis and summation. Docent Yu. F. Safonov, candidate of philosophical sciences from Sevastopol, describes the interrelationship between philosophy and social practice under developed socialist conditions; Docent A. L. Voytolovskaya (Novosibirsk) describes philosophical-methodological problems of socialist political economy and considers the correlation between objective economic laws and targets of human activities. The note by R. P. Khromov (Magnitogorsk) criticizes in the light of the dialectics of natural science and philosophical summations the positivistic concepts of the place and role of philosophy in the system of scientific knowledge. K. K. Kalahnikov, worker from Ulan-Ude discusses the dialectical-materialistic meaning and significance of cybernetics.

A number of contributions deal with the topical problems of historical materialism. N. T. Kozhokar', candidate of philosophical sciences (Kishinev), writes about the unity between philosophical and sociological knowledge within historical materialism. V. I. Rozin (Minsk) writes about the methodological significance of the theory of socioeconomic systems. Docents A. I. Verbin and Sh. M. German (Moscow) provide a critical study of the understanding of activity as the initial category of historical materialism.

A number of materials drew attention to the need for a careful attitude toward the legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics, toward errors encountered in publications citing their works and arbitrary interpretations of statements made by K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin. Contributions to this effect were sent by V. I. Chovba (Kiev), G. P. Mal'kovskiy (Kazan'), Ya. I. Poretskiy (Minsk), and others. B. Ya. Pervomayskiy (Voroshilovgrad) notes the unnecessary complexity of the style in which some scientific books and articles have been written and the groundless borrowing of foreign terminology.

Some letters consider the philosophical aspects of the problem of needs in the socialist society. Thus N. V. Ivanchuk (Sverdlovsk) and V. V. Kuznetsov (Leningrad) draw attention to the fact that these aspects have been insufficiently developed in publications; Docent P. I. Glukhov, candidate of philosophical sciences (Berdyansk), considers human needs as boosters of creative activity and ways for developing the need to work.

The editors received a large number of letters in response to the selection of letters entitled "On the Responsibility of the Printed Word," published in KOMMUNIST No 4 for 1978. They include letters by G. V. Lobastov (Moscow), M. M. Prokhorov (Mogilev), P. S. Zabotin (Voronezh), K. Abishev (Alma-Ata), V. M. Sidarshchikov (Novokuznetsk), G. P. Belokonev (Rostov-na-Donu), E. M. Sitnikov (Izhevsk), Sh. G. Adeishvili (Tbilisi), V. I. Yegorov (Kazan') and M. L. Shubas (vil'nyus), candidates of philosophical sciences; Doctors of Philosophical Sciences Z. M. Orudzhev (Moscow), Ye. Ya. Rezhabek (Rostov-na-Donu) and A. N. Nysanbayev (Alma-Ata); Doctors of Technical Sciences R. K. Lebedev (Moscow) and M. F. Glushko (Odessa); Doctors of Economic Sciences G. D. Kuznetsov (Moscow) and Ye. D. Ligachev (Kemerovo); workers, educators and employees P. S. Kolodyazhnyy (Krasnogorsk), V. R. Smirnova (Moscow), A. N. Kochergin (Novosibirsk), Sh. S. Aliyev (Baku), R. M. Miroshnichenko (Krasnodar), and many others, a total of over 60. Supporting the critical publication, the readers expressed a number of valuable remarks, suggestions and wishes. These views were considered by the editors in the writing of a number of articles on topical problems of the development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. They were also summed up in the editorial article "On the Status and Directions of Philosophical Research," published in KOMMUNIST No 15 for 1979.

The editors thank all comrades who have responded to the journal's publications and participated in the discussion of ripe problems related to the development of philosophical knowledge.

A considerable share of our mail consists of articles on political economy, theoretical developments of national economic problems and suggestions aimed at upgrading production effectiveness, quality, labor, energy and material conservation, and improving economic incentives and management.

For example, O. I. Galushkin, head of the industrial-transportation department of the Sovetskiy City Party Committee, Kaliningradskaya Oblast, considers, on the theoretical and practical levels, the nature of specialization and its role and place in the public production structure; Professor V. G. Kontorovich, doctor of economic sciences (Moscow), attempts to formulate suggestions aimed at improving the system of plan indicators governing industrial output; I. M. Borushko, from Lyubertsy, Moscow Oblast, expresses ideas on the further development of housing cooperatives under present-day conditions as one of the means for resolving an important socioeconomic problem facing Soviet society; Professor V. N. Dolzhnykh, doctor of economic sciences, studies the political-economic nature and ideological function of socialist economic management.

Last December a number of articles, reports and letters were received directly related to the problems and tasks discussed at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum and to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's plenum speech. They include articles by M. A. Vapnik (Leningrad) on the set of measures aimed at improving the moral and material incentive for labor and creative activity of workers employed in the production area of the national economy; N. V. Mazko (Chernigov) on improving the mechanism of material and technical supplies of metal goods to state enterprises; and a note by Candidate of Economic Sciences A. K. Rosenko (Khar'kov) on improving planning and the economic mechanism, and the interrelationship among its structures at different levels with a view to insuring stable, rhythmical and high-quality production activity.

These and other letters prove that today the Soviet people live and work under the profound influence of the decisions of the November CC CPSU Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Totally approving the adopted documents, the working people point out available reserves and possibilities for upgrading national economic effectiveness. They submit suggestions aimed at resolving specific problems in various production sectors and struggling against departmentalism and parochialism which hinder the adoption of statesmanlike approach to the implementation of the five-year plans. Intolerance of phenomena such as inertia, anonymity, irresponsibility, slackness, negligence and slovenliness is found in many letters sent by workers, kolkhoz members, engineering and technical workers, and employees. They describe the measures taken by party and other social organizations of labor collectives in the fight against such phenomena. The thoughts and feelings of many comrades who wrote to us were well expressed by Moscow fitter V. A. Zenkov who sent the editors a letter in verse. He selected this genre to make his call for waging a tireless struggle against anything which hinders the development of our economy and social construction, a call to work with dedication and to hold the honor high, more vivid, convincing and emotional.

This year will mark the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth. A growing flow of letters to the editors is related to this anniversary of the creator of the communist party and of the first socialist state in the world. Letters are sent by people of different ages, professions and positions, all of them united by their unabated love for the leader and teacher, and the most human of all men, and by the desire to check, again and again, their activities and life against Lenin's behests.

The recollections of those who knew V. I. Lenin personally, who were in contact with him, or worked under his direct guidance, are of exceptional value to the journal readers and to all Soviet people. Such data were sent to the editors by writer Aleksey Pyakhtin (Moscow Oblast) who recorded stories by professional revolutionary Bolshevik Nikolay Nikolayevich Panin on two of his meetings with Lenin. The article on Lenin's attitude toward nature, based on the recollections of his friends and relatives, was prepared by Candidate of Biological Sciences M. M. Ignatenko (Leningrad).

We know the major role which the family, his father Il'ya Nikolayevich and his mother Mariya Aleksandrovna and all six children who became revolutionaries played in forming the revolutionary convictions of the young Vladimir Ul'yanov. Veteran of the Great Patriotic War K. M. Permyakov, candidate of philosophical sciences, sent an article on I. N. Ul'yanov's aesthetic views, on the way he developed a feeling for beauty in his children, and on the connection between Il'ya Nikolayevich's moral views and Lenin's aesthetics. The editors received interesting material entitled "V. I. Lenin--Initiator, Inspirer and Manager of the GOELRO Plan" from V. Yu. Steklov, state prize laureate, honored power-industry worker of the USSR and deserving RSFSR construction worker (Moscow). Other articles received by the journal include those by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences I. S. Tsimbrenevich (Ivano-Frankovsk), "The Leninist Method of the Class-Party Approach to the Study and Evaluation of Social Phenomena," and RSFSR deserving physician V. G. Tokarev (Kirov), "Lenin and Vyatskiy Kray," and others.

Naturally, the editors cannot publish everything they receive. The best contributions, however, profoundly discussing the topic and containing new theoretical and political conclusion consistent with the journal's literary requirements, will be published in KOMMUNIST. Some of these articles, taken from the mail received in the second half of last year, have been, or are being prepared for the press and are in the editorial files. At the same time, the journal's personnel try to extract useful information from all our mail, take into consideration valuable suggestions, conclusions, advice and critical remarks, use them in editorial articles and reflect them in topic plans. That is why the editors are grateful to all comrades who have sent contributions to KOMMUNIST or have responded to its articles.

As in the past, the working people turn to our journal with theoretical and political questions. They cover all aspects of life and development of the socialist society, international relations, the world communist, workers'

and national-liberation movements, and so on. Between July and December 1979 over 200 answers and consultations were sent to our correspondents by specialists in various fields of knowledge.

Over one-half of the entire mail consisted of letters, statements and complaints sent by the working people. Many of them raise important problems related to the activities of various departments and local party, soviet and economic organs and public organizations. Their content proves the growing concern shown by rank-and-file workers, kolkhoz members and national economic specialists for upgrading public production effectiveness and work quality and fulfilling the five-year plan. Frequently the authors of such letters expose major shortcomings in production management and violations of the principles of management and state, technological and labor discipline. The editors carefully consider each letter and direct it to the corresponding local or central organ for suitable action. In the last six months of the year about 300 such letters, statements and complaints have been thus readdressed. Within the same period over 200 extensive answers to letters to the editors were sent by various organizations. We noted with satisfaction that the facts cited in the overwhelming majority of letters were consistent with the factual state of affairs. The comrades have properly criticized errors and omissions and submitted constructive suggestions. On the other hand, it is also important to emphasize, that as a rule, party, state and economic organs attentively consider the questions raised in such letters. Following are two examples.

A group of seamen from the MS "Svirsk," Far Eastern Maritime Shipping Administration, submitted a statement to the editors pointing out a number of cases of negligence, violations of financial discipline, major shortcomings and omissions in political-educational work, and irresponsible attitude displayed by some managers toward their obligations. The facts were checked on the spot by the USSR Ministry of Maritime Fleet. They were confirmed in full. By order of the chief of the Far Eastern Maritime Shipping Administration, V. V. Bagryanov, captain of the MS "Svirsk," first officer M. P. Polikarpov and senior first officer B. I. Zakharov and a number of others were punished for allowing such shortcomings. B. I. Zakharov, V. P. Kryachko, ship's doctor, and Third Engineer V. A. Yan were taken off high-sea sailing ships. The shipping administration and its party committee took measures to improve all ideological and educational work aboard the vessel.

Workers at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, Shpolyanskiy Rayon, Cherkasskaya Oblast in the Ukraine, reported to the editors that kolkhoz Chairman M. P. Bondar' and some chief specialists neglected the work of the farm, stole public property and sold agricultural produce. At the request of the editors the Shpolyanskiy Rayon Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine, attentively checked the letter.

The report was confirmed. It was established that M. P. Bondar' and Chief Zootechnician A. F. Chuskin had systematically stolen kolkhoz cattle and

funds for a period of two years. Deputy Kolkhoz Chairman G. B. Mudrenko was aware of some of their machinations.

The rayon party committee bureau expelled M. P. Bondar' and A. F. Chuskin from the CPSU, while G. B. Mudrenko was issued a severe reprimand which was entered in his party record. They were removed from their positions by the general meeting of kolkhoz members. Criminal proceedings were instigated against the thieves by the rayon prosecutor's office.

Occasionally letters are sent to the editors whose authors, as though forgetting their obligations and responsibilities to society for engaging in antisocial actions, demand for themselves special "justice," "responsiveness," and so on. Here is an example. A conductor at the Kiev Passenger Railroad Station did not report to the next stop that the Tbilisi-Adler train had four available passenger seats in her coach, motivated by money-grubbing purposes. Financial auditors discovered the violation and issued the proper legal document. Returning to Kiev, she changed the form showing passengers seats, thus committing forgery. For such actions the conductor was punished on a disciplinary basis. She was transferred to work unrelated to the servicing of passengers for a period of two months. Frankly, the punishment was quite light. However, she considered that she had been unfairly insulted and did not show up for work in her new position, but spent two months writing complaints to various departments. Her dismissal for absenteeism triggered a new series of complaints, one of which was sent to our journal. The complaint was checked locally by the Ukrainian SSR Prosecutor's Office and no grounds whatever were found for appealing the administration's orders.

The editors also received a certain number of anonymous letters. It is pleasing, however, that compared with the first half of the year, the number of such letters in the second half of 1979 was lower.

Our homeland had entered a new year concluding the 10th Five-Year Plan and inaugurating the ninth decade of the century. The Soviet people are looking at the future with confidence. Inspired by the decisions of the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum and the mobilizing speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the working people are developing socialist competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1980 production plans and for the sake of properly celebrating the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and welcoming the 26th CPSU Congress with new labor successes. This powerful movement of our people and efficient labor rhythm are clearly reflected in the flow of letters sent by the Soviet people.

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SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

USSR SERIAL REPORTS (GENERAL)

USSR REPORT: Agriculture
USSR REPORT: Economic Affairs
USSR REPORT: Construction and Equipment
USSR REPORT: Military Affairs
USSR REPORT: Political and Sociological Affairs
USSR REPORT: Energy
USSR REPORT: International Economic Relations
USSR REPORT: Consumer Goods and Domestic Trade
USSR REPORT: Human Resources
USSR REPORT: Transportation
USSR REPORT: Translations from KOMMUNIST*
USSR REPORT: PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST*
USSR REPORT: SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES*
USSR REPORT: USA: ECONOMICS, POLITICS, IDEOLOGY*

USSR SERIAL REPORTS (SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL)

USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Biomedical and Behavioral Sciences
USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Effects of Nonionizing Electromagnetic Radiation
USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Agrotechnology and Food Resources
USSR REPORT: Chemistry
USSR REPORT: Cybernetics, Computers and Automation Technology
USSR REPORT: Electronics and Electrical Engineering
USSR REPORT: Engineering and Equipment
USSR REPORT: Earth Sciences
USSR REPORT: Space
USSR REPORT: Materials Science and Metallurgy
USSR REPORT: Physics and Mathematics
USSR REPORT: SPACE BIOLOGY AND AEROSPACE MEDICINE*

WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development

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