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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 9, June 1980



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USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 9, June 1980

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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ECONOMICS AND EDUCATION--MAIN SPHERES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 3-13

[Text] Preparing to welcome its 26th congress, the party is directing the efforts of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia to the further development of economic and cultural construction, striving to upgrade the effectiveness of the communist education of the masses. The closest possible unity between party and people and the cohesion of the entire Soviet society are vividly manifested in the systematic implementation of the Leninist peaceful construction course.

Economics and education are today the main realms in the struggle waged by the Soviet people for strengthening and improving developed socialism and for laying the material and technical foundation for communism. Successes in these two most important realms of social activity, as was noted at the October 1979 All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, are organically interdependent. Approaching economic tasks from broad social positions, the party inseparably relates their practical solution to the intensification of ideological and political-educational work among the masses.

Last year our party drew up formulations which are, essentially, programmatic for a long period of time in the field of ideological-moral upbringing and planned economic management. In April the CPSU Central Committee passed the decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work." In July it passed the decree "On Further Improving the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs." The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers also passed the decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality."

These historical documents are imbued with the spirit of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, which defined the economic strategy and basic directions of ideological activity at the present stage. Developing and concretizing the congress' programmatic instructions, they are a combat manual for action for all party organizations at all levels of economic-organizational and ideological-educational work. It is important particularly to emphasize that these decrees cannot be implemented separately. The

decisions of the November 1979 CPSU Plenum call for the organic combination of ideological and political-educational work with the practical implementation of the essential tasks of economic and cultural construction.

Guided by the plenum's instructions, and the stipulations and conclusions contained in the speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the party organizations are conducting extensive organizational and agitation-propaganda work among the labor collectives of enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Developing in the masses a socialist awareness, spirit of collectivism and feeling of responsibility for the common cause, they are guiding the growing creative energy of the working people in the struggle for the successful fulfillment of the plan for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and the implementation of the party's decisions on perfecting the economic mechanism, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and upgrading effectiveness and quality. This is the way to the full utilization of the possibilities of developed socialism. This year's actions and accomplishments, as those of preceding years, confirm the fact that the party and the people are undeviatingly following this path.

The celebration of the great anniversary--the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth--in an atmosphere of tremendous political and labor upsurge the Soviet people are achieving further progress in the building of communism. This year the overwhelming majority of enterprises and associations in industry are successfully fulfilling their plans and raising labor productivity. Over four-fifths of the overall growth of output achieved in the first four months of this year were the result of higher labor productivity. Our leading workers marked Lenin's anniversary with outstanding labor accomplishments. Over five million working people, 265,000 brigades, shops and sectors, and 7,000 enterprises fulfilled their pledges ahead of schedule and were awarded the honorary Lenin certificate.

A study of the work done by industry and other economic sectors last year and in the first months of 1980 shows not only positive results but major shortcomings and unused possibilities. Along with sectors and enterprises successfully fulfilling their plans there are lagging enterprises which do not fully meet their planned assignments for the volume of commodity marketing, application and mastering the use of new equipment, and the growth of labor productivity. Naturally, certain objective difficulties may be found here as well. In many cases, however, the nonfulfillment of planned assignments is explained by shortcomings in the economic activities of a number of enterprises and sectors in industry, transportation, agriculture and construction. As a rule, this is the result of poor organizational and political-educational work.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the November 1979 Plenum, the main reason for the continuing existence of bottlenecks and shortcomings in the economy is that we have been unable to move ahead, as planned, in the field of further upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. Far from

all ministries and departments were able to surmount the power of inertia, and decisively complete all work to promote quality, upgrade labor productivity and achieve best final results.

Economic management was, and remains, the basic direction followed in the revolutionary-transforming activities of the CPSU. Nearly a full year has passed since the adoption of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism. Some work has been done in this direction. A number of important normative documents and method materials were drafted, adopted and published in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA. Ministries and departments have drafted plans for organizational measures aimed at the implementation of the decree. A certain progress has been achieved in their implementation. Despite all such activities, however, there is a lack of purposefulness, energy and adamant creative search. In some cases this effort is not backed by the necessary intensification of organizational and ideological work in the national economy, for which reason results are not always satisfactory.

Some enterprises adopted a formalistic attitude also to the study and implementation of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism. Some collectives were able to "forget" the decree, or are still awaiting additional instructions and clarifications "from above." In such cases ministries and departments have no right to remain on the position of "observers on the sideline." They have the direct obligation to provide effective control and specific aid to subordinate enterprises in fulfilling party and government decisions.

Daily efficient relations among production collectives is an important aspect of the economic mechanism. Such relations are complex and many sided. Today the overall variety of raw materials, materials, equipment and complementing parts and assemblies exceeds 20 million items. In order to insure the normal circulation of such material values between suppliers and consumers, as many as one billion specific economic relations must be operational at various management levels.

Production ties and contractual relations among socialist enterprises, based on cost accounting, reciprocal material interest and responsibility, must be fully included in the national plan. Particularly important here is the proper choice of enterprise evaluation economic-activity indicators regulating relations between commodity suppliers and consumers.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree we mentioned calls for converting to an assessment of the results of economic activities of production collectives and incentives based, above all, on the fulfillment of commodity procurement plans in accordance with concluded contracts. Unfortunately, this progressive method is still be applied excessively slowly. As before, a number of enterprises are focusing on gross indicators. It is not astounding that they are fulfilling and overfulfilling their plans for the volume of goods marketed, while failing to fulfill the plans for the

variety of goods delivered. Nevertheless, enterprise managers and procurement personnel are granted bonuses even when orders have been fulfilled no more than 90-95 percent. The party organizations must actively promote the strengthening of procurement discipline and the fastest possible implementation of the party's measures.

Improvements in planning and the economic mechanism affect not only organizational methods but the very meaning of all planning and management activities. The party calls for raising such activities to a qualitatively new level and for considerably upgrading its scientific standard. Socialist production must be set on the tracks of intensive development on the basis of the utilization of all the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. This means that the time has come for the pathos of the struggle for high rates of increase of volumes of output, developed in the first five-year plans, must be reinforced with the pathos of the struggle for high effectiveness and work quality. This must become the main pathos in economic construction.

It is a question above all of raising the quality of labor in the broadest meaning of the term, i.e., of upgrading its general standard, reaching a higher level consistent with mature socialism. Specialized knowledge, high-level professional training, general culture, political enlightenment and communist idea mindedness are becoming mandatory conditions for the successful work of ever broader workers strata. Consequently, the question arises of creating conditions favoring the all-round development of the capabilities and creative activity of the Soviet people, of all working people, i.e., of developing the main productive force of society. This is becoming an adamant requirement for economic construction and one of the important economic prerequisites for the fast growth of output.

By virtue of its objective nature the socialist economy is subordinated to the basic interests of the working people, of the entire society. Its development is the material base for the steady upsurge of the people's prosperity and the comprehensive blossoming of the individual. It has a booster for progress inaccessible to capitalism--the lofty communist ideals. It is important to make full use of the entire power of this moral booster in perfecting production activities and economic relations at all levels and in all economic units.

Requirements facing management work and managing economic cadres and specialists are particularly strict in a socialist planned economy. Relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, our cadres must more profoundly interpret economic problems formulated by life, and engage in a creative search for optimum means for their solution with full responsibility and initiative. The course of this work and of economic construction is becoming ever more dependent on successes in ideological and political-educational work, on the higher awareness and understanding of every Soviet person of the social significance of his personal active participation in the fulfillment of national economic plans and in the acceleration of scientific and technical

progress. It is particularly important to develop in all working people the ability to keep their word and display a conscientious attitude toward their social duty. The Leninist principle of unity of word and action must become the daily norm of behavior of every Soviet person.

Prime significance is ascribed to improving the workstyle and method on the basis of the principled instructions issued by the party, to strengthening labor and planning discipline, and intensifying control over the implementation of assignments and decisions. The task is to enhance the individual responsibility of everyone, particularly of managers, for assignments, and operatively and sharply to react to occurrences of negligence and violation of operational plans and norms. This requires painstaking and daily organizational work, and effective control and investigation of implementation of decisions.

Recently the CC CPSU analyzed the work of a number of ministries and party committees of associations, enterprises, scientific research, and design organizations in the light of the requirements of the November 1979 Plenum. The decrees passed focus the attention on improving management, upgrading the level of organizational work and effectiveness of control over the production activities of associations and enterprises, and their planned conversion to the new economic management conditions. The party committees of ministries and departments have been asked to insure the formulation and implementation of measures aimed at strengthening performing discipline and radically improving the organization of systematic control and investigation of the implementation of party and government directives. Special consideration was given to the problem of the work of the ministries of metallurgy, machine building and construction in upgrading the quality of metal output and the effective utilization of metal on the basis of the use of low-waste technology. The party ascribes prime significance to the strictest possible observance of state and planning discipline in the use of metal at all production and consumption stages. The task of the party organizations is to expose and firmly block cases of negligent attitude toward the storage and utilization of metal goods. The reorganization of the planning practice as well must contribute to the all-round intensification of savings in the national economy.

Flexible cadre policy is an effective means for improving the economic mechanism. The party's concept is more boldly to promote energetic, initiative-minded and creatively thinking people, replacing those who fail to cope with the work. "The modern manager," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "must organically combine within himself party mindedness with profound competence, and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the work. At the same time, in all sectors the managers must take into consideration sociopolitical and educational aspects. They must be responsive to the people and to their needs and requests, and provide an example in and out of the job."

Wherever economic managers and specialists display such qualities high effectiveness in collective labor is inevitably reached. However, it is no

secret that in our country there still are poor managers, who finding themselves in a complex economic situation, remain idle in the face of difficulties, go against their conscience, and prove to be incapable of displaying firm party principle-mindedness and basic honesty toward the state. Usually, they justify the nonfulfillment of planned assignments or their poor work with references to so-called objective circumstances.

Naturally, objective circumstances and possibilities must be seriously studied and considered. In a planned economy, however, if attentively analyzed, many of them prove to be the result of personal or someone else's previous subjective activities. Generally speaking, a position of objectivism and passive contemplation of events or, even more specifically, drifting, is far from being a Marxist position. Proving that a given line of factors had to take place, we always risk taking the viewpoint of supporting such facts. Unlike objectivism, Lenin explained, Marxist materialism mandatorily includes party-mindedness. In terms of socialist reality, this means that our economic managers must not only see the adverse objective circumstances, but manifest their active party attitude toward them, i.e., find and adopt effective measures for their elimination, insure a proper political approach to the work and strictly implement the party's line.

We are universally familiar, for example, with the "objective" fact that some important commodities are in short supply. The durability of this fact has confirmed that, apparently, some economic managers have clearly taken the viewpoint of its defenders. The Leninist, the party formulation of the problem was clearly expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1979 Plenum: The specific culprits for each "shortage" must be found, and be punished, should this be the result of negligence, irresponsibility or bungling.

Such party approach must be displayed in the case of all so-called objective circumstances for the failure of production plans and the appearance of economic disproportions and other negative phenomena which hinder our progress. In many cases the culprits may be found at the enterprise itself and, frequently, in the management and planning organs.

The active life stance of the leading cadres is based on a profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, which combines, as Lenin emphasized, total scientific sobriety "in the study of the objective state of affairs and objective course of development with the most firm acknowledgement of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creativity and revolutionary initiative of the masses . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 16, p 23). Naturally, this applies to individuals, groups and organizations.

Our party is always concerned with developing in every party member and every citizen intolerance of shortcomings. We also have a sharp weapon to wage a decisive struggle against them: criticism and self-criticism. The

party organizations must upgrade their effectiveness in the struggle against negative phenomena and make more effective use of their right to control administrative activities. It is important to actively develop criticism, both "from above" and, particularly, "from below." The power of criticism lies in its publicity, principle-mindedness, concreteness, provability and the social significance of the questions raised. The party faces the managers with strict requirements. Anyone who loses the ability to critically assess his activities, who has alienated himself from the masses, and who creates flatterers and toadies, or who has lost the trust of the party members, cannot be a manager.

Perfecting planning and the economic mechanism as a whole, we shall achieve the necessary results only by simultaneously perfecting the way of economic thinking of cadres, of management psychology. The management workers must have not only extensive specialized knowledge, and high political conscientiousness, but farsightedness, party principle-mindedness, the ability to undertake the solution of complex problems and to display firmness and even daring in defending the state and nationwide interests, firmly opposing the narrow departmental and parochial approach, adamantly fighting sluggishness and routine. They must learn to consider the political and moral aspects of their actions in the formulation of the state plan and the making of management decisions. It is precisely such qualities that the party organizations must develop in the personnel of the state management and planning organs.

Any important state project undertaken in our country begins with planning. The plan determines not only the volumes of output. It is also a powerful mobilizing educational means which insures the organized nature, strict order, balancing of all projects and rhythmical nature of the production process. We could say that it also triggers the energy and mood of the people who fulfill it. However, all this is providing that the plan is scientifically substantiated and realistic, built on the basis of precise technical-economic and engineering computations. A plan drafted in a routine way, "on the off chance," without strict and comprehensive processing, turns into its opposite, into a disorganizing and demoralizing force which creates those same adverse "objective circumstances" as a result of which it becomes necessary not simply to fulfill the plan, but to "get out of trouble" and fulfill the plan "at all costs." What could even the best collective do if the plan includes amounts of work which cannot be promptly backed by capacities, raw material, additional manpower or cost estimate documentation? In such cases the performers "get out of trouble." Gross violations of technical conditions are allowed at many construction projects and enterprises, designs are violated and substandard materials and goods are used.

A decisive struggle must be waged against errors in planning and shortcomings in the economic mechanism. However, one must struggle on a principled, a party basis, concerned above all with the strict observance of the interests of the state. Unfortunately, there still are a number of

economic managers who choose other means for surmounting arising difficulties. Using all available permissible and impermissible means, they try to ease the program for their enterprise, exaggerate needs for resources, thus accumulating above-norm material reserves, and demand the lowering of approved planned assignments without major reasons. Occasionally, such slippery ways take them to the dangerous threshold beyond which crimes against society begin. It is a question of still existing cases of cheating the state, eyewash and padding. In the last years padding the figures on goods shipped to consumers was allowed by enterprises of the Ministry of Power Machine Building, USSR Ministry of Timber and Wood Processing Industry and the Ukrainian and Kazakhstan state committees for agricultural equipment. Some superior organs display inadmissible liberalism and tolerance toward such unseemly actions. For example, within the system of the Tadjik SSR Ministry of Rural Construction, for quite some time enterprises and organizations which had allowed padding and distorted accountability data were classified as leading enterprises. Based on the results of the republic socialist competition, they were classified in leading positions and presented with Red Challenge banners and cash prizes "for achieved successes."

Managers who take the path of padding and distortion of accountability data usually cite the justification that they are concerned with the well-being of the rayon, kolkhoz or enterprise. In fact, they need the appearance of such well-being, an inflated glory, to conceal their inactivity or inability, and to avoid responsibility and retain their official position at all cost. The logic of self-interest leads such workers to neglect their official duties and openly to violate the stipulations of the CPSU bylaws and the Soviet laws. This is the result of a total loss of party-mindedness, and proof of profound degradation. This is the only possible way to rate such actions on the part of people who have violated their honor and conscience by saving the "honor of the uniform."

There is a saying according to which the means justify the end. It has been borrowed from the arsenal of bourgeois ideology. All means are good for the sake of achieving narrowly egotistical, base objectives. It has long been pointed out that achieving the best objectives through the best means represents wisdom. This naturally stems from the proletarian, the Marxist-Leninist outlook, and finds its practical application in the party's Leninist policy and in all its managing, organizing and political-educational work. Following it, our economic cadres will always find the strongest possible support among the broadest toiling masses, which in a selfless struggle for best work indicators, are also finding the best ways leading to them.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that the great advantage of socialism, one of its main "secrets," is that "in addition to good management 'from above,' as the saying goes, there is yet another powerful force for the acceleration of economic growth: The creative activity, initiative and labor enthusiasm of millions of people coming 'from below,' or, more

specifically, from the very depths of society." These two factors--"from above" and "from below"--are inseparable. They strengthen the unity and solidarity of society, described by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as the unique achievement of socialism, our priceless and invincible force. It is the force of the collectivistic unity of the joint owners of public production, developing the economy according to a single plan and for the sake of common objectives.

Unlike the workers under capitalism, described by Lenin as a class of "ownerless producers" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 2, p 548), the workers in a socialist society are a class of united owners-producers. In terms of ownership by the whole people they are equal to all working people. However, by their status within the social production system, as a determining force of socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress, the working class plays a leading role in the implementation of economic functions in the state.

The realization by every working person of the socioeconomic reality of his situation as the owner of the public production process, along with everyone else, is a complex and lengthy process. It involves the shaping of a scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook, communist idea-mindedness and the development of an active life stance in the struggle for communism. Once knowledge is turned into conviction, it determines both the line of behavior of a person and his practical activities. From the very first steps of the Soviet system, following Lenin's instructions, in all its organizational and political-educational work our party has tried to make the "conscientious worker feel that he is not only the master of his plant, but the representative of the country, to feel responsibility" (ibid, Vol 36, pp 369-370). The implementation of economic functions as well must be learned. This means to learn how to think broadly, to approach everything like a statement, and to see not only the immediate results of one's work but the end result of the collective toil as well.

The real power of the working people, as joint owners of public production, is felt, above all, in their practical establishment of the strictest possible nationwide accounting and control over production and distribution. As Lenin pointed out, "This marks the beginning of true socialism." It is "the main thing required for the proper functioning of the communist society" (ibid, Vol 36, pp 260, 266). Guided by Lenin's instructions, the party is not only perfecting the control functions of state planning and management organs, but comprehensively developing a system of people's control from below. Acting in close contact with the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the people's control posts, groups and committees are engaged in a truly mass-scale investigation of the implementation of party and government directives and national economic plans. Their efforts are focused on the operative correction of revealed shortcomings.

This is a major practical school for the communist education of the working people, during which they acquire the practical skills of truly personal attitude toward the public good and the ability to display high exactingness and personal responsibility in defending the government's interests.

An important task in the ideological work of the party organizations is to develop in every Soviet person the feeling that he is the owner of the public production process. Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, and ministries and departments must promote this through all their activities. They must operatively and efficiently react to the critical remarks expressed by the working people. They must attentively study their specific suggestions related to important problems of economic construction and social life, and firmly block cases of suppression of criticism. The vigilant owner's eyes and concerned owner's hands of millions of Soviet people are the most important levers of our economic mechanism. Its effective functioning depends above all on them.

The creative initiative of the toiling masses and their owner's concern for the further upsurge of the planned economy are manifested particularly clearly in the developed nationwide socialist competition involving over 93 percent of all working people. The main guidelines of the competitors today are quality work indicators and high national-economic end results of the combined work of millions of people. The enthusiasts in the field of technical progress are making a substantial contribution to the advancement of the production process.

Initiated by the people of Rostov, the movement under the slogan of "Let Us Work Without Stragglers!" is spreading around the country. It appeared as a result of the increased socialist conscientiousness of the working people and the development of their creative initiative in the struggle for communism. Many enterprises which joined this movement implemented a planned system of measures and achieved their objectives: Their collectives are virtually free from stragglers who fail to meet their output norms. Also important is the fact that "Working Without Stragglers" is being considered by them, to an ever greater extent, not a passing slogan, but a mandatory principle for joint work and a tested method for strengthening organization and discipline and achieving high production results.

Lenin considered the development of the initiative of workers and all working people in the creative organization of the work one of the most important tasks of the new society. Implementing Lenin's behest, the working people of town and country are engaged in an active search for new methods and organizational means for joint work. Production innovators not only produce the best goods but enrich society with organizational ideas. Their progressive experience is the priceless resource of the socialist society. It is open to all. However, this resource cannot simply be taken. It must be mastered and one must learn how to apply it to specific work conditions. The dissemination of the experience of the leading workers requires a planned organization. This is, above all, the concern

of ministries, departments and central and republic trade union committees. They must insure an effective approach to the dissemination of progressive experience! They must arm the working people with methodical instructions on the procedure for its study, summation and application in accordance with the characteristics and tasks of the various sectors and practically organize this work.

The socialist competition, born of the historical creativity of the masses and scientifically organized by the party, has become a powerful booster not only of economic, but of social progress and of the spiritual and moral development of the Soviet society. Enriched by numerous innovative initiatives, it has encompassed the outstanding traditions of the great initiative--the first communist subbotniks, the socialist labor shock workers, the shock brigades of the First Five-Year Plan, and the first counterplans. Developing, it raises to a higher level the movement for a communist attitude toward labor, which is today the highest practical school for the labor, political and moral upbringing of the Soviet people. The struggle for production effectiveness and for highest possible labor productivity is organically combined here with the communist upbringing of the people and their all-round physical and spiritual development.

Collectives bearing the high title of communist are indeed giving examples of organization and highly productive labor. However, there also are cases of showiness and formalism. For example, we have enterprises which, even though bearing the high title of communist labor collective, fail to fulfill their planned assignments, work unrhythmically and produce defective goods. True, frequently they experience considerable difficulties created by other enterprises, deliverers of raw and other materials. Unfortunately it still happens that some collectives create difficulties, while other collectives are forced to surmount them heroically. With a normal organization of the work the need for exceptional measures, alarm and rushing would simply not arise.

A party, a statesmanlike approach to the work here as well is inseparable from moral concepts such as honesty, conscience, duty and moral responsibility. It is precisely such qualities that are manifested in leading collectives which give priority to the implementation of their obligations based on the principle of "above all, ask of yourself." This is the best possible way to help the strengthening of economic relations with one's partners. It helps to achieve coordination in resolving complex production and economic problems. The end national economic result becomes the main guideline in their search for effective forms of cooperation. Many difficulties and problems remain. However, the way of joint efforts is the correct one.

Socialist collectivism in labor, as well as the mentality of collectivism, are hammered and tempered in the same forge--the labor collective. It is here that the worker becomes such, that his views on life are molded and his civic maturity comes. In the labor collective, as metaphorically

stated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the great concepts of politics and economics are translated into practical language. It is here, in the final account, that the fate of the plan and of adopted socialist pledges is decided. Making his labor contribution to common results, everyone feels his personal involvement in the great accomplishments of the homeland.

The high conscientiousness of the masses becomes an insurmountable force when combined with a good organization of their joint labor. Our system, Lenin pointed out, "must be truly a labor system" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 36, p 261). Its entire power lies in excellent organization and iron discipline. Lenin considered as one of the basic tasks of tremendous difficulty the development of new discipline of comradely relations "not according to instructions from above, but as indicated by the practical experience" of the toiling masses themselves.

A new labor discipline, based on planned socialist organization, high conscientiousness and the communist idea-mindedness of the working people, has been created in our country and is continually strengthening. All these, however, are mobile categories. As society progresses in the building of communism, quality changes occur in the production process. The scale of output rises. Economic relations become more complex and scientific progress is accelerated. At the same time, favorable conditions are for revealing the capabilities of every person, and for manifestations of initiative, creativity and professional growth. Naturally, requirements concerning discipline and organization become stricter as well.

The party directs all creative forces of the Soviet people and their constructive energy to the fulfillment of the plans for the countries' economic and social development. The 1980 Plan has its important characteristics. It marks the completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan and is the starting base for the following, 11th Five-Year Plan. It is a plan for a period of active preparations for the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress. These are precisely the positions from which the party approaches the assessment of our entire ideological-educational and organizational-economic work and the solution of the socioeconomic and political problems facing the country.

As was noted at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, the assignments of the 1980 Plan are not simple. However, they must be fulfilled and overfulfilled. This calls for maintaining an atmosphere of high exactingness, organization and creative attitude toward the work in all national economic sectors and within each production collective. The party and trade union organizations, the economic managers and the Komsomol must insure the coordination of the actions of all competitors and their purposefulness in reaching planned levels. The implementation of their socialist pledges by all labor collectives will be the best gift which the Soviet people could present the forthcoming congress of the Leninist party, and yet another major economic and ideological victory in the struggle for communism.

5003

CSO: 1802

QUARTER OF A CENTURY IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 14-24

[Article K. Rusakov, CC CPSU secretary, based on a report delivered at the ceremonious meeting in Moscow on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact]

[Text] The time after World War II has been marked by a number of important events which have had a durable influence on the course of historical development. The creation of the Warsaw Pact--the military-political alliance of the socialist states--founded one-quarter of a century ago, has played an outstanding role in a number of such events.

Why and under what circumstances did this occur?

In the mid-1950's the international situation was alarming. The icy winds of the cold war were blowing over the continent. Having recruited West Germany, the aggressive North Atlantic Bloc was openly relying on militarism and revanchism. "Throwing back communism" was the objective formulated by the NATO strategists. In practical terms, this formula meant engaging in provocations against the socialist world, exerting steady political and military pressure on the young people's democracies, adopting discriminatory measures in trade, and psychological warfare.

The hostile pressure of the class adversary had to be countered through the joint forces of the socialist states, capable of protecting their freedom and independence and defending the peace on the continent. That was precisely the purpose of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty, concluded in the capital of Poland on 14 May 1955.

In terms of its class nature, objectives and methods of activity, the Warsaw Pact was radically different from all past and present coalitions. It was an alliance of sovereign and equal socialist states, joined by a common social system and communist ideals, a defensive alliance aimed at safeguarding the peaceful toil of the fraternal peoples and strengthening European and international security.

This collective organization of socialist states was a manifestation of a profound law of social development which makes extensive cooperation and international mutual aid among nations building a new life a vital requirement. It embodies the solidarity of the working class and the working people, and their resolve jointly to defend socialist gains and counter the pressure of aggressive imperialist forces.

The quarter of a century we have lived jointly enables us confidently to state that the alliance of fraternal countries has fully justified the hopes placed in it.

Assessing the most important result of the joint activities carried out in the postwar decades, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that, ". . . The main thing we have been able to accomplish was to break the tragic cycle of world war--short peaceful breathing spell--another world war. We, the Soviet people, and our friends--the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries--and everyone who has fought for peace, detente and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, have the right to be proud of this historical result."

Properly assessing the results of the pact, let us emphasize that, today as well, the Warsaw Pact continues to fulfill its noble historical mission. This was clearly confirmed by the 14-15 May 1980 Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

The declaration, statement and other documents of the conference provide a profound assessment of the contemporary international situation with all its complexity and variety. They present new important initiatives aimed at strengthening European and universal peace.

The Soviet people unanimously support these important political documents, which were highly rated by the fraternal countries. The progressive public the world over links its hopes for improvements in the international circumstances with the new initiatives formulated by the socialist states.

The CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers entirely and fully approved the activities of the delegation of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

The main content of the work carried out in Warsaw at the anniversary session was the aspiration to preserve and advance detente.

Detente was the objective result of the new ratio of forces in the world arena. At the same time, it became possible thanks to the energetic, purposeful and, something worthy of emphasis, the coordinated actions of the socialist countries. The noticeable improvement in the international circumstances of the 1970's was organically linked with the tireless

struggle waged by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the implementation of the peace program formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, and the foreign political programmatic stipulations of the fraternal parties.

In Sofia, Budapest, Berlin, Warsaw, Bucharest, Moscow or Prague, wherever the Political Consultative Committee held its conferences, tens of constructive proposals were drafted and put on the agenda of European and global policy, covering all main contemporary international problems.

The socialist countries suggested programs for strengthening European security and reducing armed forces and armaments on our continent. They formulated the idea of a European conference of states. They promoted the unification of efforts by the European countries to resolve problems related to environmental protection and the development of the power industry and transportation, and submitted a number of other proposals.

The Warsaw Pact Organization has already been able to implement a number of important initiatives, while a persistent and lengthy struggle remains to be waged for the implementation of others. However, all of them have left profound traces in international life and, considered in their entirety, have become a kind of platform for the consolidation of the peace.

The active peaceful policy of the Warsaw Pact members contributed, to a determining extent, to the stabilization of circumstances in Europe and to the solution of a number of acute problems which cast a shadow on relations among countries on the continent. On this level the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and the FRG, on the other, the normalizing of relations between the other socialist countries and the FRG, and the reaching of the quadripartite West Berlin accord, were of tremendous significance.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was an exceptionally important feature in the development of European and virtually all international circumstances. The peoples are well aware of how much the socialist countries have done for the idea of convening such a conference being implemented. The Final Act, adopted in Helsinki, became a type of peaceful coexistence charter. It strengthened the base of equal cooperation among countries with different social systems.

The road to detente was hard. It was covered because the Warsaw Pact members acted unitedly and because the socialist policy of peace met with the broad understanding and support of the European and world public. The socialist states did not seek unilateral advantages. They acted in accordance with the interests of all nations and strove to promote reciprocal understanding with realistically thinking Western political circles.

It was precisely such a policy that made possible the solution of problems considered historical in the full meaning of the term. The results of

World War II and of postwar developments, and the inviolability of European borders were codified. A permanent political dialog among countries with different social systems was organized. Considerable experience was acquired in reciprocally profitable economic and cultural cooperation. Finally, and most importantly, the breaking out of a new military conflict on the continent, which would inevitably have grown into a global thermo-nuclear fire, was prevented.

The effectiveness of the alliance among fraternal countries is, to a decisive extent, the result of the close coordination of the actions of its members. In one-quarter of a century a smooth mechanism has been developed through which the coordinated line pursued in international affairs is formulated and implemented.

On the basis of a comradely exchange of views the Political Consultative Committee defines the common approach to key problems of international relations which are in the focal point of attention of the fraternal parties and their central committees, and the governments of the allied countries.

The special role which the Political Consultative Committee plays is related to the fact that high-level party and state leaders of fraternal countries are participating in its work. By general recognition, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is making an outstanding contribution to this work. Leonid Il'ich's tremendous political experience and his prestige as the leader of our Leninist party and Soviet state and as an outstanding statesman in the world communist movement, play an important role in the successful interaction among the members of our alliance, and contribute to the strengthening of their unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian and socialist internationalism.

The practice of holding regular sessions by the Committee of Foreign Affairs Ministers has been established within the Warsaw Pact. Here specific practical steps are discussed for the implementation of initiatives formulated by the Political Consultative Committee.

Extensive work is being done by the Committee of Defense Ministers, the Joint Command, the Military Council and the staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact members. The collective efforts in the field of defense are yielding the necessary results. The borders of the socialist comity are reliably protected.

The importance of the contribution of the Soviet Armed Forces to the defense of the interests of socialism and peace is obvious to all. Our party and its Central Committee are always concerned with providing the Soviet Army and Navy with everything necessary to repel any aggression, whatever its origin. It is pertinent to bring this to the attention of those whose actions have resulted in a substantial cooling of the international political climate.

The current break in international relations did not occur suddenly. As early as the end of 1978, the Moscow declaration of the Political Consultative Committee expressed concern about the growing activity of imperialist and reactionary forces. The participants in the last conference, in Warsaw, drew the conclusion that as a result of the further energizing of imperialist and hegemonistic forces the international situation had become even more complex.

The reasons for increased imperialist aggressiveness are clear. They include, above all, the desire to hinder the strengthening of socialist positions, the successes of the national-liberation movement, and the growth of the influence of democratic and progressive forces in the world. They are also a consequence of the aggravation of the general crisis within the capitalist system and a reaction to profound crisis phenomena in the monetary, energy and other areas, and the intensifying struggle waged by the working class and the working people for their rights and interests. They also reflect the apprehension of right-wing U.S. circles concerning the country's leadership in the capitalist world, substantially undermined by the growth interimperialist contradictions and risky turns and errors of American foreign policy.

The aggravation of international circumstances is largely related to the hegemonistic and militaristic course of the Chinese leadership. Its fierce hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist comity is considered a major trump in Washington's military-political game.

Beijing has long considered the Soviet Union "enemy No 1." It has been trying to set up a "broadest possible united front," involving the participation of imperialists and reactionaries of all hues in their struggle against our country and world socialism. The Beijing leaders are trying to substantiate their position with references to an imaginary "threat to China from the north." The stupidity of this fabrication is confirmed by the fact that, on our side, in accordance with the line of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, repeated efforts have made to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese side knows that we are ready to engage in businesslike talks at all times.

It is not the Soviet Union that should be blamed for the current state of relations between the USSR and China. We have always shown great sympathy for the Chinese revolution and given the Chinese people great aid in the struggle against imperialism and in building a new life. We understand their aspiration to modernize their industry, agriculture, science and culture, and to enhance their material standards. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that, "We would like to have normal, good-neighborly relations with that country. We have mentioned this in the past and are repeating it today. However, it takes to build relations between any two countries."

No, it is not the imaginary "threat from the north," but entirely different reasons which led China's leadership into an unnatural alliance with the enemies of socialism and the liberation movement. They include its chauvinistic and great-power course. We have systematically waged and will continue to wage a decisive struggle against such a course and against a policy of aggression and hegemonism.

Under contemporary conditions two conflicting lines are becoming ever more apparent in international politics. A comparison between the latest actions of the Warsaw Pact and the NATO members would make their direction particularly clear.

Two years ago, at a special UN General Assembly session on disarmament, in New York, the representatives of the socialist states presented extensive specific proposals to limit the arms race. Literally at the same time the NATO Council, held in Washington, passed a decision on a steady increase in military budgets.

Last October Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated in Berlin constructive proposals for talks on medium-range nuclear missiles on the European Continent. What about NATO? Last December NATO passed an extremely dangerous plan which called for the production and deployment in Western Europe of new American medium-range nuclear missiles.

Now, in May 1980, holding its anniversary session, the Political Consultative Committee turned to the Western countries with new initiatives in favor of peace, detente and disarmament. At their session, the leading NATO organs in Brussels declared the intention of the members of that alliance to follow their chosen course of intensification of militarism and military confrontation.

Comparing the voices coming out of Warsaw and Brussels, from the Warsaw Pact and NATO, heard almost at the same time, the peoples were able, yet once again, to compare the two conflicting lines in international affairs. Once again they were able to see that imperialism means war, while socialism means peace.

American imperialism is the pioneer of the new spiral in the arms race and the main culprit for the aggravation of international circumstances.

It has been universally acknowledged that stable and smooth relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are of great importance to maintaining a durable peace and for the normal development of international cooperation. That is precisely what our country has favored and is favoring.

Unfortunately, currently the Carter Administration has taken a different path. Citing a variety of pretexts it is postponing the ratification of the Soviet American SALT treaty. Talks covering a number of aspects of

limiting the arms race are neither progressing nor been demonstratively broken by the United States. Washington is threatening us with a variety of "sanctions." Political campaigns in the spirit of the cold war are being mounted against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Futile attempts are being made to divide the socialist comity. Ever more frequently the U.S. Administration is violating political and trade-economic treaties and agreements it has signed, and is treacherously violating the principles of conscientious fulfillment of international-legal obligations. Even the Olympic movement, which embodies the ideas of peace, friendship and rapprochement among peoples, is experiencing gross pressure from the other side of the ocean only because the Olympic Games are being held in Moscow.

In an effort to somehow justify NATO's present course, imperialist propaganda is trying to convince the public at large that events in Afghanistan and around Afghanistan were the reason for the aggravation of international tension. At this point we must recall Lenin's words that there are "stupid people who are yelling about Red militarism; they are political swindlers pretending to believe this stupidity and casting such accusations right and left, using their lawyer's ability to fabricate false arguments and throw sand in the eyes of the masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 50).

Currently an ever larger number of people in the West are beginning to understand both the consequences and the true reason of the Afghan events. The Soviet Union sent a limited military contingent into Afghanistan after receiving repeated requests to this effect from the legitimate government of the country. This was a forced measure dictated by the fact that armed actions were being mounted against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the part of some neighboring countries, Pakistan above all, with U.S. and Chinese support.

The Warsaw conference declaration emphasizes "the need for a political settlement of the situation which has developed around Afghanistan. Such a settlement should reliably guarantee the total cessation and nonresumption of any type of foreign interference directed the government and the people of Afghanistan. The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, in accordance with the declarations of the Soviet Union, will take place along with the total cessation of any form of interference from the outside, directed against the government and people of Afghanistan."

The May declaration of the Afghan Government offers a sensible realistic base for a political settlement of the Afghanistan-related situation.

The complexity of global circumstances did not begin with the Afghan events but with the general turn in Washington's policy, manifested in the new plans for NATO armaments, increasing U.S. naval power in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and the implementation of other measures aimed at suppressing the growing struggle of the peoples for liberation from the imperialist yoke.

Despite the great variety of events which have taken place in various countries of the Near and Middle East, the actions of the enemies of peace and social progress quite clearly show the same imperialist handwriting identified in Afghan affairs.

For a number of years American propaganda has been trumpeting Carter's peace-making efforts in the Middle East. Today everyone can see the outcome of the Camp David deal. It is obvious that a true settlement of the Middle Eastern problem is impossible through separate deals, ignoring the legitimate interests of all countries and peoples of the area, including the Arab people of Palestine.

This also applies to the current circumstances in Iran. Trying to regain control over this petroleum-rich country at all costs, the U.S. ruling circles are threatening it with blockade and hunger, sending their agents into it in order to trigger internal troubles, and organizing military provocations against it. The failed raid by American commandos, whose purpose was the release by force of the American hostages, was a manifestation of such methods.

As frequently pointed out, the Soviet Union favors the observance of diplomatic immunity. However, it is entirely clear that the drastic aggravation of the situation in the area of the Persian Gulf was created by the actions of American imperialism and aimed against the liberation revolution in Iran. Demanding the observance of international law by others, the U.S. ruling circles themselves are unceremoniously trampling such norms, ignoring the inalienable right of the Iranian people to control their own destinies.

Together with the Chinese hegemonists, the American imperialists are continuing to increase the tension in another part of the Asian continent, in Southeast Asia. Both Beijing and Washington are unable to tolerate the fact that the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have become the undisputed masters of their own homes.

What is taking place in the Caribbean area? Here again, the U.S. leaders are waving a big stick, threatening a settlement of accounts with the liberation of the peoples of this area and of other Latin American countries. Provocations against socialist oriented countries in Africa are continuing uninterruptedly. However, the time of unpunished colonial piracy is gone forever. The peoples cherish the independence they have gained and are firmly rebuffing encroachments on their revolutionary gains. Heroic Vietnam, Cuba, Lao, Kampuchea and other countries defending their freedom can always rely on solidarity.

Peace is indivisible and only peace founded on respect for the right of each nation to self-determination and on equal cooperation among all countries in the interest of human progress can be truly durable. That is why the Warsaw Pact members support the demand of the nonaffiliated countries

for a restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

Under the contemporary conditions, the struggle for social progress and for resolving the vital problems facing mankind is more than ever before linked with the struggle for peace and disarmament. That is why the question of the direction and manner of development of international events has become so urgent.

Today, essentially, the world stands at a fork: One direction leads to the intensification of detente and broadening of peaceful cooperation, and the other to a resumption of the cold war and a dangerous aggravation of international tension.

As to the Soviet Union and the socialist states, our choice was made once and for all. The communists are for peace and peaceful coexistence among countries with different sociopolitical systems.

History teaches us that imperialism and its aggressive circles have frequently tried to test our strength and determination. The young Soviet state was forced to endure a fierce struggle to repel the invasion of 14 imperialist countries. In World War II our people were subjected to most severe trials. However, the Soviet people withstood them honorably and, under the party's leadership, defended the freedom and independence of the homeland.

The final gunshots had barely died away when the imperialist strategists unleashed the cold war against the USSR and the other socialist countries. Together with the cold war, in Korea, Cuba and in Vietnam they also used weapons to block revolutionary changes.

What happened? Socialism was established on our planet firmly and its international positions are becoming steadily stronger.

It would be pertinent to recall that as early as the beginning of 1922 Lenin wrote that, "Today we can no longer be frightened by isolation and blockade or intervention" (Lenin, op cit, Vol 44, p 385). This confidence, based on an accurate assessment of the ratio of class forces in the world, was fully confirmed. Since we could not be frightened in 1922, this has become even less possible in 1980. Today the Soviet Union and the socialist comity have everything necessary to go forth, fearing no threats, confidently implementing the constructive tasks of the building of socialism and communism.

However, whereas there is nothing essentially new in the imperialist attempts to exert pressure on socialism, we cannot fail to see the characteristics of the present circumstances. As a result of the arms race unleashed by imperialism, the world today is oversaturated with mass-destruction means. The stockpiles of such weapons are such, should all of

them be used, life on earth would be destroyed. That is why today it is particularly dangerous to rattle weapons. That is also why it is necessary to double and triple our watchfulness concerning the intrigues of the enemies of the peace.

"All available experience, the developing international circumstances, and, particularly, the recent facts," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "force us to keep our powder dry, to be adamant and consistent in defending the cause of peace, and to remember our historical responsibility for the fate of the homeland and of all mankind."

The implementation of the constructive program for action contained in the Warsaw declaration could and should bring about improvements in the circumstances and the strengthening of peace in Europe and throughout the world. This program is already meeting with the understanding and support of the European and world public. Let us hope that it will meet with a positive response on the part of the ruling Western circles.

The members of the Warsaw Pact favor the development of mutually useful relations with the capitalist and developing countries. Particularly important here are high-level contacts. Let us emphasize, in this area, the great importance of the meetings between Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev with French President V. Giscard d'Estaing, with the participation of Comrade E. Gierek, CC BZPR first secretary, and the talk between L. I. Brezhnev and I. Gandhi, India's prime minister, which triggered a broad international response.

We also know that talks were held in Vienna between Comrade A. A. Gromyko and representatives of the United States, France, the FRG, Britain, Italy and Austria. This was a necessary and useful exchange of views.

The Madrid meeting, planned for the autumn of 1980, may be used for the continuation and development of the political dialog on vital contemporary problems. The socialist countries would like to see its proceedings maintain a businesslike constructive tone. Naturally, it would be quite important to Europe and the world at large should a decision to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe be adopted and the agenda of the first stage of such a conference, which could deal with measures of trust, be defined.

Like the other members of the Warsaw Pact the Soviet Union warmly supports the support of the Polish People's Republic to hold the military detente and disarmament conference in Warsaw.

The initiative of the members of the Warsaw Pact, who called in their declaration for holding of a summit meeting of the heads of states of all parts of the world in the immediate future, becomes particularly important considering the current complex circumstances. Unquestionably, such a meeting would ease the solution of grave problems of international relations and contribute to the general normalization of circumstances.

The approach taken by the Warsaw Pact members, dictated by their desire to prevent an increase in tension, is one of preventing the accumulation of controversial problems and adamantly promoting their solution.

Europe needs military detente like breathing air. It is also needed by the world at large. Now, when the peoples are threatened by a new expensive and dangerous round in the arms race, imposed by Washington, it is particularly important to stop a dangerous development of events and take practical steps in the field of disarmament.

The Warsaw Pact members have the right to expect of the Western governmental circles properly to assess their suggestion that, starting on a specific agreed-upon date, no single country or group of countries in Europe would increase the strength of its armed forces within the area stipulation in the Helsinki Final Act.

The socialist countries favor reaching an agreement on a major problem such as medium-range nuclear missiles. However, this calls for NATO's revocation of its decision to deploy in Western Europe new types of American nuclear missiles, or at least putting an official end to the implementation of this decision. The strict observance of the principle of equal security and the preservation of the existing rough military parity is the real base for reaching an agreement.

The members of the Warsaw Pact firmly favor the reaching of positive results at the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in central Europe. They have already taken considerable steps in order to bring the positions of the different sides closer. Should the West adopt a similar approach, displaying its good will, unquestionably, decisions could be reached which not threaten anyone's security and would lower the level of military confrontation in the center of Europe.

As we know, the Soviet Union is unilaterally withdrawing from central Europe a certain number of troops and armaments, including tank units. A proper Western reaction to this example would give impetus to the cause of military detente on the European continent.

The Warsaw Pact members believe that no single door should be closed when it is a question of talks on various aspects of disarmament. They call for the ratification of the Soviet-American SALT II treaty, the successful completion of the talks on total and general ban on nuclear weapon testing, the nonutilization of nuclear weapons against nonnuclear powers which have not deployed such weapons on their territory, and banning radiological and chemical weapons and destroying their stockpiles. They are prepared to engage in businesslike talks on all ripe problems related to the termination of the arms race.

The members of the socialist comity do not consider the division of the world into military blocs a policy of their own. For this reason the

members of the Warsaw Pact Organization have repeatedly stated their readiness to disband it, providing that the NATO bloc is disbanded at the same time. At its latest session the Political Consultative Committee reasserted the suggestion to abolish the military organizations of the two groups, beginning with a lowering of military activities.

The strength of the socialist policy is that it is deeply national. It enjoys the understanding and support of the communist and workers movements, the fighters for national liberation and progressive public opinion. The recent meeting of communist and workers parties of Europe, held in Paris, under the slogan of "For Peace and Disarmament," clearly proved that, together with all peace-loving forces in Europe, the European communists are increasing their activeness in the interest of peace. The appeal issued by the participants in the meeting gave a new impetus to the struggle against the threat of war.

In the 1980's mankind can and must take decisive steps not to waste its constructive possibilities in the production of weapons of death, but be entirely dedicated to peaceful tasks. The Soviet people are unanimously in favor of such an approach.

The life of the Warsaw Pact has been marked by the dynamic socioeconomic development of the fraternal countries. Reality proved that in the peaceful arena socialism is proving its powerful spiritual and economic potential and historical superiority over the capitalist system. In the past quarter of a century the national income of the CEMA-member countries has risen by a factor of over 4.5; industrial production rose by a 6.5 factor, while reciprocal trade rose by a factor of 13.

That period has been marked here by a further perfecting of the political system, expansion of socialist democracy and enhancement of the living standard of the working people. The achievements of socialism are particularly impressive against the background of the aggravated general crisis of the capitalist system, the growth of unemployment and inflation, and the intensification of political instability in the capitalist countries.

Everything which we justifiably consider as the gains of socialism, naturally, did not come free, but required the intensive efforts of the peoples of the socialist countries and the surmounting of a number of objective and subjective difficulties. There are complex problems at the present stage as well. The members of the socialist comity are resolving them using their internal resources and through the steady intensification of the international socialist division of labor.

Today the socialist world has become a huge area for comprehensive friendly interaction among nations. Every year new major industrial projects are being completed, jointly created by the fraternal countries. This includes petroleum and gas pipelines, power transmission lines, nuclear power plants, mining-concentration and chemical combines, and many, many others.

Specialization and cooperation in the basic areas of industrial production offer particularly broad possibilities to the socialist countries. Presently CEMA is working on the implementation of long-term target cooperation programs. Bilateral programs for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have been concluded. Their implementation will yield tangible practical results.

Research and experimentation carried out by the cosmonauts of the members of the socialist comity within the framework of the the Interkosmos program are a vivid confirmation of the further expansion and intensification of our all-round cooperation and of socialist internationalism in action.

The exchange of spiritual values among socialist countries has become particularly extensive.

Close interaction is developing among party and state organs, public organizations and labor collectives. The process of rapprochement among the peoples of the socialist comity is progressing.

The CPSU Central Committee pays constant and unabated attention to the intensification of the comprehensive interaction with fraternal parties and states. Our Leninist party and the great Soviet people are making a worthy contribution to strengthening the positions of world socialism. The labor upsurge at all communist construction sectors, the nationwide socialist competition and the enthusiastic aspiration to fulfill and overfulfill the five-year plan are all manifestations of the profound patriotism of the Soviet people and of their high international awareness.

We are advancing toward the 26th CPSU Congress, which will define the next levels to be reached in our progress. The unbreakable unity within the party and unanimous support of its policy by the Soviet people, and the close and unbreakable unity between party and people, are the guarantee for the successful solution of all problems facing the country.

Addressing the voters last February, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said: "A new decade is coming. Probably everyone of us is asking himself: What kind of period with the 1980's be? What will they bring us? How will the destinies of people, nations and states develop? . . . We, the communists, believe and, not only believe, but are convinced, know that the 1980's will be years of new successes in the building of communism. This will be a period of strengthening and development of world socialism and of new progress in the struggle for insuring a lasting peace."

These are also the targets of the joint activities of the Warsaw Pact countries. A weighty and authoritative warning was sounded from the Polish capital against a policy of military adventures and a feverish arms race, a call for reason, good will and peace. It must be heard.

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WORTHY REPLENISHMENT OF THE LENINIST PARTY

Moscow KODKUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 25-37

[Article by T. Usabaliyev, Communist Party of Kirgiziya Central Committee first secretary]

[Text] Constant concern for strengthening the party and improving its qualitative structure is a basic problem of intraparty life. V. I. Lenin emphasized that the communist party consists of the best representatives of the revolutionary class, of conscientious people loyal to the communist cause. It must be a party of creators and innovators and always be concerned with enhancing the title and significance of party member higher, higher, and higher.

The decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works, are outstanding contributions to scientific communism, the practice of communist construction, the development of the world revolutionary process and the elaboration of the theory of the party. His report to the 25th congress comprehensively and profoundly described the basic laws governing the party's development and strengthening under mature socialist conditions, and indicated the ways leading to the steadfast growth of its leading and organizing influence on all sides of social life.

The high responsibility of the party member stems from the very nature of our party as the vanguard political organization of the working class and its historical mission—the builder of a new, a communist society. Guided by the Leninist principles, the CPSU, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, are always paying tremendous attention to the problems of party enrollment and the upbringing of its new generation. This is understandable. At any historical stage the party's strength, militancy and success in its gigantic work depend on those who are and act within the close party ranks, and have totally dedicated to it their thoughts and their hearts. To be an active ideological fighter and always lead in the most difficult sectors of production, socio-political and cultural life is the most important statutory obligation of a CPSU member.

Even though ascribing exceptional importance to the influx of fresh forces, the party does not speed up its numerical growth. It accepts within its ranks only those who have factually proved that they are joining the party, to use Lenin's words, not for the sake of gaining any advantages, but for doing selfless work for communism.

The CC CPSU decree "On the Work of the Kirghiz Party Organizations on the Enrollment in the Party and the Upbringing of CPSU Candidate Members" represents a further creative development of the Leninist ideas of party membership. Focused within it are the basic stipulations of the 25th congress in the field of party construction. The decree is imbued with deep concern for upgrading the vanguard role of the communists, the unity and combat capability of the party organizations, and the strengthening of their qualitative structure.

From the very beginning the Communist Party of Kirgiziya Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat have directed and controlled all efforts to implement the CC CPSU decree. They considered the reports of the Oshskaya and Issyk-Kul'skaya oblast party committees, the Osh and Kyzyl-Kiya city party committees, the Moskovskiy, Kirovskiy, Pervomayskiy and other rayon party committees, and a number of primary and shop party organizations. The critical study of their activities made it possible to promptly draw the attention of oblast, city and rayon committees to the need to pass one or another measure for the successful implementation of the CC CPSU decree. The party organizations were directed toward the adoption of a comprehensive approach to problems of the quality reinforcement of their ranks, the all-round increase in the exactingness toward every party member, and profound comprehension of the meaning and significance of the leading role of the party members in all communist construction sectors. The tasks stemming from the decree and the course of its implementation were discussed at Central Committee plenums of the Kirghiz Communist Party, the party's oblast, city and rayon party committees, and at meetings in all primary and shop party organizations, as well as at a republic practical science conference. Virtually all republic party members participated in the discussion.

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The primary party organizations, directly related to the masses and working within the thick of the masses, bear a great responsibility for replenishing the party ranks with the best members of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia. They promote the production and social activity of the working people, involve them in public and governmental management, and raise them in a spirit of loyalty to the party's ideals. It is precisely here, on the spot, that the characteristic features of every person become most clearly apparent.

The observers of the Leninist principle of individual selection is a major organizational measure aimed at securing the qualitative structure

required by the party. The party organizations do not accept as a member anyone who has expressed the desire to enter party ranks, but only the most worthy, the most active and most conscientious. Each petition is considered separately. The merits and shortcomings of the applicants are assessed on an individual basis, and a decision is made. Individual selection means that in the course of their daily work the party members make a profound and comprehensive study of the people, and submit to a practical test their business, political and moral qualities.

A reliable means such taking into consideration opinions on applicants, not only by party members, but by nonparty people who know them well, makes it possible to avoid errors in this important matter. In this case the party organizations try to create the type of atmosphere in which the exchange of views would be frank and businesslike and direct the applicant to improve all his activities.

Unfortunately, as was noted the CC CPSU decree, some party organizations in the republic had lowered their requirements concerning party membership and violated the principle of individual selection. This led to the fact that, occasionally, unprepared and immature people joined the party ranks. There have also been cases in which the party committees, concerned mainly with increasing their membership, have occasionally assessed the work of primary party organizations according to the number of new members, criticized them for growing slowly or accepting fewer new party members compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. This practice led to the fact that just about anyone who submitted a request was accepted. Some CPSU members issued recommendations to individuals they hardly knew, writing subjective character references, while bearing no responsibility whatever for this. The view of the party groups was not always taken into consideration in resolving party membership problems.

In accordance with the CC CPSU decree the republic party organization undertook to decisively correct these shortcomings and most strictly observe the principle of individual selection and be concerned with accepting as party members the truly most progressive and conscientious workers, kolkhoz members and members of the intelligentsia.

The personal participation of secretaries and members of the bureaus of oblast, city and rayon party committees, senior party committee workers and party commission members is an effective method for improving individual membership selection. These officials began to visit party organizations more frequently, attend meetings where party acceptance problems were discussed, talk to the applicants and their sponsors, and study the type of workers categories the new members belonged.

In recent years the republic party committees have improved their guidance of the party commissions and have reviewed and strengthened their structure. As a result, they have become active assistants of the party committees in strengthening their ties with the primary organizations, and in choosing for party membership and training the young party members.

The individual members of the party commission were assigned specific party organizations, based on the sectorial principle. This makes it possible to study the specific nature of the work of one or another enterprise more extensively, study in detail the situation regarding selections for party membership and the education of young party members, and help the party organizations to improve their organizational structure and find reserves for the replenishment of party ranks.

Last year the party commissions of the republic party committees checked over 2,200 primary organizations and gave them practical assistance in the matter of party enrollment and in the study of individual files. The conclusions and remarks of the commissions were considered by the party committees, at conferences of workers within the party apparatus and at seminars of primary party organization secretaries.

Enrolling as party members workers in the leading professions of the republic is a subject of particular concern of the party organizations. We systematically study the processes of the growth of party ranks as a whole for the republic, the oblast, the city or the rayon, as well as within the labor collectives. Conclusions are drawn as to whether the structure of the new party replenishment is consistent with present and future tasks, and whether this composition contributes to the strengthening of the party's influence in the most important sectors.

Particular attention is paid to the social breakdown of the party organization. As in the past, the working class holds a leading position here. This line is entirely consistent with the nature of the communist party and the role and place of the working class in the socialist society.

Over the past four years 19,852 CPSU candidate members have joined the republic party organization, 53.4 percent of whom are workers. Never before has there been such a rather high stratum of workers joining the party ranks. The party organizations try to enroll workers whose work is directly related to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, upgrading production effectiveness and the implementation of plans for the development of the national economy and culture. Thus, over one-half of the newly accepted party members in Frunze are workers employed at machine building, instrument manufacturing and the instruments and electronic industry enterprises--in sectors which hold a dominating position in the structure of the city's industry. The young party members are initiative-minded people with high professional training. The overwhelming majority of them have higher or secondary specialized training.

Every year the volume of capital construction is rising in the republic's capital. An ever-larger number of residential buildings and industrial and cultural projects are being completed. Exactingness concerning the quality of construction has been increased considerably. In terms of work stress, today construction stands in front of production activities. Therefore, it is no accident that the number of young party members who are construction

workers has nearly doubled here over the past five years. Such a growth of party ranks based on the directions of the development of the economy and culture of one or another area is characteristic of all republic party organizations.

In accordance with the stipulations of the 25th party congress and the CC CPSU decree on Kirgiziya, the republic's party organizations are always concerned with the proper deployment of party forces and the all-round strengthening of the party in material production. Currently it is here that the main efforts of the republic's party organization--nearly three-quarters of all party members--are focused. Characteristically, the good replenishment of party ranks is found precisely in sectors considered leading in terms of economic development. A leading agricultural sector in the republic is animal husbandry, where the dedicated work of shepherds and milkmaids is of decisive significance. In the past four years 1,539 of them were accepted as party members. This represents nearly 73 percent of the overall number of animal husbandrymen who have joined the ranks of the CPSU.

Directing the party committees and organizations toward taking fully into consideration the growing significance of the Soviet intelligentsia in resolving the problems of the building of communism in the selection of CPSU members, the Communist Party of Kirgiziya Central Committee also directs them toward the adoption of a differentiated approach to the enrollment of people belonging to this category in accordance with the socio-economic characteristics of the administrative rayons and the specific nature of the labor collectives. As a result, over 90 percent of the white collar workers who joined the party in 1979 are national economic specialists, scientific workers and working people in the main socialist production sectors.

Today every third engineer, agronomist and zootechnician, one out of six teachers, one out of eight physicians, and nearly one-half of candidates of sciences in the republic are party members.

Young people occupy a worthy position among those who create material goods. The party relies on the Komsomol for all work related to the upbringing of the growing generation. It is through the Komsomol that it is linked with the broad youth masses and it is from the Komsomol that it is steadily replenishing its ranks. This represents the unbreakable tie and continuity between party generations. That is why Lenin believed that we shall always be the party of the young people belonging to the progressive class.

The best among the Komsomol members join the party ranks to prove throughout their lifetime their loyalty to the ideals of communism. This is an important source from which the party has always drawn fresh forces. However, occasionally, the slogan is raised that the young people are our future, while the implementation of the slogan is not paid necessary

attention. A study of the activities of the party organizations of Dzhungal'skiy, Alayskiy and Kemin'skiy rayons proved that certain prejudices were displayed here in preparing the young people for party membership and in selecting for such membership the worthiest among them.

Kirgiziya has over half a million Komsomol members. Over 175,000 work at industrial enterprises and construction projects; about 50,000 are in agriculture, while 226,000 are attending various schools directly leading to construction sites, animal husbandry farms, the cotton-harvesting combines and programmed machine tools. Most of them are creatively thinking and active people, dedicated in their searches and work, and ready to go forth at the call of the party.

A great deal is being done in the republic to enhance the responsibility of the party members for strengthening the party's leadership of the Komsomol. The party nucleus within the Komsomol has been strengthened noticeably. All oblast, city and rayon Komsomol committee secretaries, and about 80 percent of previous Komsomol committee secretaries are party members. All in all, over 13,000 young party members are working in the Komsomol. The work of the Komsomol organizations and tasks of further improving their guidance by the party are discussed plenums and sessions of party committee bureaus and at party meetings. Over the past three years problems of intensifying the party's guidance of the Komsomol have been considered at a plenum of the Communist Party of Kirgiziya Central Committee and at plenums of city and rayon party committees. Most republic party committees have developed the steady practice of holding meetings of party members working in the Komsomol. Meetings between members of the central committee, oblast, city and rayon party committee bureaus with Komsomol workers have become traditional in our area. Here the ways and means for improving the organizational and ideological-educational work of Komsomol organizations are discussed.

Side by side with the men, the women in our area are actively participating in the building of communism. They are employed primarily in light industry, services, public education and health care. With every passing year the number of women joining the party has been rising steadily. Currently they account for nearly 42 percent of the republic's party organization.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that the more intensive the economic and social development of each national republic becomes, the more obvious will be the process of internationalization of our entire life. Naturally, this process also affects the membership of the party organizations, which are becoming ever more international.

Controlling the selection of the new replenishment, the Communist Party of Kirgiziya Central Committee and the oblast, city and rayon party committees try to control the growth of party ranks in such a way as to make them most fully reflect the national structure of the republic's population and to insure the inflexible unity and active and joint work by the party members

of all nationalities. Whereas in the year of its founding the republic's party organization consisted of members of 13 nationalities, today it rallies over 70. This process is following the same channel of internationalization of all aspects of our social life and the rapprochement among nations and nationalities inhabiting the republic.

The presentation of recommendations for party membership is a major Leninist norm in the individual selection of new party replenishments. The recommendation is a political guarantee given by a party member for his comrade, and the assurance that he is worthy of party membership. The republic's party committees and primary organizations have begun to react more sharply and strictly to the issuing of subjective recommendations and to cases of indiscriminate and nonexacting approach to CPSU membership. They have begun to study more profoundly the extent to which the sponsor know those whom they recommend on the basis of joint production and public work. In 1979 the overwhelming majority of party members who gave recommendations had worked together with those recommended for over three years. All sponsors are leading production workers and innovators, best representatives of the intelligentsia, youth tutors, party veterans and labor and war heroes.

A justified practice is one in which the party members who have provided a recommendation continually keep in sight the production and social activities of the candidates, giving them the necessary practical aid and, following the expiration of the candidate period, recommend them for CPSU membership. The number of such recommendations reached 43.5 percent in 1977, 46.8 percent in 1978 and 49.3 percent in 1979.

It would be difficult to overestimate the role and significance of the candidate period in terms of improving the quality structure of the party and the upbringing of its new replenishment. This offers the possibility to test, yet once again, strictly and comprehensively, the political, practical and moral qualities of anyone who has decided to tie his destinies to those of the party and its struggle for communism.

Emphasizing the importance of the candidate period, Lenin pointed out that we must strictly apply rules which would indeed make this into a serious test, rather than a meaningless formality.

The majority of party organizations have achieved noticeable results in upgrading the vanguard role of candidate party members in production. Today 80 percent of CPSU candidate members are employed in material production in the republic. One-quarter of the 4,275 candidates directly holding workers jobs have pledged to fulfill their personal five-year plans ahead of schedule; 495 of them have already reported the fulfillment of high obligations.

We know that candidate party members are trained more quickly and acquire organizational skills faster in the course of social activities. That is why the party organizations issue them various assignments and try to

approach everyone individually in accordance with his possibilities and level of training. In addition to social assignments, now they are being entrusted more boldly with more responsible production assignments.

It is self-evident that the shaping of a person as a conscious political fighter does not end with his acceptance within the party, which marks merely the beginning. Taking this into consideration, the party committees and organizations are always concerned with the ideological training of candidate party members, raising them in a spirit of loyalty to the cause of Lenin and communism.

II

The successful solution of problems related to the acceptance as party members and the upbringing of the young communists greatly depends on the all-round enhancement of the exactingness shown by the party toward its members, the latter's strict observance of the unity of word and action, and their discipline and self-discipline. We must see to it that every party member, whatever his job, have a feeling of high responsibility for assignments and be a model of organization and of accurate observance of party and state discipline.

At the present time, under developed socialist conditions, the further development of the two trends pointed out by Lenin as early as the turn of the century is manifested with particular clarity. ". . . Every party member," he emphasized, "is responsible for the party and the party is responsible for every member" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 7, p 290). It is thus that a twin process takes place: upgrading the responsibility of the party members for assignments and for the implementation of party policy, and at the same time increasing the responsibility of the party for the actions of the individual party member. Naturally, this cannot fail to be expressed in the ever-growing exactingness toward CPSU members and the elaboration of a system of measures to improve the quality composition of party ranks. Lenin frequently said that a party member must lead everyone in terms of labor discipline and energy. It is necessary not merely to "politically depict the great tasks" but to implement them in practical life. Otherwise, Lenin pointed out, "even the simplest worker . . . would say: 'Stop telling us about what you want to build. Show us in fact how you can build. If you cannot, you are useless to us, go to hell!' He would be right" (ibid, Vol 44, p 169).

These words clearly describe one of the basic principles of CPSU activities --unity between words and actions. Anything which has been announced and resolved must mandatorily be implemented. This is an inviolable law. Since the party's ideas, slogans and plans are converted into the specific accomplishments of people, it is entirely natural that the communists, above all, must be the most systematic, persistent, purposeful, initiative-minded and efficient in the implementation of the tasks set.

To the honor of most party committees and primary party organizations in the republic, let us point out that they are doing considerable work to develop in the party members and all working people precisely this approach to the implementation of their obligations. Loyalty to their word and ability to back it with action enabled a number of labor collectives to reach high production results.

The party organizations supervise the implementation of the plans adopted by the labor collectives and individual party members. The results of the implementation of obligations are summed up on a monthly basis. This is reported in the press, from wall to republic newspapers, thus enabling everyone to know who is a leading worker and who is a straggler. To be a straggler means to have failed to keep one's word given the people and have damaged one's prestige. It means to blush with shame when facing one's comrades.

Last year the farms in Kirovskiy Rayon adopted higher socialist pledges on fodder procurement. They were extensively publicized. The heads of the rayon organizations pledged and asserted that they will be met. Yet, the passing of time proved that the pledges were not backed by proper organizational work. The rayon failed even to fulfill its planned assignments on fodder procurements. Naturally, the Communist Party of Kirgiziya Central Committee strictly condemned such practices. The rayon management was sharply criticized by the republic party-economic aktiv.

The majority of party organizations in the republic are always drawing the attention of party members and candidate members to basic problems of production, educational work and strengthening of labor discipline. They regularly submit such problems for discussion by party committees, party bureaus and party meetings. They systematically hear reports by secretaries of primary and shop party organizations on efforts to upgrade the creative initiative and efficiency of party members. Many party organizations have firmly adopted as their practice reports by party members on their individual contributions to the five-year plan. Regular discussions are held on reports by party members and candidate members on the implementation of statutory obligations, production affairs and social work. All this helps to upgrade exactingness toward oneself and others and subjects achievements to a self-critical evaluation.

Implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and of subsequent Central Committee plenums, and guided by the stipulations and conclusions contained in the works and speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev the Kirgiz communists are pioneering highly effective and high-quality work in all economic and communist construction sectors. The results of the more than four years of the five-year plan prove that the republic is successfully coping with the basic tasks related to economic and social development. The labor collectives of the overwhelming majority of industrial enterprises and farms are fulfilling and overfulfilling state plans and socialist obligations.

Most CPSU members are models of communist attitude toward labor. They are actively participating in the implementation of the party's socioeconomic program. In the republic, of the 47,600 party members holding jobs in material production, 46,400 successfully fulfilled their 1979 plan; 45,800 fulfilled their plan for socialist obligations. Last year all party members in the cities of Frunze, Osh, Kara-Kul', and Dzhala-Abad, and of Sokulukskiy and Kara-Baltinskiy rayons successfully fulfilled their planned assignments. Efficient order in the organization of labor processes, the discipline of the party members, their personal example and creative initiative are factors which insure success in any sector of our work.

Presently, when the tasks facing us have become for more complex, it is particularly important for the party organizations not only not to lower, but on the contrary comprehensively to strengthen the atmosphere of high exactingness and of intolerance toward cases of irresponsibility, complacency and careless attitude on the part of anyone toward his party duty.

As we pointed out, of late a number of republic party organizations have acquired substantial experience in organizational work for the fulfillment of production plans and socialist obligations assumed by the collectives. They have begun to study more closely the economics and affairs of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhazes, make better use of internal reserves and possibilities for increasing output, and engage more extensively in organizational activities for the implementation of party and government decisions.

This is exemplified by the party organization of the Frunze Instruments Making Plant imeni 50-Letiya Kirgizskoy SSR. What is the secret of its successful work? Above all, the fact that there is no disparity between the words and actions of the party members, who are a model to be emulated by the nonparty people. The plant communists work in the most important and difficult sectors. They initiate the application of progressive labor methods and engage in extensive organizational work in the shops. Here one out of two party members is a shock worker or member of a communist labor brigade.

The party organization has seen to it that every worker and employee in the enterprise has become involved in the struggle for increasing output and improving its quality, and for high production standards. Specific measures for mastering the new equipment, progressive labor methods, and production mechanization and automation have been developed with the participation of leading plant workers, foremen, engineers and technicians. The party committee and shop party organizations are steadily controlling the implementation of these measures.

The party organization was also concerned with strengthening all important production sectors with skilled cadres.

Most plant workers are attending a variety of courses, steadily broadening their technical and economic outlook. Production problems are

systematically considered at party committee sessions and party meetings through the lens of organizational and mass-political work with the people.

The increased activeness and initiative of the party members and their enhanced feeling of responsibility for the affairs of their organization and the party as a whole are promoting the development of party principles in the work and are energizing the activities of the entire labor collective. The enterprise is confidently increasing pace of output and stably fulfilling planned assignments and socialist obligations.

V. I. Lenin always emphasized the individual responsibility of the party member and worker for assignments, and demanded the strictest possible observance of party and state discipline. Party discipline, he said, relies, above all, on the conscientiousness of the party members, their boundless loyalty to the cause of the revolution, and their close ties with the people.

Joining the party, the Soviet people voluntarily assume the obligation to strictly implement collectively drafted and established rules and norms. That is why party discipline is conscious rather than automatic. The more intraparty democracy develops, the higher must the feeling of responsibility of every party member become for the common cause and the more organized and disciplined must become the activities of each party organization and individual CPSU member.

As a result of the party's tremendous political and educational work a new discipline has developed in our country--socialist discipline--based on the high conscientiousness of the working people in society. Millions of party members are selflessly working at factories, plant, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, construction projects and scientific institutions. Dedicating all their forces to the struggle for the implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan, through their tireless organizational efforts they are leading the toiling masses and utilizing new economic reserves.

However, there are also party members who display a passive attitude and are not models of labor and behavior. Some of them occasionally violate party and state discipline or misuse their official position.

As we know, V. I. Lenin tolerated no slackness. He was strict toward those who violated, to any extent, party discipline. He frequently emphasized that the party has a single discipline applicable to all party members regardless of merit or position. Anyone who tries to circumvent it through various means must be sternly condemned. A party organization which expels a person who is compromising the high title of communist would become not weaker but stronger and its prestige among the masses will become even greater.

Last year the republic party organization refused to grant its trust to 553 former members, one-fifth among whom failed their candidate member

test. Those expelled included leading personnel holding senior positions. In this connection, we must recall Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's words on officials, expressed at his meeting the voters of the Baumanskiy Electoral District in Moscow: "'Duties' and 'duty' have the same root. One must always remember one's duties to the people--party, official or human. There neither is nor could there be a true party or soviet worker without the strict fulfillment of this duty and without the ability to firmly link words with actions. Great industriousness, discipline, exactingness toward oneself and unbribable honesty are the foundations for his good reputation. This reputation must be maintained on a lifetime basis."

In this connection the contemporary manager faces strict requirements. It is precisely a comprehensive approach that is very important in rating him. He must organically combine party mindedness with competence and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the work. At the same time, whatever his sector, the manager must take into consideration socio-political and educational aspects and be responsive to the people. This is not like a song which could be played without the lyrics. A person cannot be judged on the basis of production indicators alone.

It is precisely from such positions that we define our attitude toward the work of managers of party, soviet or economic organs. Insisting on strict requirements toward the workers, the republic's party organization tries to provide all the necessary conditions for the fullest possible development of capabilities and creative initiative, upgrading responsibility, and, in the final account, enhancing the vanguard role of the managers among the masses. This is a proper guarantee for the successful implementation of the higher socialist obligations assumed by the republic's working people in the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

III

In all of its stages of development the communist party has proceeded from the basic Marxist-Leninist stipulation that the party masses are a decisive force in its revolutionary-transforming activity and has paid particular attention to the activity of party members. The mature socialist society itself is the result of the activity of the people's masses organized and led by the Leninist party. Our country's entire history convincingly proves that it is precisely the party members who, as the political vanguard of the toiling masses, are the most active social stratum capable of guiding the tremendous constructive activity of the Soviet people and give their struggle for communism a planned and scientific character.

The activity of the party masses in the developed socialist society acquires a particularly rich content. Inherent in the party members of the 1980's are high professional and ideological training, profound understanding of the party's policy, a growing attraction to creative labor and a feeling for the new, and the aspiration to dedicate all their forces to the common cause. Naturally, we realize that all these qualities do not

develop spontaneously. They are the result of purposeful ideological-educational work, and the mastery by the party members of the Leninist theoretical legacy and of the rich historical experience of our party. The republic's party organizations are giving specific aid in this respect to all party members. Political training at all levels and in all realms of our life are a subject of constant attention.

The promotion of communist convictions and of a class approach to social phenomena is particularly successful with a profound study by the party member of the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics and the party and state leaders. The main factor in party education is to teach the party member to properly assess the facts of reality, acquire a deep understanding of party policy and be able to implement it.

We know that Lenin always went back to the works of Marx and Engels, describing this as "seeking Marx' advice." Today the desire to seek the advice of the Marxist-Leninist classics must become an organic need for all party members and working people, for their works are an inexhaustible source of revolutionary thinking and action.

Practical experience has indicated that the profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory is impossible without the thoughtful study of CPSU history and of party congress documents, which develop comprehensively and profoundly the basic problems of the theory and practice of the developed socialist society and indicate the ways for the building of communism. The study of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works, including his books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], is of particular significance.

The republic's party organization is engaged in extensive and varied ideological-educational work. It is structuring its internal life in such a way that the young party members, actively participating in the daily activities of the party organizations, undergo a truly Leninist school for party-mindedness and acquire a strong class ideological tempering. All this contributes most effectively to the development of an active life stance by the builder of communism, manifested in a conscientious attitude toward social duty and selfless service to the communist ideals.

Active participation in the socialist competition, which is having a deep impact on economic practice, the republic's sociopolitical life and the moral atmosphere of the labor collectives, is a vivid example characterizing the ever-growing vanguard role of the party members in Kirgiziya as in the rest of the country. The communists are the pioneers of the nationwide socialist competition. Creatively and selflessly working, they are doing a great deal to develop activeness, mold collectivism and promote high responsibility and reciprocal support and exactingness. Their daily organizational and educational activities are aimed at making a substantial contribution to the implementation of the socialist obligations and plans of the 10th Five-Year Plan and upgrading production effectiveness and work quality.

The labor exploit of many party members--leading production workers and innovators--has been noted by high governmental awards. The republic has 263 heroes of socialist labor. About 200 of the best members of the republic have been awarded the high title of Laureate of the USSR and Kirgiz SSR State Prizes for outstanding labor successes. Based on the results of the 1979 All-Union Socialist Competition for Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality and Successfully Fulfilling the State Plan for Economic and Social Development, Oshskaya Oblast, the cities of Frunze and Kyzyl-Kiya, and Batkenskaya, Lyaylyakskiy and Kochkorakiy rayons, and 14 republic enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses were acknowledged winners and awarded the Red Challenge banners of the CPSU Central committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee.

Promoting the development of the labor and political activeness of the masses, the party committees seek, above all, means to upgrade the individual responsibility of every party member for his assignment, including among party members elected to leading party organs.

The republic, oblast, city and rayon party committees pay particular attention to party members who have been elected members or secretaries of party committees and party bureaus, or party group organizers. It is precisely they who organize the joint and united work of the party committees, and direct the energy of the party members and all working people to the successful implementation of political and economic tasks. In our time the party activists are faced with very high requirements. They must be profoundly familiar with party construction, economic and the basic directions in the development of modern production.

This category of leading workers is trained at permanent seminars and courses operated by the city and rayon party committees for the party-economic aktiv; party organization secretaries also attend weekly seminars sponsored by the central committee and the oblast committees of the republic's communist party. The experience of the best among them is summed up in the republic, oblast, city and rayon press and in television and radio broadcasts.

In rallying the labor collectives and mobilizing them to resolve our problems, the party organizations cite the personal examples of delegates to party congresses and deputies to the supreme soviets of the country and the republic. It is noteworthy that all workers and kolkhoz members who were delegates to the 25th CPSU Congress and the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Kirgiziya, or are deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet or of the Kirgiz USSR Supreme Soviet, who pledged to fulfill the five-year plan ahead of schedule, have successfully coped with their assignments.

Under contemporary conditions, when a conversion to intensive methods for the development of the national economy are being implemented everywhere, and when effectiveness and quality have become the main criteria of results

of economic activities, the role of the party members engaged in economic management work becomes more important than ever. Today the republic has over 225,000 specialists with higher or secondary specialized training, some 59,000 of whom are party members.

The practical experience of the best among them is profoundly studied and disseminated among labor collectives. Quite familiar in the republic are the names of Heroes of Socialist Labor and kolkhoz chairmen O. Atabekova, of the Kolkhoz imeni M. V. Frunze, Bagarkurganskiy Rayon; N. Pristavkin, imeni 30-Letiya SSR, Tyupakiy Rayon; A. Yumatova, Kommunizm, Dzhety-Oguzskiy Rayon; and A. Nurzhanov, imeni Lenin, Talasskiy Rayon; enterprise directors: V. Ugarov, Frunze Instrument Manufacturing Plant; M. Iybalayev, Khaydarkan Mercury Combine; A. Bezshon, Frunze Computers Plant; A. Dzhunushev, Issyk-Kul' Association of Electrical Engineering Plants, and others. They are distinguished by their critical approach to the results of their work, constant search and aspiration to promptly take into consideration new practical requirements.

The party bylaws call every party member to engage in active ideological-political work among the masses, explain and implement party policy, propagandize party ideas, firmly counter all enemy propaganda intrigues and fight against manifestations of a philistine mentality and vestiges of the past in the minds of the people.

The experience of the republic party organization convincingly confirms the concept formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress to the effect that the comprehensive approach must be applied in organizing education. This calls for insuring the coordinated long-term use of all ways and means. Closer unity must be achieved among ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing.

It is precisely such an approach that is typical of the Frunze City Party Committee. Here long-term planning and coordination of all units engaged in ideological activity are applied. Public opinion is extensively used. A search is conducted for optimal means leading to set objectives. This enables the party gorkom to conduct educational work and achieve good results on a differentiated basis, taking the various categories of working people into consideration.

The Kirghiz party organization always keeps in sight the moral upbringing of the working people. This problem has been frequently considered by the republic's communist party central committee. A number of most important problems in shaping high moral qualities of party members were considered by the bureau and plenums of oblast party committees and most city and rayon party committees, at meetings of the ideological aktiv and directly by the primary party organizations. Such measures contributed to the creation of a healthy climate in the production collectives and to upgrading the creative activeness of the party members and all working people.

To be a communist, a member of Lenin's party, is not only a high honor, but a tremendous responsibility. As an active ideological fighter, the party member must always be in front, in the most difficult sectors of production, sociopolitical and cultural life. It is no accident, therefore, that the CC CPSU is always concerned with party purity and with strengthening its ranks with a new and worthy replenishment. This is the prime condition for strengthening the party's influence in all production sectors and upgrading the vanguard role of party members in all realms of social activity.

It was precisely with such an understanding of the role of the party members that the entire party and our republic's party organization accepted the CC CPSU decree "On the Work of the Kirghiz Party Organizations on Enrollment in the Party and Training CPSU Candidate Members." The party members have done a great deal of work to implement the decree. However, we fully realize that a great deal remains to be done for its practical implementation, the more so since it contains a long-range program for the further advancement of all organizational-party work and for the ideological and political growth of the party organizations.

Clearly realizing the responsibility in the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, directing all their actions and plans toward the forthcoming 26th party congress, the republic's party committees are focusing their efforts on upgrading the vanguard role of the party members and are doing everything possible so that each of them may be an example of idea mindedness and creative activity and march in the front ranks of the builders of communism.

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RAYON PARTY COMMITTEE AND SCIENTIFIC COLLECTIVES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 38-49

[Article by V. Polunin, first secretary of the Cheremushkinskiy Rayon Party Committee, Moscow City]

[Text] Moscow's Cheremushkinskiy Rayon is justifiably described as the science rayon. Concentrated here are 53 scientific research and planning-design organizations. They employ 74,000 people who include 53 academicians and corresponding members, 576 doctors of sciences and over 3,000 candidates of sciences.

Many scientific collectives perform the role of head organizations within the system of the Academy of Sciences and in various economic sectors. They include the institutes of control problems, space research, nuclear research, USSR history, general history, and geology and exploitation of fuel minerals, the Council for the Study of Production Forces of the USSR Gosplan, and others.

Less than half of the 129,000 working people in the rayon work at industrial, transportation and construction and service enterprises. Most of the people are employed at scientific institutions. This specific nature of cadres entrusts the rayon party committee with a particular responsibility. Along with the traditional party methods for guiding the work of labor collectives, the need exists to apply methods specific to scientific institutions in using the correct party organization to control administrative activities.

The level of management of the primary party organizations in scientific institutions, in particular, depends on the competence and skills of the rayon party committee members. Along with noted leading workers and production innovators, the rayon party committee members include the best representatives of all sectors--8 academicians and corresponding members, 29 doctors and candidates of sciences, 42 secretaries of primary party organizations, and 36 enterprise managers. It is precisely such a highly skilled composition of the party organ that makes it possible to discuss with the necessary depth and make decisions on the most important problems

governing the activities of party organizations, including scientific institutions.

In order to implement them and to insure steady control over and help to primary party organizations, a properly qualified rayon party committee apparatus is needed. In this connection we are always concerned with upgrading the professional training and growth of the theoretical level of the apparatus' personnel, who currently include engineers, economists, historians, philosophers, physicians and teachers, including four candidates of sciences, and five graduate students by correspondence.

Even with such a composition, however, the rayon committee and its apparatus sometimes finds it very complicated to study the specific nature of the work of a collective sectorial institute or design bureau, and to determine the effectiveness of the contribution of one or another scientist-party member to the common project. That is why we make extensive use of the forces of the rayon aktiv, which includes a large number of specialists in a great variety of fields--space research, pastry manufacturing, universal history, synthetic aromatic substances, planning, genetics, geology, or designing children's toys. The rayon public council for science, the technical-economic council, and the voluntary department for sociological research alone and operating under the rayon party committee, total 450 highly skilled specialists.

The Moscow City Party Committee directs the efforts of the party members and of all scientists, designers, and planners on encouraging the scientific cadres in the capital to continue to hold leading positions in all basic and applied research, and actively engage in the practical utilization of the most important scientific and technical achievements.

We consider as a basic task in the primary party organizations' management of scientific institutions the maximum energizing of interparty work, increasing the variety of its ways and means, and enhancing the creative activeness of every party member. The rayon party committee does not deem it necessary to study the specific nature of all scientific developments of various research projects. Yet, the primary party organizations and party committees and bureaus of each scientific institution must daily deal with such matters within the limits of their rights. The rayon party committee actively helps and guides the party committees and bureaus in the course of their activities.

I

Upgrading the effectiveness of scientific research is directly related to the development within each collective of a truly creative atmosphere, an atmosphere of bold research, fruitful discussions and comradely exactingness.

One of the main factors for the further energizing of creative research in the collectives of scientific institutions is, as considered by the rayon

party committee, the development of ideological convictions and the creation of a favorable moral and psychological climate. Guided by the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work," the rayon party organization focuses its main attention on the steady advancement of the educational process and the comprehensive solution of related problems, closely combining all propaganda and mass-political work with the solution of specific economic, social and political problems.

In our rayon methodological seminars, which are making a substantial contribution to the elaboration of conceptual aspects in the sectorial sciences and help philosophically interpret new phenomena in practical and social life, are successfully functioning in a number of scientific collectives. In most collectives they have developed as schools for creativity and for molding the young generation of scientists, as well as generators of fruitful scientific research.

The practical work of the methodological seminars confirms the steady intensification of their role in the ideological upbringing of scientific associates, and upgrading the topical nature and meaningfulness of the problems under study. Active work is being done by the methodological seminar of the USSR Institute of History. It is being held on the topic of "Current Problems of the Theory and Practices of Developed Socialism." The problems discussed at the seminar sessions are subsequently reflected in monographs, pamphlets and dissertations. A collection of materials consisting of papers submitted by the seminar students has been compiled for printing. Work has been completed on the collective monograph "The Constitution of Developed Socialism: Historical Prerequisites and Significance." Special classes were held on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's books, "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. These works were used in the preparation of the 11th volume of the "Istoriya SSSR s Drevneyshikh Vremen do Nashikh Dney" [History of the USSR from Most Ancient Times to the Present], covering the period from 1945 to 1961.

Every year the activities of the methodological seminars are summed up at theoretical and practical science conferences where the best reports by the students are discussed. The most significant scientific works are subsequently published in the press or used in monographs.

The viability and need for such party training, in which studies are combined with scientific research, are confirmed by the steady growth of the number of methodological seminars and the expansion and intensification of their topics. Whereas nine years ago the rayon operated 50 such seminars, including 8 all-institution ones, today their number has reached 70 (22 all-institute). Under the guidance of institute directors, Academicians A. A. Imshenetskiy, B. A. Rybakov, R. Z. Sagdeyev, and V. A. Trapeznikov, and many other scientists, the methodological seminars have become a type of creative laboratory where the direction of scientific research is shaped and the scientific potential of the participants is manifested.

The voluntary section for sociological research of the rayon party committee, which spent 10 years studying the dynamics of the growth of effectiveness of all forms of the party training system, also studied the work of the methodological seminars. The surveys made indicate that with every passing year the students are becoming more pleased with the content of the sessions. Three-quarters of those attending methodological and theoretical seminars pointed out that such training enabled them to increase their knowledge of sociopolitical and national economic problems; over one-half indicated that the knowledge they gained is helping them in resolving practical problems. The data proved that the most creative form of the higher level of political training--the theoretical seminar--is successfully fulfilling its function.

II

The establishment of a creative atmosphere in the collective largely depends on the extent to which the working people are aware of the social significance of the production process they are resolving. The rayon party committee is always concerned with involving in the scientific collectives, for the study of the most important problems, the most skilled associates, so that in the development of scientific subunits their objectives would be formulated with maximum clarity and would be realized and adopted by all those involved in the project. The nature of the problems resolved by the scientific collective most directly influences the creation of a favorable internal atmosphere. A collective deprived of a powerful uniting creative impetus loses its unity and begins to break down.

In the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History, one of the sectors coordinating the work of major scientists worked for several years on a major scientific problem. Following its completion work on more narrow topics was undertaken, topics which were considerably less important than the previously done work. Soon afterwards the sector became "feverish." All sorts of misunderstandings developed, which had a fatal influence not only on relations among the sector's personnel, but on their work on scientific topics. The once united collective, deprived of its binding pivot, stopped being a collective in the lofty meaning of the term and became a formal group of associates.

With the help of the rayon party committee the institute's party organization made a detailed situation and suggested to the management a partial reorganization of a number of subunits with a view to coordinating the scientific interests of the associates in preparing major summing-up works on the new and most topical directions of scientific research. As a result of the measures the atmosphere in the collective improved noticeably. This helped to upgrade work effectiveness and the successful implementation of the research plan.

Not so long ago the department in charge of science and training institutions of the rayon party committee, together with the voluntary department

for sociological research, studied individual areas of work of the party organization of the Geology and Exploitation of Fuel Minerals Institute. Most scientific associates, defining in sociological surveys the significance of the studies conducted by the institute, rated lowest of all the theoretical depth of completed projects. Probably the scientific level of the completed works should not be determined on the basis of such answers alone. The fact, however, the scientists themselves consider it insufficiently high, shows a certain dissatisfaction with the nature of the research and this alone cannot confirm in the least the existence of a favorable creative climate in the collective. The survey also included the assignment of determining the level of responsibility of the scientists themselves for the utilization of their projects and their economic effectiveness. The results indicated that only one out of two subunit managers, 42 percent of senior scientific associates, one out of three junior associates, and only one of 10 engineers were familiar with the subsequent fate of their work and its practical usefulness to the national economy.

It is no accident that about 70 percent of all institute associates spoke out in favor of the need to improve the creative atmosphere in the collective. The institute's party bureau and management must do a great deal more to improve all its activities, perfect topic plans, increase ties with production enterprises, and substantiate the economic effectiveness of projects for application.

The same is demanded by 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," which calls for a consideration of the application of results of basic and applied research projects, the definition of their end objectives and technical-economic results, and the deadline and stages for the implementation of work projects. Addressing the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that the party expects of the scientists and of all scientific research institutes effective help in resolving topical problems facing the national economy. The scientists have the duty to justify this high trust.

III

The effectiveness of the work of a scientific collective largely depends on its manager, whose activities directly influence the entire atmosphere in the scientific institution. V. I. Lenin emphasized the exceptional role of the organizational abilities and moral authority of the single commander and called for "looking for and identifying as carefully and patiently the organizers, people with a sober mind and practical cunning, people who combine loyalty to socialism with the ability quietly (and regardless of confusion and noise) to organize the strong and united joint work of a large number of people within the framework of a soviet organization" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 193.

The most important prerequisite for the influence of the leader is his personal example. Purposefulness, high-level discipline, energy, ability to efficiently resolve problems and belief in the rightness of the common cause have a most positive impact on the development of a creative atmosphere within the collective and on the quality of its work.

The rayon party committee pays constant attention to the selection and deployment of leading scientific cadres. Approximately one-third of the decrees of the rayon party committee bureau deal with activities of scientific institutions and, directly or indirectly, pertain to cadre problems, or the work of managements and party organizations in upgrading the skills and business qualities of the personnel. With every passing year the structure of the leading unit in scientific institutions is becoming ever more stable and turnover within it is diminishing. Currently 80 percent of the members of such units have worked in their collectives over 10 years. Promoting someone to a management position, the rayon party committee insures extensive publicity and takes into consideration the view of the members of the collective on one or another associate.

While noting the great role which the manager of a scientific institution plays, we must also mention the great contribution which the secretaries of primary party organizations make to the creation of a favorable atmosphere in the collective. Most of them dedicate a great deal of forces and energy to insuring conditions which will help the scientific associates manifest their capabilities most fully and make practical use of their knowledge. The prestige of the secretary, his principle-mindedness and responsiveness in relations with people, the accuracy of his decisions and his scientific qualifications largely determine the shaping of a favorable moral-psychological climate.

The rayon party committee adopts a thorough approach to the selection of leading party cadres. We try to promote to party work people who possess high moral-political qualities and enjoy high scientific prestige within the collective of one or another institute. Currently 85 percent of the secretaries of party organizations in scientific institutions are highly skilled specialists, and doctors or candidates of sciences. They include state prize laureates, or authors of major research monographs or scientific inventions.

For example, when the rayon party committee recommended Chief Technologist V. P. Klyuyev for secretary of the party organization in one of the institutes, it proceeded from the fact that this man, who had the necessary moral and political qualities, was also highly scientifically qualified and had extensive engineering knowledge and great practical experience. Our choice proved to be correct. Becoming party committee secretary, V. P. Klyuyev greatly contributed to the development of a creative atmosphere, an atmosphere of reciprocal trust and comradely cooperation, and daring scientific research in the collective.

IV

As Comrade L. I. Breznev pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress, "All aspects of the activities of one or another organization or individual worker be objectively assessed so that existing shortcomings may be comprehensively studied with a view to their elimination." The development of a favorable atmosphere within a scientific collective and of a system for the objective assessment of results is of the greatest importance to its successful work.

Taking the importance of this problem into consideration, the rayon party committee is continually directing the attention of the primary party organizations of scientific research institutes and design bureaus in the rayon to the search for new and the improvement of existing methods for assessing the work of scientific workers in accordance with the specifics and nature of resolved problems. With every passing year these problems are assuming an ever more important role at seminars sponsored by the rayon, the training of party organization secretaries, and the work plans of trade union and Komsomol organizations. Above all, they are being systematically resolved.

As a result, each scientific institution in the rayon has developed its own more-or-less successful system for assessing the results of scientific research. In many cases such systems have revealed interesting solutions and original findings. The rayon party committee summed up the experience acquired by the primary party organizations and recommended for dissemination the expert-points system for assessing the work of scientific and engineering and technical personnel. In our view, this makes possible to objectively assess the results of their scientific-production activities and avoid attendant aspects, since a comparison of scientific research involves the participation of broad circles of the scientific public. Comparisons are made under the conditions of publicized preparations for and issuing of expert opinions and with secret voting.

The party organizations have been given the possibility to objectively assess not only the quantitative, but the qualitative aspects of scientific studies, and to direct the efforts of the scientists on the development of original problems. The new regulations on the expert-points rating system take into consideration the work indicators of subunits on strengthening relations with production enterprises, improving technical facilities, upgrading labor and production discipline, developing the experimental and strengthening the material and technical base, and so on.

The collectives of 40 scientific research and planning and design institutions reviewed their existing regulations on the socialist competition and changed the system for assessing its results. For example, indicators on improving patenting and invention work were included in the competition conditions. The party organizations began to pay greater attention to this important work sector. As a result, in two years the number of inventions protected by authorship certificates rose by 14 percent, while that of foreign patents, by 61 percent.

The application of progressive methods for assessing the activities of scientific and engineering and technical workers improved the comparability of their labor conditions and results. Based on the results of the socialist competition, the expert-points system made it possible to objectively compare results, avoid the automatic comparisons among totals, and identify the best subunits and groups, and projects completed by the individual members of the collective.

In recent years all 12 topics treated at the Problems of Management Institute were awarded first prizes based on the results of the socialist competition and subsequently earned extensive acknowledgment. Following their application, three of them were awarded the USSR State Prize. One was awarded the Prize imeni A. A. Andronov of the USSR Academy of Science, and eight have found extensive practical application.

In the final account, the application of the expert-points system at scientific research institutes and design bureaus in the rayon, recommended by the rayon party committee, has had a favorable influence on the general atmosphere within the scientific collectives, for the comprehensive nature of the assessment of labor effectiveness virtually excludes possible errors and substantially reduces objective prerequisites for any kind of misunderstanding. Thus, the study of the activities of 13 party organizations using the expert-points system indicates that ever since it began to be applied in the practice of the socialist competition there have been no cases of complaints or requests for a reassessment of winning positions.

The very method for summing up results calls for a system so organized that the evaluating expert does not know, as a rule, the author of the work considered. This considerably upgrades the objectiveness of his judgment and weakens the pressure of scientific authorities on the expert's conclusions. It is no accident that we see ever more frequently among socialist competition winners young and talented scientific associates to whom the social recognition of the significance of their work provides a new impetus in upgrading their creative activity.

V

The establishment of a creative atmosphere would be inconceivable without developing in the members of the collective a comradely, a respectful attitude toward one another. However, trust in and respect for people must be combined with high exactingness for assignments and with a critical principle-minded attitude toward one's work and the work of one's comrades.

The activities of the Scientific Council for the Comprehensive Problem of the "History of the Great October Socialist Revolution," headed by Academician Hero of Socialist Labor I. I. Mints, is a model of effectiveness in the development of a creative and efficient atmosphere. The purpose of this council is to coordinate work on the history of the October Revolution on a national scale. Between 1977 and 1979 it organized eight all-union

and two international scientific conferences. Within that period 36 monographs and 15 collections of articles were published under the seal of the council and sections. Fruitful cooperation has been organized with historians in the socialist countries. Here encouraging the initiative of associates is combined with high exactingness and responsibility for assignments; the implementation of organizational and other assignments is combined with providing every associate possibilities for individual scientific work. The high scientific prestige of the council members, who include the biggest specialists in the country on this scientific problem, does not prevent the development of efficient comradely criticism and self-criticism. On the contrary, such occasional very sharp criticism only enhances the prestige of the council as a whole.

The discussion of manuscripts, reports and communications has become a real school for beginners and mature scientists. It helps to improve the scientific laboratories, research methods and the more profound and substantive solution of arising problems, and the formulation of new topical tasks. It helps the political and professional growth of all participants. This is the reason for the high attendance of council sessions and the fact that a large creative aktiv has rallied around it. That is why the council receives suggestions, questions and new topics, not only from historians working in Moscow's scientific establishments, but from specialists on the history of the October Revolution in all of the country's republics, krays and oblasts.

Giving priority to collective forms of scientific activity has raised the requirements concerning the ability of the scientific associates to communicate. The ability of the people to engage in creative communication and collectively to use the existing forms of information support in the interest of maintaining high-quality research are of great importance in creating and maintaining a favorable moral-psychological atmosphere. In raising the level of collective scientific work it is very important not to belittle the role of talent or other individual qualities of the scientist or his personal contribution to the development of science. The successful and painless implementation of this process is guaranteed only through a sympathetic and trustful reciprocal attitude among associates of scientific institutions, on the basis of a profound awareness of the significance of the conducted research.

In the course of its practical work the rayon party committee tries not to ignore the problem of interrelationships and personal contacts among associates within scientific collectives and, if necessary, helps to improve the general atmosphere. The topic of a sociological study was to determine the way scientific relations and information support influence the effectiveness of the collective's work at the Institute of Geology and Exploitation of Fuel Minerals. The overwhelming majority of the surveyed scientific associates singled out individual scientific contacts as the most important means for scientific communication. Many of these expressed the view that nothing could take the place of personal contacts. The

conclusions based on the study helped the rayon party committee to take a new look at its work. Creating favorable conditions for the development of the spiritual and creative potential of the scientists, we plan to pay greater attention to encouraging creative professional contacts between young scientific associates and leading scientists in various fields, for this largely determines the end results of the efforts of all researchers.

Practical experience has shown that it is only in the course of discussions where totally opposite views clash and views on the most controversial scientific problems are exchanged, could objective conclusions be reached. That is why, with the help of the party organizations of the scientific establishments, the rayon party committee tries to promote the broadest possible development of creative discussions as an important means to the objective solution of scientific problems and the development of principled views in assessing the results of scientific research.

Let us point out, however, that so far scientific discussions in a number of institutes are still not playing a leading role in the collective's creative activities. Administrations and party organizations are not always concerned with developing an atmosphere of creative debates in the discussion of topical scientific problems at meetings of scientific councils, methodological seminars or institutewide conferences. At such meetings sometimes scientific discussion do not arise at all, or else assume a formal nature. A survey conducted in a number of institutes revealed that about one-half of the members of scientific collectives explain this situation as lacking a creative atmosphere, insufficient benevolence and respect for the opinion of one's opponent.

The timely settlement of conflicts which develop as a result of moral-psychological differences among the members of a collective and the different levels of professional training of the cadres is of tremendous importance in developing a healthy microclimate in a scientific environment. Naturally, defusing conflict situations and removing unnecessary tension is a rather complex and quite difficult task. The rayon party committee directs the attention of the party organizations to the solution of such problems, insisting that they ascribe prime significance to measures aimed at preventing the development of frictions. In this case we try to make a thorough study of the circumstances developing in an institute, and to determine the feelings of the members of the collective and their individual characteristics. It is important always to remain in the course of events, promptly notice developing contradictions and find means for their solution before they have reached the conflict stage.

Many problems still remain in the course of developing a healthy microclimate in the scientific research institutions in the rayon. Their solution is not always smooth. Yet, they must be resolved objectively, for it is a question of living beings and their interrelationships. Occasionally substantial difficulties must be surmounted. Yet, such work yields tangible results. Practical experience indicates that an atmosphere of support and

close comradeship has a most favorable influence on the development of the creative activity and initiative of scientific associates.

VI

The numerous initiatives offer clear proof of the upgraded responsibility of the managers of institutes, departments and laboratories and of every scientist and designer for the results of research and development, the manifestation of high spiritual qualities, the display of initiatives, and the truly creative atmosphere existing in the collectives.

The rayon party committee directs the party committees and bureaus toward constant search for new methods of influencing the strengthening of the link between science and production, and the scientific research institutes toward providing specific help to enterprises and insuring the fastest possible utilization of completed research by the national economy and the use of existing ideas on the elimination of production bottlenecks.

It frequently happens that the the recommendations given by one or another sectorial institute on upgrading production effectiveness factually benefit tens of enterprises in the same sector. As a rule, however, such enterprises are far beyond the boundaries of our rayon. Meanwhile, plants and factories of other ministries, located here, are unable to use solutions found by the institute since the latter is not under their jurisdiction. In such cases the rayon party committee promotes the organization of inter-sectorial relations. We organize contacts among scientists and production workers in our rayon and help to apply in production existing developments which make it possible to raise labor productivity and improve work quality. The scientific research institutes have highly skilled cadres and all capabilities so that, without affecting the main topics, on the basis of methods and technological processes they have already developed in their own sectors, to design and even make original instruments and equipment for other national economic sectors, including health care and produce cultural consumer goods.

The initiative suggested by the leading scientific collectives was to help the rayon enterprises become model and to disseminate technical, economic and political knowledge. Creative cooperation contracts began to be signed between enterprises and scientific research institutes. The rayon party bureau supported the valuable initiative. Sponsorship by institutes and design bureaus, previously uncoordinated, was directed into a single channel. A rayon comprehensive creative obligations plan was drafted. The scale of such cooperation is expanding with every passing year. Whereas at the beginning the five-year plan approximately one-half of the rayon's institutes were involved in such work, today this applies to practically all institutes. A total of 740 contracts have been signed with 550 enterprises and organizations in the rayon, in Moscow, and in the rest of the country.

We must point out that the scientific workers have done a great deal of work free, on a voluntary basis, to help enterprises in Cheremushkinsky Rayon eliminate bottlenecks. Most of the 120 contracts included within the rayon's five-year plan for creative obligations have already been fulfilled successfully. Economic results from their implementation will run into 10's of millions of rubles.

The party bureaus of the scientific research institutes are controlling the implementation of contracts for giving aid to enterprises and health care and public education organs. Such problems are regularly discussed at party meetings. Sectorial and intersectorial conferences and seminars are organized to accelerate and broaden the scope of application of scientific developments. On the initiative of the party organizations a number of institutes have set up groups to coordinate the cooperation between scientists and enterprises and organizations. Bureaus, commissions and sections have been set up to promote the development of joint projects with production enterprises and accelerate practical applications.

The implementation of creative contracts enables the rayon's scientific organizations to make better use of prototypes of new equipment in the course of semi-industrial testing, and develop technological processes and conduct experiments with the facilities of enterprises. Thus the Moskovskiy Sovkhoz-Combine in Moscow Oblast offered an experimental lot for the industrial testing of a new method for the vaccination of tomatoes in closed grounds, developed by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General Genetics. A new technology for the manufacturing of curtain fabric, suggested by specialists from the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for the Textile-Haberdashery Industry, was tested with the production facilities of the Moscow Production Curtains and Lace Association.

A creative cooperation which insures the strengthening of ties between science and production affects the further development of socialist competition as well. The implementation of cooperation plans is taken into consideration in summing up work results. Virtually all the members of scientific collectives formulate in their individual socialist obligations their extent of participation in the implementation of contracts between institutes and enterprises. On the basis of planned cooperation with enterprises, a number of scientific institutions joined efforts with enterprises to jointly resolve scientific and technical problems, exchange scientific and technical information, and create combined authors' collectives.

The rayon party committee ascribes great importance to the personal participation of directors and heads of institutes in developing relations with production enterprises. Noted scientists and big specialists actively join in the implementation of measures in their fields of knowledge. We could name as examples institute directors V. N. Bushuyushchiy and A. A. Gusakov, Academicians R. Z. Sagdeyev and N. P. Mel'nikov, and others.

Recently an automated control system for the marketing of finished goods was introduced at the Moscow Special Alloys Processing Plant. The work was

headed by Academician V. A. Trapeznikov, director of the Control Problems Institute.

The installation of an automatic control system at the Splyav plant saved 100,000 Rubles.

Guided by the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress on the fact that the practical application of new scientific ideas is today no less important than their development, the rayon party committee tries to insure their implementation by the party organizations of scientific research institutes and design bureaus. Reports submitted by the organizations on the course of research projects and on application of developments are considered at meetings of the voluntary councils of the rayon party committee and discussed at the departments and at conferences between managers and the party aktiv, and above all by the rayon party committee bureau.

Annual savings totaling 140,000 rubles were achieved and the personnel was reduced, on a theoretical basis, by over 100 workers on the basis alone of two completed projects by the Special Design Bureau for Time Mechanisms and Stone-Cutting Machine Building, applied at Moscow's time pieces manufacturing plants. The use of the special design bureau development in the entire sector would save one million rubles in state funds and release 500 workers.

Resolving the responsible problem set by the CC CPSU for comprehensive economy of material and financial resources, the collectives of the design and scientific research *Proyektstal'konstruktsiya*, *Goskhimproyekt*, and automated systems in construction institutes took additional socialist obligations which call for considerable savings in ferrous and nonferrous metals, cement and other construction materials. This was included in the plans for the shock projects of the five-year plan under construction with the participation of the design institutes: the *Atomash* Plant, very big metallurgical and chemical combines, and the biggest construction project of the five-year plan—the *Baykal-Amur* Main Line. The institute's initiative was approved by the rayon party committee and supported by all scientific collectives in the rayon.

For example, the collective of the *Proyektstal'konstruktsiya* Scientific Research Institute, together with other organizations, insured savings in addition to the figures stipulated in the five-year plan, totaling 95,000 tons of steel over the past two years as a result of the utilization of progressive scientific developments of modern design methods, use of higher strength steel, economical metal shapes and utilization in mass industrial construction of standardized structures. Another 50,000 tons will be saved in 1980, lowering construction cost estimates by 7.5 million rubles.

We consider it very important for an initiative originating in the rayon to go beyond it, reach scientific research and design organizations in the city, and meet with the response of thousands of scientists who have made

noticeable contributions to the common projects through their specific work.

We try to insure extensive publicity for each socially important initiative, tangibly proving how and in what sectors could problems of savings be resolved and the benefits of such initiatives to society. This enhances in the eyes of those involved in the initiative the social significance of their own work, triggers the curiosity of the engineer, designer or scientist, and helps to discover creative possibilities and, consequently, enables us to reach the highly effective solution of technological, technical and economic problems.

The existence of a good moral-psychological climate in the institutes not only develops the initiative of the scientists, but contributes to the energizing of scientific research leading to important scientific results and discoveries. Thus, the collective of the Nuclear Research Institute delivered for scientific use the biggest underground neutrino telescope in the world. Its installation opens new roads to the study of the basic laws governing the evolution of the universe. Complex processes are taking place within the stars, and in the center of galaxies, in the course of which a number of elementary particles are born. However, the neutrino alone can go through tremendously thick mass and give us objective data. The idea of using flows of space neutrinos as a new instrument for the study of nature was expressed by Soviet physicists as early as the end of the 1950's. The underground Baksan Neutrino Observatory, built in the Soviet Union, represented the practical implementation of this idea. It was precisely here that an event of outstanding scientific significance took place. For the first time the underground telescope registered neutrinos of outer space origin. They had reached the earth in the area of the Pacific and Antarctica, gone through the earth and, leaving the planet, had been recorded with the help of this unique instrument. The implementation of this experiment, for the first time in the world, proves the high level of scientific equipment and instruments developed by the USSR Academy of Sciences Nuclear Research Institute.

The present stage of development of Soviet society faces the scientific workers with tremendous and complex tasks. The materials of the 25th CPSU Congress and the November 1979 Central Committee Plenum, emphasized that the efforts of the scientific intelligentsia must be focused today on the further acceleration of scientific and technical progress, expanding the ties between science and production, and putting as quickly as possible the achievements of science, technology, progressive experience and the education of the new man into practice. The duty of the party workers is to help the scientists to implement the party's instructions and dedicate all their forces and knowledge to the struggle for the timely and qualitative implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

THROUGH THE LENS OF SOCIAL TASKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 50-58

[Article by V. Mel'nik, first secretary of the Novoaninskiy Rayon Party Committee, Communist Party of Moldavia]

[Text] A multicolored banner with the inscription "Plan for the Social and Economic Development of the Rayon" decorates the main square of Novyye Aneny. The figures in the diagram provide a clear idea of the growth rates of output in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and industrial enterprises. It contains data on local social changes in the nonproduction area--health care, education, housing construction and other sectors.

This makes the plan visible to and controlled by everyone. The plan itself was the result of joint efforts. Each figure and section were discussed heatedly by the labor collectives, at meetings and rural rallies. In a word, they passed through the social consciousness, acquiring, if one may say so, a high objectivity coefficient. It is important to the working man that he is equal to all members of society in his rights, for which reason he has the right to rely on the concern of the state and the support of the collective. This encourages everyone to work with total dedication and deep satisfaction.

The first plan for the rayon's social and economic development was elaborated on the eve of the past five-year plan. Its factual foundations were the high level of the economy and the strengthened material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This offered favorable possibilities for the further growth and intensification of output. Naturally, in the past as well we defined the volumes of long-term projects and, accordingly, undertook the construction of industrial and social projects, strengthened the base for animal husbandry, and improved the land. We were not idle! We achieved proper returns as well--the harvest grew and cattle productivity rose. In accordance with their possibilities the farms constructed roads and built schools, clubs and housing. What, actually, changed in planning practices?

"The Marxists have always proceeded from the fact," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

chairman, "that social progress is based on the development of public production. This does not mean in the least, however, that the solution of other important social and political problems should be considered secondary. All the aspects of communist construction are closely interrelated. It is well known that the solution of sociopolitical problems depends on economic accomplishments. In turn, economic progress is largely determined by the success with which sociopolitical problems are resolved."

A person's attitude toward material goods changes drastically in the course of the various stages of social development. Eight to ten years ago the problem of the material incentive of rural workers faced us acutely. To this day it is still on the agenda. However, other requirements have become noticeably more important. For example, the leisure-time factor is rated highly: The precise regulation of the working day or week, work according to schedule, a two-shift system, and planned leave, which is particularly needed by the young people for their studies and participation in amateur arts and sports. Such requirements, actually, not only express individual aspirations, but are consistent with the interests of society.

A rapprochement between the living standards of the urban and rural population and the creation in labor collectives of favorable conditions for the all-round development of the capabilities and creative activity of every working person are organically related to the economy, to production. In planning it is important precisely to determine outlays by sector based on the characteristics of the individual farm. Thus, the party organization reached the conclusion of the need to plan the social development of labor collectives. This was preceded by a deep sociological study conducted together with the scientists of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. Extensive information on the condition of the economy and the soil and climate characteristics of the rayon, together with demographic data, were studied and considered in shaping the structure of long-term capital investments. The following planned sections were created following extensive discussions:

Sociodemographic population and manpower resources of the rayon for 1976-1980;

Scientific and technical progress and the further growth of material production;

Improving the management system;

Concern for the further growth of the material prosperity of the working people;

Architectural-planning changes;

Cadre education, training and retraining;

Development of health care, culture and sports;

Communist upbringing and upgrading the sociopolitical activity of the working people.

Comprehensive social planning took place along with the reorganization of production forces in the agrarian sector of the economy on the republic scale, headed by the Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee. The implementation of the cooperation and specialization program, the combination of framing with industry and of science with production, required the coordinated efforts not only of the production partners within a given agro-industrial association or firm, but in general among all enterprises located in our rayon. This was not accomplished without difficulty. Obsolete planning habits made themselves felt. For example, some republic organizations willing allocated to "their own" enterprises funds for production expansion and modernization, but stinted when the need to build sociocultural projects arose, even though it is known that omissions in the social development of individual labor collectives has a direct or indirect adverse effect on other collectives and on the rayon as a whole. For this reason the rayon party committee departments are comprehensively developing in the officials the desire to be concerned not with the prosperity of their own enterprises, but also interested in the successful work of related enterprises, contributing to the implementation of the rayonwide program. In particular, they succeeded in making the long-range plans of rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses closely interlinked. Joint contributions of funds and material and technical resources are made in building capital intensive projects which are operated jointly in the spirit of 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."

The comprehensive plan meets the requirements of all population strata whether employed in material production or in the nonproduction area. This is an essential feature, for the "geography" of departmental affiliation of rural labor collectives alone is exceptionally wide. Enterprises, organizations and associations subordinate to local, republic or even union-republic departments, function on the rayon's territory. The socioeconomic develop plan takes into consideration the specific nature of each kolkhoz or sovkhos, channeling their efforts into the main stream of the party's socioeconomic policy.

Occasionally departmental interests may prevail over national interests. Sometimes not only controlling, but even collecting statistical data on the activities of one or another subdivision becomes no simple matter. Only recently a flood of copies were needed when the time came to determine sources for the financing of rayonwide projects. The rayon party committee was forced to persuade the parties, enter into lengthy correspondence with respective departments, guarantee that they would no longer be "bothered," and so on. In the final account, material funds for building social

projects (schools, commercial centers, medical institutions, sports bases) were found but at the cost of tremendous efforts. Practical experience has indicated that all funds for social requirements allocated by the ministries for "their own" enterprises must also be under the control of the local soviets. This guarantees the effective utilization of every ruble.

Interfarm cooperation and specialization, which as we know have become widespread in Moldavia, created favorable conditions for combining agriculture with the processing industry and for the subsequent conversion to the establishment of big agro-industrial associations. The basic meaning of this measure is to upgrade social labor productivity, accelerate social growth among the peasantry and bring the country closer to the town; a parallel task is to reduce the seasonal nature of manpower utilization and release manpower resources for distribution among other economic sectors. Yet, the multisectorial nature of agrarian production hindered the dissemination of modern technology, improvements in the organization of labor and the application of scientific achievements. It was not only a matter of technical progress hindered by individual unconscientious managers, but of objective factors such as the splintering of production sectors, small-size fields, and scattered livestock farms. This required additional manpower, scarce as it was.

Moldavia is one of the heavily populated parts of the country with a predominant rural population. In this respect our rayon is no exception. However, in the mid-1960's the countryside suffered from acute manpower shortages, the leading sectors included. Kolkhozes and sovkhoses were forced to find people "on the outside," asking urban citizens to help with harvesting the crops and with operations related to the processing of agricultural raw materials. The undereffectiveness of this forced measure should be acknowledged. Like the job of a worker, farm work is specific, requiring particular skills and high specialization. Yet, members of sponsoring enterprises, who come to the aid of the farmers as a duty detail, rarely possess all these qualities. True, to this day we cannot entirely exclude in the agrarian sector of the economy the use of seasonal workers. For this reason we must improve the methods for the management of migration processes. However, the main line in the development of agrarian production, the party teaches us, is related to the technical retooling of the countryside, intensifying specialization and concentration, improving the territorial location of production forces and creating powerful agro-industrial complexes. It was precisely on the implementation of this task that our rayon party organization focused its attention. As a result, today interfarm and agro-industrial associations account for 70 percent of the rayon's beef production, 88 percent of the pork, almost 1/2 of the fodder, and nearly all vegetables, grapes and fruits.

The progress made in animal husbandry is particularly noticeable. This sector is developing primarily on an industrial basis. Having pooled their financial and material resources, the kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other state enterprises have the possibility to rapidly build relatively big projects,

and acquire full sets of power-intensive equipment and mechanisms. This substantially facilitates the solution of production tasks and increases capital investment returns. Previously, building a project worth up to one million rubles through a single enterprise's efforts took no less than two years. Cooperation has reduced this amount of time. It took 15 months to build a hog-breeding farm for 24,000 head and a complete operational cycle. The new construction projects of the 10th Five-Year Plan alone include a hog-breeding farm with an annual output of 63,000 quintals of pork and a complex for the raising of purebred calves. All industrial sites are being reconstructed side by side with the construction of major new projects.

The rayon almost doubled its meat production with the completion of the Bul'bokskiy Hog-Breeding Complex. The volumes of procurement of other goods rose as well, compared with 1970, as follows: meat, by a factor of 4; milk, by 1/2; eggs, by a factor of 3. The value of the gross output (in comparable prices) rose from 42.4 million rubles in 1970 to 95 million in 1979. In the course of the implementation of the program every worker--rank-and-file or managerial--was able to realize that farm labor cannot be losing if properly organized and given proper incentive. Until recently, for example, the production of vegetables was an exceptionally difficult matter. Truck gardening brought, as the saying goes, neither money nor glory. Concluding contracts with procurement organizations and canning industry enterprises, usually the farm representatives tried to avoid burdening itself. This may be seen by the following statistical figures: in 1972 21 farms engaged in truck gardening on areas averaging no more than 100 hectares, while the volume of goods marketed did not exceed 25,000 tons. Today 10 farms only are engaged in truck gardening, producing 112,000 tons of vegetables! Each of them has nearly 400 to 500 hectares in such crops.

The profitable stage in the development of the sector began with the creation of specialized farms which merged with the canning industry enterprises and the procurement organizations within the Moldplodoovoshchprom System. It was on this basis that the Varnitsa Scientific-Production Association was set up. This increased the production possibilities of all the collectives. Sectorial integration and interfarm cooperation eliminated the negative factors created by lack of departmental coordination. Achieving unity in production, processing and marketing of agricultural commodities, and motivated by common economic interests, the farms are focusing their efforts on insuring the effective operations of the sector.

Success in any undertaking--large or small--depends on the extent to which the nature of forthcoming changes is profoundly realized by the performers themselves. Propaganda groups and agitation collectives energized their activities in the discussion of plans for socioeconomic development. They helped the people to better understand the meaning of the forthcoming work. Taking the requirements of reality into consideration, the training programs of the party-economic aktiv courses and of the primary and secondary levels of party and Komsomol education, introduced an additional section on

the nature and prospects of agro-industrial integration, specialization and interfarm cooperation.

A coordination council was set up including scientists, specialists, economic managers, soviet and party workers, and representatives of the public organizations, in order to more fully determine possibilities for the growth of output on the basis of the wishes expressed by the working people to raykom organizations concerning the development of a rayonwide plan. The council became the method center for the work groups set up in 30 labor collectives.

Actually, this was also the purpose of a survey of the population conducted by the rayon party committee together with sociologists. The survey covered nearly 12,000 people, 1 out of 4 working persons. The resulting information covered various problems of the way of life, culture and prospects for the development of the rayon in accordance with the scientific and technical revolution. The plan was published in a big edition. This insured its broad publicity and the daily interested control on the part of the public, of all working people. The people saw in this document the factual possibilities of each settlement and of the rayon as a whole. Therefore, they gaged their own projects in accordance with the general program. Its implementation required substantial resources. In 1970 productive capital in agriculture was assessed at 67.3 million rubles, currently it is 214 million. A total of 48 million rubles were spent for all types of construction, 32 million of which (two-thirds) for the building strictly industrial projects. Within a short time big animal husbandry complexes were built in the rayon. Intensive truck gardens and vineyards were organized. Enterprises for the processing and storage of agricultural commodities were built or reconstructed.

The conversion from the traditional universal rural production system to factory-plant labor organization methods represents an essentially new level in the development of production forces, consistent with the current high level of cadre skills. Social planning combines the production plans of labor collectives with the interests of society, reflecting the special socialist approach to human needs and requirements.

Many difficulties arose in the course of the implementation of the program. Some comrades were unable immediately to abandon obsolete planning methods such as, for example, the farm-by-farm issuing of production and economic indicators, including how much and what to plant, deadlines, and so on. Naturally, such regulations paralyzed the initiative, and wasted the attention of cadres on petty matters and campaign worries, willy-nilly lowering the creative potential of the specialists.

One cannot live one day at a time, involved in local concerns. In particular, the party-mindedness of the economic manager means that today's achievements must be judged with the strict yardstick of tomorrow, assessing them from the viewpoint of the national interests. As long as not all

kolkhozes and sovkhoses had developed an equal economic potential, it had been decided to support the lagging farms through above-limit productive capital, thus creating favorable conditions for the reorganization of the sector on the scale of a production association. This was a tactical step, a coercive measure. After a while, however, other farms as well fell behind their initial plans without adequate reasons, and began to "shift" funds from one sector to another, concentrating them mainly on industrial projects, holding back the construction of housing, medical institutions, kindergartens and schools. Typically, this action did not yield good results, for it violated required economic ratios. For example, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan (compared with the Eighth) the capital investments which the Nistru Sovkhoz made more than doubled, whereas labor productivity rose 18 percent only, and gross output rose no more than 3 percent. In a word, returns were not consistent with outlays.

We did not conceal these errors. We publicized them and recently found a solution to the situation. The results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan were thoroughly discussed at a meeting of the party-economic aktiv, at a practical science conference and, subsequently, in all the farms. Unfortunately, occasionally petty matters lead to the appearance of complex problems whose elimination, subsequently, requires tremendous efforts. The sociological survey conducted by the rayon party committee on the reasons for which young people, specialists, and other skilled categories left the villages revealed major omissions in consumer services, trade, health care and the work of cultural institutions. For example, what is the cost of the peasants' shopping trips to the city? Selective studies provided the following information: On an annual basis a family spends 140 hours in trips to the city. On the scale of the Pravda Kolkhoz, for example, this totaled 8,000 man/days.

Formulating the 10th Five-Year Plan we took into consideration past errors and changed the structure of outlays. Thus the average volume of capital investments appropriated for the construction of industrial projects was reduced somewhat to 22.5 percent. In 1970 the rayon's kolkhozes and sovkhoses spent 635,000 rubles in strengthening the social base; in 1979 they spent 6.6 million. This is more than a factor of 10! Following are the main construction projects commissioned in recent years: three secondary schools for 2,800 students and hostels totaling 62,000 square meters; 12 commercial centers, 6 book stores, a hospital (for 380 beds), 4 out-patient clinics, 6 cafeterias, 2 sports complexes, paved roads and other projects. Work is continuing on the reorganization of the settlements and on improving their architectural-planning layout. Many villages have been rejuvenated. This was not accomplished through public funds alone: The kolkhoz boards are concerned with individual builders: easy term loans and manpower are granted to those who want to build. We did not engage in multistoried building, for single homes or duplexes are more convenient in villages. Individual garages and premises for the cattle are included. Naturally, this costs somewhat more than an apartment in a multistoried building. However, we must take into consideration the specific way of rural life.

Republic organizations and departments are helping the rayon party committee and rayon executive committee in their efforts to reorganize the villages. On several occasions the collegium of the Moldavian SSR Ministry of the Communal Economy has discussed the course of the implementation of measures stipulated in the rayon plan for the development of communal services enterprises.

Even though the ratios of capital investments have substantially changed in favor of the nonproduction area, public production effectiveness rose noticeably. In 1970 the gross output per 100 hectares of farmland was worth 69,000 rubles; it rose to 144,000 in 1979. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan the increase equalled 67 percent, while sales to the state rose 73 percent. In physical terms, between 1970 and 1979 the growth was as follows: grain, from 45,800 to 74,300 tons; grapes, from 8,500 to 22,300 tons; milk, from 17,600 to 27,600 tons; meat, from 3,700 to 16,100 tons; and eggs, from 26.1 to 70.1 million. Today in one working hour a rural worker produces as many goods as he produced 16 years ago (until the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum) in 6.5 hours. . . . This fact reflects the socio-economic changes which have taken place in the countryside as a result of the tireless concern of the communist party. Over the past decade kolkhoz productive capital rose by a 1.8 factor.

Yes, equipment can resolve many, but not all problems. In the final account, it is people who determine success. Progressive changes in the content and nature of rural work create favorable conditions for the harmonious development of the individual. They encourage the people to gain new knowledge and upgrade their skills. This, incidentally, has been included in the plans of the labor collectives. Eighty percent of the service personnel at poultry farms and greenhouse combines consists of young men and women with secondary educations. Young people are unwilling to work at livestock farms with obsolete technology. At the same time, there is no lack of candidates to work in production sectors with new equipment and modern tools.

Taking into consideration the tremendous attraction of the farmers for what is new and progressive, the rayon center organized, on a cost-accounting basis, a house for scientific and technical progress. Its task is to disseminate scientific and technical achievements and to apply them. The 10th Five-Year Plan stipulated that labor productivity in the agrarian sector of the rayon's economy was to increase 37 percent, essentially by improving production technology in crop growing and animal husbandry. On the basis of the suggestions of farm specialists, the rayon party committee developed a series of measures for the extensive dissemination of best achievements in labor technology and organization.

Frankly speaking, tremendous possibilities exist. For example, specialists at the Pravda Kolkhoz, together with the personnel of the Kolkhoz Kolkhozhivprom Association applied the shop organization of animal husbandry labor at the dairy complex. We know that in order to carry out her

immediate duties, a milkmaid spends no more one-third of her working time. The balance goes to auxiliary operations, which leads to manpower over-expenditure. The shop system makes it possible to divide obligations among animal husbandrymen according to operations: some become milking masters, others specialize in care for pregnant cows, others again engage in the milking of first-calf heifers, and so on. Individual wages are based exclusively on end results. The effectiveness of the system is obvious: the Pravda Kolkhoz was able to release 28 people from dairy animal husbandry alone (transferred to another production sector). The labor productivity of the remaining personnel rose sharply. In 1977 every machine milking master milked 584 tons of milk; the figure rose to 1,040 tons in 1979. Outlays per quintal of output declined, respectively, from 7.2 to 5.2 man/hours. Great attention is paid to industrial aesthetics and to improving working conditions.

Improving production facilities facilitates the solution of another topical problem: securing adequate manpower for the farms and enterprises. There was no need to seek the help of the recruitment office. We found in our rayon over 1,000 working people, as follows: in the southern part of the republic, Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon, the mechanizers mastered a progressive technology for corn growing excluding the use of manual labor and even of the interrow cultivation of crops. A progressive experience course was organized in the detachment headed by Hero of Socialist Labor S. M. Parmakli, to which we as well sent trainees. Here, under the control of specialists, in the course of 45 days they mastered not only the secrets of running the equipment, but the art of collectivism as well, for the struggle for new technology is most closely related to the intensification of educational work at all agricultural production levels.

Ever more frequently today's peasant has to deal with most complex equipment involving the use fast chemical agents and electronics. The impeccably accurate observance of the strictest possible technical conditions is the basis of many production facilities, guaranteeing high effectiveness and profitability. It is precisely such qualities that distinguish the latest corn-growing technology based on the use of extensive amounts of fertilizer and complex herbicides. Unquestionably, this is attractive work which requires special training, extensive organization, accuracy and coordination on the part of the direct performers. In a word, this requires technological discipline, for any delay in the use of specialized herbicides between operations, by even 15 minutes, would make the active ingredient lose its strength and fail to provide the desired effect on the weeds.

Thanks to the application of the new technology in the corn fields, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses will be saving hundreds of tons of fuel per year. They have already reduced labor outlays, while insuring a drastic increase in yields, reaching up to 65 quintals of grain per hectare. With all this, it became possible to release over 1,000 mechanizers, who went to work in truck gardening, viticulture and animal husbandry husbandry complexes.

The socioeconomic development plans became a sort of model for the labor collective. They can be reliably used in upgrading labor productivity, the implementation of measures for the further mechanization and automation of production processes, and the advancement of political and education work involving all population strata.

The task of the long-term plans for ideological work of the primary party organizations is to develop in the entire rural population high ideological-moral qualities, conscious discipline and a feeling of ownership and personal responsibility for the success of projects within the collective. Here again we have tried to rally the efforts and take to a maximum extent into consideration the educational possibilities of the various rayon organizations and establishments: the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the schools. We particularly emphasize the systematic ideological orientation of all social units, for the divisions and disagreements which existed in the past only hindered the work.

As the kolkhoz peasantry becomes engaged in industrial labor, and under the influence of the overall socialist reality, the features characteristic of the progressive part of the working class are becoming ever more apparent: high political consciousness, discipline and an attraction for progressive forms of labor organization and progressive technology. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Education Work" states that assessing the activities of managers and economic cadres, we must take into consideration not only the indicators of fulfillment of production plans, but the level of discipline, the moral-political climate in the collective and working and living conditions. Through our own experience we became convinced that it is precisely such an approach, combining production, social and moral-psychological factors, that yields the best, including economic, results.

In recent years the material base of cultural and educational institutions has been strengthened substantially. This has enabled us to raise the quality of cultural services to the rural population. Currently over 7,000 people are participating in amateur art circles. The professional training of club activists has been organized. This is contributing to the more successful solution of cadre problems and supplies cultural clubs with skilled specialists recruited among the talented local youth. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations have begun to pay greater attention to the development of sports. Sports grounds have been set up in all kolkhozes and sovkhoses and enclosed sports complexes and halls are under construction. The rayon employs 22 method workers in sports, 5 of them with higher physical culture training. Every year the Kolkhoznikul Rayon Council trains as many as 1,500 people meeting the standards of Ready for Labor and Defense Badge bearers, and almost 350 athletes of different grades. In 1979 the rayon trained four first-grade athletes and two master of sports candidates.

The growth of the spiritual requirements of the rural workers leads to the conclusion of the need to broaden the range and the ways and means of mass cultural work. The rayon has set up a coordination council guiding the activities of cultural-educational institutions and sports organizations, regardless of departmental affiliation. The combination of economics with culture, conceived in the broadest possible meaning of the term as the culture of labor, way of life and human relations, is one of the most important tasks of modern society. Our rayon party organization is dedicating a great deal of efforts in this direction. We do not rest on our accomplishments, but are steadily improving our work on the basis of the requirements of reality and guided by the party's decisions.

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RAILWAYS: THE SCOPE OF INNOVATORS' QUEST

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 59-70

[Article by the newspaper **GUDOK**, **KOMMUNIST** collective correspondent]

[Text] Transportation plays a great role in the dynamic development of the national economy and in the development of the new economic areas of the country. The party and the government pay constant attention to upgrading the effectiveness of all types of transportation. This is vividly confirmed by the CC CPSU decree "On Measures to Improve Party-Political Work on Railway Transportation." It equipped the party committees and railroad managements with an effective program for action. It directs the railway personnel to upgrading the effectiveness of transportation through better organization of the socialist competition, utilization of progressive experience, and support of innovation initiatives. This is the topic of our collective correspondent, the editors of the newspaper **GUDOK**.

Another article in this section, the essay "Arrow to the Ocean," describes the building of tunnels--the most difficult, the key sector of the Baykal-Amur Main Line. A brief excursion through history would give a certain idea of the development of the Transbaykal area, initiated one century ago, and continued by the Soviet people during the first five-year plans and today. The building and exploitation workers of the BAM welcomed with great satisfaction the new CC CPSU decree, which gives them tremendous help in improving party-political work both in laying the tracks and along the already operating main line sectors.

Railways are the basic unit of the transportation system of the USSR and its main arteries. They account for over two-thirds of the domestic freight haulage and about 40 percent of passenger transportation. Even though automotive, maritime and air transportation are currently developing

at a faster pace, we could confidently state that in both the immediate and more distant future the railways will retain their leading position in the haulage of mass freight, such as coal, ore, grain and timber and construction materials. This is predetermined by their high haulage capacity, reliability and economy. These qualities are manifested particularly clearly along the electrified tracks in terms of whose length, for a number of years, our country has firmly held a leading position in the world.

The Soviet railroads are hauling freight and passengers in a volume unparalleled in world practice. Today freight turnover has reached nearly 3.5 trillion tons/km per year. The figure is astronomical! It accounts for over one-half of the volume of haulage carried out by all other means on the planet and nearly triple the U.S. volume. The length of our tracks is 140,000 km, or about 11 percent of the sum total of tracks throughout the earth. In our country each kilometer of track is exploited more intensively than in the United States, Canada and Western Europe by a factor of 6-7. The USSR uses far more intensively locomotive engines, railroad cars, and other technical facilities. In the past three decades the length of the tracks was increased by 25,000 km, or 21 percent, while freight haulage within that time rose by almost a factor of 6. However, the new tracks did not essentially alleviate, but conversely, increased the load of the principal operational main lines, above all those linking the center of the country with Siberia and the Far East.

Unquestionably, relying on the concentration of freight flows, and the laying of electrified main lines with great handling capacity provided, under our circumstances, the most rational solution to the transportation problem. The tremendous growth of transportation could be mastered by reconstructing the existing network with minimum capital investments and operational outlays.

In recent years, however, the flows of freight and passengers along a number of important directions rose to such an extent that putting additional trains into circulation became incredibly difficult. A number of railroads, working with tremendous strain, fail fully to secure the needs of the national economy and the population for transportation. Yet, this adversely affects the development of the entire economy.

"Naturally, transportation has always played an important role," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. "Now, however, under the conditions of an unparalleled movement of industry toward Siberia and the Far East, and intensified specialization and cooperation, its importance becomes even greater." The radical solution of transportation problems calls for the formulation of a long-term comprehensive program for its development, taking the best scientific and technical achievements into consideration. The closest possible attention must be paid to the modernization of the railroads, the radical improvement of the organization of the haulage and its rationalization, and to improving planning and the mechanization of labor-intensive loading and unloading operations.

The CC CPSU decree "On Measures to Improve Party-Political Work in Railway Transport" was welcomed as a new vivid manifestation of the party's concern for improving the activities of the railroads. Immediately following its publication the editors of GUDOK began to receive reports on the unanimous support of the measures and on the effective ways and means of party influence on economic activities and on the development of the socialist competition.

The CC CPSU decree draws attention to upgrading the work effectiveness of junction party committees, which face the task of coordinating the efforts of party members in organizing the socialist competition and disseminating progressive experience. According to the information provided by our newspaper's readers and correspondents, the party committees in many junctions are engaged in extensive work in this direction. A number of young specialists and skilled workers from other sectors are joining transport enterprises, and the party committees pay close attention to the selection, placement and education of such replenishments. The GUDOK readers have written on the need for extensive exchange of experience in party-political work. Ye. Shostenko, secretary of the junction party committee of Georgiu-Dezh Station, suggests that network conferences be held for secretaries of junction party committees. Currently there are over 200 such committees in the country. Many of them have acquired rich experience in educational work which must be made universally available.

The railroad workers are justifiably proud of the contribution they have made to the organization and development of labor competition. Lenin described the first communist subbotnik, held in April 1919 on the initiative of the party cell of the Moscow Marshaling Yard Steam Locomotive Depot, as the great initiative.

It is noteworthy that four decades later, the first communist labor brigade was created at the Locomotive Engines Repair Shop of the Moscow-Marshaling Yard Depot. This laid the beginning of a powerful movement for a communist attitude toward labor. Currently it involves over 63 million workers in all sectors of the national economy, including over 3 million railwaymen.

Last year the depot workers launched a new noteworthy initiative--the regular fast handling of heavy long trains along the Moscow Order of Lenin Railroad. The initiative was highly rated by the CPSU Central Committee and recommended for the broadest possible dissemination. It is thus that the great innovation of traditions are passed on from generation to generation.

The concept of "heavy-weight train" originated in the first five-year plans, when the Stakhanovite-Krivososov movement in transportation was at its very beginning. At that time the "assigned ride" system was practiced: a brigade permanently worked with the same locomotive engine, becoming thoroughly familiar with all its characteristics, watching over its technical condition and participating in repairs. The locomotive engine runs

were relatively short--100 to 150 or, at most, 200 km. At that time traffic was not as heavy as today. The dispatcher could specifically control several trains and give them a green light.

The situation is entirely different today, when powerful electric and diesel locomotive engines have replaced the steam-driven engines. They pull the same train for hundreds or even thousands of kilometers, crossing borders of sections and tracks. The brigades of several depots alternate in running the engines. An electric locomotive engine is very powerful. Its load capacity is high and it could pull a heavy-weight train. However, the motors may overheat. The engines do not as yet have instruments to indicate this. The repeated overheating of coils leads to the accelerated wear out of the insulation and to the breakdown of the motors. This disturbs the work of the sector of an entire line should several locomotive engines break down. That is why the critical weight of the train is determined by a special dynamometric car at each sector, on the basis of computations and controlled trips. No one is allowed to exceed it.

How then to pull heavy compositions? A standard weight norm is set for each direction. Here and there, the threshold is below the critical level. This makes it possible to add additional cars. In a number of areas, along the Moscow Railroad in particular, the weight of the train is limited not by the traction possibilities of the engines, but by the distance between several stations. On the initiative of the railway administration's party committee the specialists developed a system for coupling and handling compositions weighing 6,000 tons instead of 3,600 as called for by the previous norm.

The railway administration's party committee and the party organizations of a number of enterprises attracted to the idea of drastically increasing the weight of trains specialists of all basic services. They coordinated and combined their efforts, thus establishing a comprehensive engineering approach to a complex problem. It was far from simple to develop a schedule for uninterrupted handling of heavy-weight and long trains under the conditions of intensive passenger traffic. The process of drawing up itineraries so that the freight cars not remain long at marshaling yards was planned thoroughly. The technology for preparing freight cars for the trip was reviewed. A long train and considerable air leaks from the main brake system may cause a great deal of trouble. The work of the technical servicing centers was organized in such way as to guarantee the proper condition and reliability of the rolling stock along the way under all circumstances.

The railwaymen worked hard not to limit the speed according to the condition of the tracks in sharp and long upslopes. In order to cover them, a heavy-weight train must gather maximum speed in good time. Power, communications and signalling, centralizing and blocking specialists became concerned with upgrading the reliability of technical facilities. Close as possible attention was paid to the quality of engine repairs.

Scientists from the VNIIZhT [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Railroad Transportation] and the MIIT [Moscow Institute of Railroad Transportation Engineers] came to the assistance of the specialists. They helped in making the necessary computations and in the improvement of technological processes.

Above all, engineers, dispatchers, car supervisors and railwaymen of all basic services directly related to train traffic, were retrained. The point was not only to teach to the people the new methods for carrying out production operations. A serious mental retuning was necessary.

The party committee and primary party organization members made extensive efforts to explain the entire importance of the innovation and to convince and interest the railwaymen, using the rich arsenal of moral and material incentives.

Party and trade union meetings and production conferences were organized at all enterprises, shops and shifts to discuss all suggestions and earmark measures for their implementation. This important topic was discussed at classes within the economic training system and in the communist labor schools. Plant and wall newspapers, the local radio broadcasting facilities, and the visual agitation media were included in promoting the running of heavy-weight trains.

The party bureaus of the freight-car services comprehensively discussed with the secretaries of the party bureaus of all freight-car depots of the railroad how more effectively to organize the preparation and review of the heavier and longer compositions. The depot party members saw to it that the brigades at the freight-car technical services centers were staffed with the most skilled cadres. The question of the discipline and individual responsibility of everyone for the proper condition of the freight cars along the entire trip of the heavy-weight train was raised sharply. Special screens were set up at the depot showing the course of the competition for high-quality review of the compositions and for guaranteeing their safe trip. The party members gave the tone in this competition. Similar organizational and educational work was done in all basic railroad sectors.

In January 1979, when P. Gusev, an engineer from the Moscow-Marshaling Yard Depot brought into the capital the first heavy-weight composition, the event was noted as a major labor victory of the thousand-strong collective of railwaymen. The effective political backing of the innovation by the party committee of the railroad administration and by all party organizations, based on the effective and active support of the rayon party committees and the Moscow City Party Committee, played a tremendous role in its achievement.

Increasing the weight of trains is the most effective way for rapidly increasing the handling capacity of the railroads and successfully mastering the growing flow of freight. Economists have estimated that increasing

the average weight of a train in the entire railroad system by 100 tons would reduce the need for approximately 500 locomotive engines and make it possible to haul additionally about 140 millions of freight per year. This shows the importance of this reserve!

From the very beginning GUDOK has tried to describe in detail to the railwaymen the initiative of the Muscovites and to show its significance. Following the approval of the valuable initiative by the CPSU Central Committee the editors produced the section of "Broad Scope for Heavy-Weight Trains!" The newspaper reported on the adoption of the progressive experience and its dissemination among other railroads. It opened its pages to dispatchers, engineers and workers in different professions who sharply criticized the managers of some railroads and sections where reserves were slow in being used.

The question of increasing the weight of trains along related lines--Donets, Dnepr, Odessa and the Southwestern and L'vov--whose managements are totally unable to find a common language, has been raised frequently. In this case the managers of the main traffic lines and of the locomotive resources of the Ministry of Railroads should add the weight of their opinion. They have told the newspaper that they support the suggestions of the engineers on raising the weight of the trains in that direction. Yet it is obvious that they are unwilling to use their authority.

While promoting the all-round development of the "heavy-weight" movement, we do not wish it in the least to be assumed that this has been accomplished without comprehensive and thorough preparations, following the "come on" principle. In some railroads such actions resulted in the breakdown of the motors and major interruptions in train traffic. Such cases have been particularly numerous along the Tselinnaya, Zapadno-Kazakhstanskaya, Privolzhskaya, Zabaykal'skaya and some other railroads.

The CC CPSU decree calls for paying particular attention to the organization of the socialist competition, comprehensively supporting new initiatives and extensively disseminating progressive experience. In order to cover this important topic, GUDOK allocates special pages entitled "Socialist Competition Schedule" and "Progressive Experience University" in which the effectiveness of the application of new initiatives is described. In 1979 an additional 76 million tons of various goods were hauled along the capital's main line by heavy-weight long train compositions. The handling of the amount of freight would have required the building of another electrified track worth 48 million rubles. Conservation of energy by reducing specific power outlays totaled about seven million kilowatt hours. The railroad earned nearly 50 million rubles in additional profit. At the beginning of 1980 a new level was reached: trains weighing 10,000 tons rolled!

Further increases in train weights would require the solution of a number of complex problems. The transportation system needs more powerful and

more reliable electric and diesel fuel locomotives. The latest achievements in semiconductor technology will make it possible to undertake in the immediate future the production of locomotive engines with collector-free motors. Even though their size will remain the same, they will be more powerful, simpler and more reliable than the present ones by a factor of 1.2-2.

However, some innovations are being applied exceptionally slowly. Conversion to the production of 8-axle rather than 4-axle open cars has been delayed for many years. Yet with such cars and with the same distance between stations, the weight of trains could be increased by a minimum of one-third. Considerable results could be obtained by increases the load per locomotive or railroad car axle. However, this requires a stronger road bed and, above all, more reliable and durable tracks.

Briefly stated, at the present stage, together with the railwaymen, the personnel of enterprises supplying the transportation system with new equipment, materials and spare parts and the specialists of corresponding design and scientific research organizations should become actively involved in the struggle for increasing the weight of trains.

Quite instructive in this respect is the noteworthy initiative of 28 Leningrad enterprises and organizations which took joint obligations on equipping the Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydroelectric Power Plant, on a high scientific and technical level, within a short time, and with minimum resource outlays. Had the transport machine building subunits acted in the same manner, the task of sharply increasing the weight of trains would have been implemented far more rapidly.

According to some passengers the clicking of the wheels hitting the bonds predisposes for good thinking. Others complain that monotonous noise puts them to sleep. Yet that same noise keeps a number of railwaymen awake. The hitting of the wheels against the bonds increases the wear of the road bed and the rolling stock, as well as the resistance to the movement of the train. This increases repair outlays and fuel and electric power traction expenditures. The higher the speed and the heavier the train, the more troublesome the bonds become. Specialists have found a solution: They have begun to produce double-length tracks; subsequently, they developed bondless, or, as they say, "velvet" tracks. Wooden ties were replaced with reinforced concrete. Spikes were replaced with dismantlable bolts.

The problem of rail bonds seemed resolved. However, other difficulties arose. Each kilometer of the bondless tracks included up to 16,000 nuts and bolts. They had to be unscrewed, lubricated and screwed back virtually every year. This is a very labor-intensive operation. Matters are complicated by the fact that industry was slow in mastering the mass production of fastenings with anticorrosion lining. A rusty fastening cannot be removed by hand, but must be cut with a torch. The problem was resolved by the noted transportation innovator, Hero of Socialist Labor D. Matveyenko.

A clamp-bolt machine was developed in the experimental workshop under his management. It can screw down as many as 10,000 bolts per hour, replacing 50 workers. Unfortunately, deliveries of such facilities are being dragged out year after year. The transportation machine-building enterprises are quite sluggish in mastering the production of new items.

Today the problem of mechanizing track repair operations has become exceptionally urgent. First of all, considering the tremendous intensity of train traffic, it becomes ever more difficult to look for gaps or, as the railwaymen say, "windows" in train traffic schedules during which to repair the road beds. Secondly, since irregularities are not promptly eliminated, warning signals calling for speed reduction must be installed. This slows down the train runs and leads to considerable losses in fuel and electric power. Thirdly, and most importantly, a number of women are employed in track operations, even though this is far from proper work for women. An ever fewer number of people are willing to drive in the spikes with a sledgehammer, tighten bolts by hand, or push heavy ballast packers. People, particularly young people, cannot be kept even with high wages. On the Dal'nevostochnaya and Zabaykal'skaya railroads road assembly workers average over 260 rubles per month, but job vacancies remain. Workers have to be assigned from the central and southern areas where the situation with the road personnel is also far from propitious. Furthermore, this costs a great deal to the state.

The only solution is to mechanize and automate labor-intensive track repairs as quickly as possible. Transportation innovators and inventors have developed a number of machines and mechanisms to this effect. However, their production is insufficient. Unless the planning organs and the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building increase the deliveries of new machines and mechanisms, the poor condition of the tracks may result in the near future in major complications in handling the growing freight flow. The party organizations of transport machine-building enterprises producing track equipment, and the rayon, city and oblast party committees must assume unremitting control over this matter. It is precisely this type of effective and specific party help to transportation that was discussed at the November 1979 Central Committee Plenum. We are reminded of this, yet once again, by the CC CPSU decree "On Measures to Improve Party-Political Work in Railway Transportation."

In the final account, track bonds could be eliminated by laying "velvet" tracks. Far bigger and more complex problems arise at other spots--the point at which a train switches from one set of tracks to another, where freight is shifted from type of transportation to another, or else when freight cars must be loaded or unloaded at enterprises. The level of efficiency and organization of this work greatly determines the rhythm and, therefore, the effectiveness of the country's huge transportation conveyor belt.

Every year thousands of new enterprises appear on the map of the homeland. Production specialization and cooperation broadens. Transport connections

become more widespread and the interaction among freight flows more complex. Today the railroads are servicing over 45,000 big industrial enterprises, over 50,000 kolkhozes and over 24,000 construction organizations. The overall length of spurs from main tracks to industrial enterprises will soon reach 100,000 km. It is here that over 80 percent of all loading and unloading operations takes place. It is here that the freight cars begin and end their trips and use up one-third of the overall turnover time. Yet it is here again that freight operations most frequently break down.

The Chelyabinskaya Oblast Party Committee pays great attention to coordinating the efforts of railroad and industrial enterprises. Its organizational work aimed at reducing car idling in freight operations and their safety at industrial and railroad enterprises was approved by the party's Central Committee. The Chelyabinsk people are developing the capacities of main line and industrial transport on a comprehensive coordinated basis. This is done on the basis of preventing communications from falling behind the development of basic production facilities. Unified shifts have been organized at railway stations and transportation shops servicing the enterprises. Work planning has been coordinated. Coordinated use of various mechanisms, locomotive engines and snow removal equipment is extensively practiced. There are well-planned systems for common indicators and procedures for summing competition results and rewarding the winners.

Let us discuss in greater detail one of the important components of the Chelyabinsk experience. The oblast has 17 joint voluntary inspectors' councils for the safe preservation of freight cars. Over 400 watchmen are engaged in steady preventive maintenance work with the rolling stock. Each case of negligent handling of freight cars is investigated and the culprits are taken to task. Within a short time the number of car damages declined by a factor of nearly 2.5. Car repairs have been organized at a number of big enterprises. For example, the Chelyabinsk Pipe Manufacturing Plant "heals" an average of about 700 railroad cars monthly.

One may ask why do plants have to repair the property of the railways? Is this beyond the forces of transport workers? A freight car is no longer such a tricky thing. A modern electric or diesel powered locomotive engine is far more complex. However, the locomotive engine is assigned to a specific depot and runs along a strictly defined section. The freight car, however, is virtually ownerless. Its affiliation with any given railroad is a purely conventional matter. The car travels throughout the country and even goes abroad. Today it may be in Central Asia, and several days later in Siberia. It is repaired wherever it happens to be, or, more accurately, wherever it happens to be at maintenance time. No one is specifically interested in making thorough repairs. No other piece of equipment operates under similar conditions.

In recent decades the intensiveness with which railroad cars are used has increased immeasurably. The load per axle has increased and so has traffic speed. Uninterrupted runs have become longer. Coupling shocks at

marshaling shuntings have become more frequent and stronger. Moist coal, ore or construction materials are loaded as the result of new extraction and concentration technologies. Along the way they frequently freeze into solid blocks. Mechanical picks or vibroscarifiers are used in unloading. Occasionally the freight has to be warmed up in special winter shelters. In order to speed up loading operations, frequent use is made of excavators which huge buckets which hurl chunks of materials into the cars from a distance of several meters. Grab buckets and disc magnets are used in loading. Several time a year the rolling stock has to be repaired by the transport workers. Powerful facilities supplied with modern highly productive mechanisms have been developed for this purpose. Nevertheless, thousands of freight cars are in such poor condition as to make them unusable. The experience of the Chelyanibsk people, who are displaying a truly statesmanlike concern for the freight cars, is worthy of the closest possible study elsewhere.

The people of Chelyabinsk have backed their technological and organizational measures with thoughtful and purposeful educational work. Under the guidance of the oblast party committee over 400 party groups, more than 200 primary party organizations and about 10,000 party members have actively joined the decisive struggle for the proper utilization of the freight car fleet. It is this that largely predetermined their success.

Leningrad and Odessa as well have acquired experience in insuring the efficient interaction among the various transport facilities and in promoting effective comprehensive competition among related facilities. Here the work of shipping administrations, ports, railroads and automotive enterprises is coordinated on the basis of continuing plan-schedules formulated with the help of computers. Coordination leads to a considerable acceleration of loading operations; the far more extensive utilization of the effective direct method of transferring freight from a ship to a freight car and a freight car to a truck, and vice versa; and reduction of idling and better utilization of the capacity of the rolling stock of all transport vehicles. The experience of the Odessa and Leningrad transport workers was approved the CC CPSU and adopted by other transportation centers.

Another very instructive experience is that of Shebekinskiy Rayon, Belgorodskaya Oblast. Here, for a number of years, an effective competition for model transport work rayon has been under way on the initiative of the local party and soviet organs. The rayon recently set up Mezhsel'prom, a specialized cost accounting organization which undertook to provide transport services to kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the area of the Shebekino Railroad Station. Possessing the necessary mechanisms and trucks, Mezhsel'prom rapidly unloads freight cars reaching the station and supplies the freight directly to the recipients. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses are virtually free from transportation concerns. They have not been the losers, as transport outlays have declined sharply and delivery costs of timber have dropped by four-fifths. In recent years the average idling of the rolling stock has been reduced in Shebekino severalfold. This has

helped to free a considerable number of cars. This has benefited both the rural and industrial enterprises in the rayon and the railroad.

Many other examples could be cited of the struggle by related personnel for reducing the idling of processed freight cars. Substantial possibilities exist in this respect. Last year, above norm idling at enterprise spurs exceeded 180 million car/hours. This represented a loss of transport facilities sufficient to deliver over 57 million tons of various goods and earn 230 million rubles.

The better utilization of the freight capacity and the space of the cars offers considerable reserves. In 1979, as a result of raising the static load per car by 120 kg, compared with the norm, 8.5 million tons of additional freight were hauled.

Technological and organizational transport innovations yield tangible results. Furthermore, sometimes their utilization requires no substantial outlays. Following is a typical example: Rationalizers at the Kozhukhovo Station, servicing the Moscow Automotive Plant imeni Likhacev, suggested that instead of loading three vehicles on two flatcars, load ten on three flatcars. This denser loading yielded tremendous benefits: In one year 20,000 freight cars were released.

The range of creative searches in railway transportation is quite broad and the field for the manifestation of innovative initiatives is truly boundless. This is clearly confirmed by the scale of technical creativity. This movement involved over 225,000 production innovators. Every year an average of over 800 inventions and several 100,000 rationalization suggestions are applied. Over the past four years the implementation of the ideas of innovators has saved 550 million rubles. Rationalizers and inventors in railroad transportation fulfilled their obligations for the 10th Five-Year plan one year ahead of schedule and, as letters to the editors show, they do not intend to rest on their achievements.

The thousand kilograms movement has become widespread on the Odessa and many other railroads. Closely cooperating with related personnel, the railwaymen try additionally to ship no less than 1,000 kg per freight car. Recently the Odessa workers doubled the amount by loading up two additional tons per car.

Nevertheless, unfortunately, frequently freight cars leave semiloading, hauling, so to say, thin air. A freight car may be underloaded by several tons. Yet the transportation documents would show that everything has been done properly. The delivery personnel of enterprises and the railwaymen feel satisfied. They enter in their accounts additional tons, ton/kilometers, and income. It is the state, our entire society, that is the loser. Those who allow such waste must be strictly taken to task. People's controllers must work more energetically. We must develop the type of atmosphere in which no single fact of eyewashing would remain unnoticed.

However unpleasant the fact may be, we note that in recent years the number of passenger complaints for systematic delays in train arrivals, the rudeness of some conductors, long waiting lines at ticket counters, and shortcomings in the organization of the information service has been rising. Cases of overbooking and, particularly, of letting half-empty coaches while many passengers are refused space triggered a great deal of indignation. All this shows the existence of serious errors in the organization of passenger transportation and in the upbringing of railwaymen servicing the passengers. The editors opened a special section entitled "GUDOK Control over Passenger Schedules." The materials published here describe specific cases of lateness, expose reasons for violations and suggest effective measures for the timely running of passenger trains.

The struggle for the strictest possible observance of passenger train running schedules and proper services at railroad stations and in the train is a matter of honor for all railwaymen. Frequently the entire work of railroad workers is judged by the way they have organized passenger transportation. Most effective party-political measures must be taken to eliminate such shortcomings, so that every railwayman would be profoundly aware of the fact that concern for the passengers and providing them with maximum comforts is an honorable duty and prime obligation. In this respect the local party and soviet organs could be of great help by assuming control over all matters related to passenger services.

The CC CPSU decree "On Measures to Improve Party-Political Work on Railway Transportation" stipulates that the party organizations and party members must wage a decisive struggle against manifestations of negligence and for high work reliability and effective utilization of the rolling stock, the tracks and other technical facilities. The decree states that, "We must oppose the parochial, the narrow departmental approach to the utilization of railroad cars or other actions damaging to the national interests." Indeed, there still are numerous cases of parochialism along the railroads. Of late some bonds between tracks along the Trans-Siberian Railroad have become obstacles in car traffic. Occasionally several tens of thousands of trains per month have to wait at junctions before being allowed to proceed.

For a number of year GUDOK has had a section entitled "Wide Open Door for Bonds!" Here we publish the letters of leading dispatchers who guarantee the unhindered acceptance of trains coming from their neighboring sections, and critical remarks by our own correspondents who try to show clearly the results of parochialism. We have also described the measures taken by the ministry. There have been periods in which parochialism at bonds has abated only to reappear later. Green lights are favor as a rule only when a section is forced to reduce its operational car fleet, while at the other end efforts are being made to slow down incoming trains.

"We are not amateurs of litigations," says N. Belousov (Yugo-Vostochnaya Railroad), member of the GUDOK Business Meetings Club. "Better than anyone else the dispatcher is familiar with the situation, not only along his own

sector, but the neighboring ones as well. Sometimes one wishes to sympathize with the situation of one's colleague and helps him by sacrificing one's own temporary advantages. Yet how will this be interpreted tomorrow, in the report submitted to the railroad chief? For this reason, the dispatcher always gives preference to a solution consistent with the interests of his own tracks, his section, rather than the entire line."

The only proper solution here is to change the system of indicators and see to it that what benefits the state benefits all members of the transportation process. A number of transport chiefs submit, in particular, the use as a mandatory competition indicator the unhindered acceptance of trains from the adjacent section. Those who stop the transportation process at bonds should be deprived of bonuses.

Some local party and soviet workers have begun, of late, to forget the Leninist principle of transport exterritoriality. Instead of helping the railwaymen to improve the transportation process, strengthen cooperation and interaction with related personnel, some managers try to order what to load first and priorities in assigning empty trains.

Sometimes an order would be received from the Ministry of Railways to send all empty cars to the Kuzbass for urgent coal shipments. Then the telephone would ring: The local authorities would demand an urgent delivery of gravel to start the construction of an embankment in the city. The railroad manager starts to explain that, for the time being, this is impossible. The answer is, "You appear to have forgotten where you are registered as a party member." . . .

The railroad services not one, but many cities and not one, but as a rule several oblasts and even republics. Furthermore, it handles transit freight. According to the technological system it should supply empty cars to the neighboring main lines. Handling runs primarily on the basis of the seat of the railroad administration can only bring bad results.

Naturally, all this does not mean in the least that the local party and soviet organs should not take to task railroad managers for failures to fulfill plans for the delivery for raw materials or finished goods, or for the poor utilization of the rolling stock.

Many complications in the work of the transportation system are the result of weakening of labor, planning and technological discipline in many of its units. Could we tolerate the fact that every day an average of over 20,000 people do not show up for work on the railroads because of absenteeism, lateness or leave of absence? Last year over 194 million rubles were paid in penalties for nonfulfillment of hauling plans. Another 67.5 million rubles had to be paid for delayed freight deliveries. Damages caused by losses, spoilage and theft of goods hauled were estimated at over 40 million rubles. Losses from gross violations of the technological process are estimated in the tens of millions of rubles. The cost of circuitous transportation alone was about 20 million rubles.

Clearly, some subunits have begun to forget Lenin's instruction that discipline is twice or three times more important along the railroads. The comprehensive strengthening of the discipline becomes particularly important under the conditions of work intensiveness unparalleled elsewhere.

The initiative of the Dnepropetrovsk railwaymen who launched a struggle for turning all brigades into model discipline collectives met with great response. Today it is important comprehensively to intensify educational work, raise the prestige of transportation professions and increase the responsibility of every railwayman for his assignments. The CC CPSU has instructed the Ministry of Railways to insure at all levels of management the organic combination of economic with educational work. Managers and chiefs of transport production must promote in their subordinates through all their activities and personal example high conscientiousness, statesmanlike responsibility and a creative attitude toward the work.

The railroads are one of the most capital-intensive economic sectors. The laying of new tracks and double tracks, and the installation of new marshaling yards is quite expensive, requiring considerable amounts of time. Decisive measures have been currently launched to insure the accelerated development of the entire railway system. However, this will take years. Meanwhile, the dynamic development of the national economy calls for increasing haulages as of now. The freight flow is rising with every passing month and must be handled by an already heavily loaded operational network. The maximum mobilization of internal reserves and a most decisive struggle against losses are necessary.

Railway transportation is a gigantic many-faceted enterprise. Over two million workers practicing a great variety of transport skills are directly involved in the haulage alone. They are fully resolved to dedicate maximum efforts and creative energy to surmount the straggling of the transportation system and achieve the fuller, timely and effective satisfaction of the needs of the national economy and the population for transportation required by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

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ARROW TOWARD THE OCEAN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 70-81

[Essay by V. Barayev]

[Text] Like a gigantic axe Baykal cuts through the armor of ancient Siberia. Flying over it or sailing on it, one is unwittingly impressed not only by the depth and transparency of the water, but the inaccessibility of its rocky shores, which disappear into the depths almost vertically.

This "great sea" should have stood like an insurmountable barrier on the path of the pioneers. However, as early as 1643, when a detachment commanded by Krubat Ivanov, a Jenisey cossack, reached Baykal, Semen Skorokhod, his partner, reached the northern bend of the lake by boat, went into the tayga, and built the Verkhneangarskoye winter quarters. A network of stockades--Selenginskiy, Baraguzinskiy, Verkhneudinskiy, Nerchinskiy, Albazinskiy--appeared on this side of Baykal in the middle of the 17th century.

The scientific and economic development of the Trans-Baykal began far later. Between 1850 and 1855 Admiral G. Nevel'skiy's expedition explored the Amur area and Sakhalin. Subsequently, M. Venyukov, R. Maak, N. Przheval'skiy, and G. Radde explored other areas of the Far East. In 1864-1866 P. Kropotkin followed the upper reaches of the Mui and discovered and mapped the Severo-Muyskiy Ridge. However, long before the expeditions of the mid-19th century the Decembrists undertook the study of the Trans-Baykal area.

The Decembrists and . . . BAM

A number of articles, essays and poems have been written on the Baykal-Amur Main Line. They frequently contain the words "the first landing," or "the pioneers." This unwittingly leads us to believe that nothing was found here before the BAM. However, today's offensive only crowns the searches conducted long before the present. Occasionally the construction workers will find huts or theodolite tripods used to map the tayga half a century ago. Last year a silver spoon inscribed "W. K. 1838" was unexpectedly

found on the Irkutsk section of the BAM. It belonged to Decembrist Wilhelm Kuhelbecker. The find was symbolic, for it is precisely the Decembrists who were the first to mention the development of the Trans-Baykal and Amur areas.

"I became interested in the Amur since 1809, after I first saw Ingoda and Shilka," Decembrist V. Shteyngel' wrote. "In 1814 I discussed the subject with Nikolay Semenovich Mordvinov, who did not contradict my view on a possible preliminary expedition to the Amur." . . .

Returning from California via Siberia in 1824, D. Zavalishin drew a plan for the development of the Amur and Sakhalin. Doing forced labor after the Decembrists' uprising, he continued to gather data and drew up a detailed map of the Trans-Baykal.

In the spring of 1857 M. Bestuzhev acceded to the suggestion of Irkutsk merchants to deliver to the Pacific shore 150,000 poods of freight and undertook a long and dangerous trip. Barges were frequently grounded on shoals. They had to be unloaded, portaged and reloaded. Some of the workers, unable to withstand the hellish type of work, dropped out midway. Nevertheless, that same autumn a train of 42 barges reached Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, opposite Zakhalin.

I found the first mention of a Trans-Baykal railroad in M. Bestuzhev's writings. The travel notes he kept in the course of his Baykal-Amur odyssey contains the following lines: "This entire area is lined with gold. However, it needs hands and hands are not available! Yet, we are planning a railroad from Strelka to Verkhneudinsk!!! What a hoax We are swallowing the American bait. The Americans scoop up the prunes leav'ng the sour milk to our merchants. Poor Russia!"

What kind of railroad was this to be, and why was Bestuzhev's attitude so drastic? In 1857 N. Murav'yev-Amurskiy, the governor general of Eastern Siberia, reported to Petersburg that Perry McCawlins, a citizen of the United States of North America, was offering his services to build a railroad from Irkutsk to Chita. The conditions were exorbitant: Free exploitation along the railroad of the timber and rocks and the extraction of metal tax free. Working on the sailing of the barges, Bestuzhev learned of the bait set by McCawlins and the fact that the governor had swallowed it. That is why the Decembrist described the plan as a hoax. The American's proposal was rejected: "The laying of the Siberian Railroad with domestic funds . . . is both more profitable and safer for Russia."

Many Decembrists were seamen. They conceived of a road from Baykal to the Pacific by water. However, in order to develop Siberia they called for the development not only of river and sea transportation, but of railroads as well. N. Basargin suggested that a railroad be built from Perm to Tyumen', while G. Baten'kov submitted plans for three trans-Siberian railroad alternatives. However, no one was listening to them and the development of

Siberia was proceeding poorly. D. Zavalishin impassionately criticized the Trans-Baykal administrative confusions and irresponsibility, sharply blaming those who, in an effort to impress others and to boast, were doing everything possible "somehow, for the sake of appearance," erecting structures "which will have to be brought down almost immediately." He called for "labor savings--the parsimonious, sensible, skillful and useful use of labor."

The irrepressible Zavalishin irritated the local administration to such an extent that he was exiled from Siberia to . . . the center of Russia. However, other champions of freedom, undefeated by years of forced labor and exile, continued the work of M. Lunin and D. Zavalishin in exposing the existing order. "The Trans-Baykal area is severely ruined," . . . sadly wrote in 1866 V. Rayevskiy, the "first Decembrist." "Today . . . the Amur is a bottomless pit in which over 30 million have already been poured . . . and no one knows whether there will be any profit."

"Your sad toil will not be in vain," wrote Pushkin in his famous message to the Decembrists. Their actions and expectations influenced the molding of a generation of Russian revolutionaries, men of sciences, literature and the arts. The Trans-Baykal was awakened not only by the ringing of KOLOKOL or the shining of POLYARNAYA ZVEZDA, delivered here by A. Startsev, N. Bestuzhev's son, and other residents of Kyakhta. The Decembrists themselves helped. Today their merits in the development of Siberian education, culture and economy are well known. What matters, as V. I. Lenin pointed out is that "their work was not lost."

From the History of the Trans-Siberian

"It is precisely because of its physical and geographic condition that, in establishing a major road . . . from the Baltic to the Pacific . . . that the Trans-Baykal area divides Siberia into two unconnected parts: Siberia to Irkutsk and the Amur Kray." This warning voiced by N. Murav'yev-Amurskiy was unwittingly recalled in planning the Trans-Siberian. The initial layouts for its various sectors were considered in 1877 and 1887. Initially the plan called for laying tracks north of Lake Baykal. Following the Voloshinov and Prokhasko expeditions, however, it became clear that the laying and running of the railroad in these areas "would create tremendous difficulties and entail unbearable expenditures." However, in the south as well a number of complexities arose. A search for a direct way from Irkutsk to Siyudyanka was unsuccessful. Incidentally, it was precisely here that G. Baten'kov suggested that a railroad be built. A number of arguments broke out as to the direction of a spur from the southern end of Lake Baykal. A. Lushnikov, the student and friend of the Bestuzhev brothers, and other Kyakhta people called for laying the tracks through the ancient trade center. In the final account, "The most suitable direction and the cost of project . . . were all . . . determined by the most thorough studies made by the expedition headed by engineer O. P. Vyazemskiy," we find in a small booklet entitled "A Few Words on the Siberian Railway," published in 1890.

The author of this outstanding publicistic work signed with the initials "M. V-v." He was the noted Russian traveler M. Venyukov, one of Hertzzen's most active correspondents, who was well acquainted with the Decembrists exiled to Siberia. In 1877 Venyukov had emigrated abroad for which reason he could not sign his full name. "The Pacific is the Mediterranean of the future," he cited Hertzzen almost literally.

A rescript on the laying of the Siberian Railroad appeared in March 1891. The track from Chelyabinsk to Ob' was the longest, yet it was also the easiest to lay. Traffic along the section was inaugurated in 1896. One year later the Vladivostok-Khabarovsk section was completed. The section from Ob' to Baykal was commissioned in 1899, while the Trans-Baykal Railroad (Mysovaya-Sretensk) opened in 1900. The Russian people accomplished a great exploit. "The Siberian Railroad is an indestructible monument to 19th century culture," Venyukov wrote. "It represents the fulfillment of a moral duty of our contemporaries to the future generations. It is one of the best pages of contemporary Russian history. It marks the entry into the 20th century. . . ."

Starting with the spring of 1900 one could travel from Petersburg to Vladivostok without changing to springless carriages. The trains moved across the Baykal Lake on a 100-meter-long ice breaker-ferryboat, while from Sretensk to Khabarovsk both freight and passengers traveled by ship. In 1903 the trains passed Kharbin, along the Eastern China Railroad built by Russians.

At first traveling on the Siberian Railroad was not safe. The newspapers of the period abounded in reports on train breakdowns from derailments or collisions with other trains. No experience had been acquired in driving the trains along the difficult areas and compositions were unskillfully coupled at the railway stations. Strange cases were described as well. VOSTOCHNOYE OBOZRENIYE reported that a passing train was attacked by a huge bear at the Kamyshet-Zanzor Stage. Clutching at the grid of the engine, the master of the tayga tried to get ahold of the sleepers, thus damaging the road bed for a length of 20 sazhen.

Due to the delay caused by the "Baykal" ice breaker-ferryboat used to cross the "great sea," the decision was made to lay tracks along the southern banks of the lake. The exceptionally difficult section from Baykal Station to Slyudyanka, which required the making of nearly 50 tunnels, took only two years to complete. True, the tunnels were small, in some places looking like arches (the longest was 800 meters). Nevertheless the pace of this construction is impressive. The opening of the spur surrounding the Baykal Lake took place in March 1905.

We must not forget that the tracks were laid at the cost of tremendous casualties. In an effort to move troops as fast as possible (the infamous Russian-Japanese War was being waged), the czarist government stopped at nothing. The tunnels were pierced manually and the rocks were removed with

stretchers and wheelbarrows. Severecrippings from slides or deaths from disease or exhaustion were common phenomena. It was not without a reason that the people considered the road to be built on human bones. There was an average of 368 accidents per verst! This section set a record in terms of cost as well: 130,000 rubles per kilometer, compared with 93,000 per Trans-Siberian Railroad kilometer. The cost of the entire 260 km of the Baykal Circumferential Tracks, together with the stations and the double tracks, cost approximately 40 million. Most of the money found its way into the pockets of the entrepreneurs. The Great Siberian Railroad beat all records in terms of bribery and impudent cheating of the workers. Lenin justifiably wrote that this is a "great road, not only because of its length, but also the unrestrained theft of government money by the builders and the excessive exploitation of the workers who built it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 5, p 52).

The Amur Railroad (Nerchinsk-Khabarovsk) was commissioned in 1916. Compared with traffic along the East China Railroad, the distance from Moscow to Vladivostok increased by 1,300 km. Yet now it was entirely in Russian territory.

The question of building a railroad north of Lake Baykal was raised also after the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad (the studies of V. Polovnikov in 1907-1908 and of E. Mikhaylovskiy in 1914). In 1924 and 1930 daring projects were submitted for building the Tayshet-Ayan, Tayshet-Okhotsk and the North Pacific railroads.

Birth of the BAM

The main "Baykal-Amur Main Line" appeared in April 1932. At that time, at the junction between the future tracks and the Trans-Siberian the Bam Settlement appeared. The Bam-Tynda spur was laid in 1935, at which point the laying of the Volochayevka-Konsomol'sk Tracks was undertaken. The new tracks were mentioned in the radio and the press. Leonid Leonov wrote the novel "Doroga na Okean" [Road to the Ocean]. Reading the manuscript, Gor'kiy wrote something topical to this day: "This kind of people have not as yet been depicted in our country, as they deserve. Yet it is such people . . . that are digging canals, building the BAM, mining gold in Kolyma, and so on, generally speaking, being engaged in tremendous varied projects."

The BAM was discussed at the 17th VKP(b) Congress. ". . . Let us single out the great project of building the Baykal-Amur Main Line. . . . It will link the Trans-Baykal area with the lower reaches of the Amur and will make it possible to include in economic life a tremendous territory which has remained so far largely inaccessible to man," the report on the Second Five-Year Plan stated.

The pace of the work increased following the establishment of the "BAMtransproyekt," headed by the noted Soviet engineer F. Gvozdevskiy.

The war not only interrupted the building of the BAM, but "ate up" the Bam-Tynda and Urgal-Izvestkovaya sectors. The tracks from these sectors were dismantled and used to lay the lateral Stalingrad-Kamyshin-Saratov Railroad playing a major role before the great battle on the Volga. The BAM tracks were laid out in clusters and became hedgehogs defending the approaches to Moscow, Tula and Stalingrad.

On 21 May 1943 the State Committee for Defense decreed that a railroad be built between Komsomol'sk and Sovetskaya Gavan'. It was completed ahead of schedule and made a great contribution to the defeat of the Japanese militarists.

Immediately after the war the construction of the Tayshet-Lena sector, the main one on the BAM, was resumed. Traffic on the Tayshet-Bratsk spur was inaugurated in 1947. In July 1951 trains reached Lena Station (the city of Ust'-Kut). This made it possible to build the Bratsk Hydroelectric Power Plant and a number of industrial giants in Bratsk and Ust'-Ilim in record time.

In the spring of 1974 once again the country heard the word BAM. In a speech on the 20th anniversary of the opening of the Virgin Lands, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, said: "The Virgin Land does not end with the steppes of Kazakhstan or the Altay. The Virgin Lands are the Siberian tayga, the tundra of the north, and the deserts of Central Asia. . . . The Baykal-Amur Main Line is the railroad which will cross the entire Eastern Siberia and the Far East." The word BAM was heard like the tocsin on the radio and from the television screens, and appeared in newspapers and periodicals.

The first train from Ust'-Kut Zvezdnyy was launched on 24 December 1975. On 5 November 1976 the Bam-Tynda sector was temporarily commissioned. On 29 October 1979 the first work train reached Severobaykal'sk (a spur built to bypass the Baykal tunnel).

Line after line the chronicles of the Baykal-Amur Main Line are increasing. The entire country is following the course of the construction with tremendous attention. We undertook the laying of the BAM using the experience acquired in the course of nationwide projects, starting with Magnitka and Dneproges, and ending with the Virgin Lands, Tyumen', and the tremendous Siberian hydraulic power plants. The best features achieved and tested in previous projects are used. Everything possible is being done to avoid past errors.

In the age of developed socialism not only end results but concern for man, a solicitous attitude toward the people, are considered cornerstones. The tracks run through uninhabited areas. Before undertaking their laying, the construction workers spent a great deal of effort and time on building housing, stores, schools, outpatient clinics. . . .

I am well familiar with these, as I was born in Irkutskaya Oblast and grew up on the eastern shore of Lake Baykal. In the winter of 1958 I traveled from Nizhneangarsk to the Kholodnoye Settlement in Evenki. From here, walking on fur-soled snowshoes, I traveled to the reindeer breeders on the small Gasandyakit River. Primeval silence and tranquility reigned here. The lights in the tayga settlement went out early. Excitement returned in the summer, with the arrival of geologists in the tayga and of tourists along the banks of the Baykal. Yet the once remote tayga roads, along which reindeer and dog-driven sleds slide noiselessly, were now being traveled by convoys of heavy trucks. Everything needed for the storming of the virgin tayga is steadily rushing into and until recently unmapped settlements.

The Storming of the Virgin Tayga

Tunnel Detachment No 11 left Ulan-Ude at the end of May 1974. The first encampment was at the very end of the Barguzinskiy Track. Beyond it was the tayga. Opening the track to the Severo-Muyskiy Ridge, TO-11 [Tunnel Detachment] pitched camp on the eastern and western openings of the future tunnel. Part of the detachment moved to Novyy Uoyan' and Cape Kurla, where, subsequently, the Severobaykal'sk Settlement arose.

Lake Baykal is a huge break in the earth filled with cold water. Relatively small cracks and holes north of it are covered with gravel, rocks, sand and glacier and avalanche deposits. From time to time this entire hulk shakes up with the powerful underground tremors, nine on the Richter Scale, or bound by permafrost. Here and there it is washed by hot ground waters. It was this stratified geological tie that nature offered the people of the Severo-Muyskiy Ridge, while the Baykal Tunnel is being drilled in monolithic rock.

The way to the treasures of the Trans-Baykal were blocked by the powerful rocks of the horseshoe shaped ridges. They could be crossed more conveniently with tunnels. That is why they were described as the keys to the BAM. The biggest on the Baykal (about 7 km long) and the Severomuyskiy Tunnel (over 15 km long). Four tunnels along the cape go through the rocky shores of Lake Baykal. In the Buryat sector the overall length of the tunnels is about 28 km.

I visited all the openings of the tunnels and some of the shafts. Even in Davan' where one might think that no water could possibly appear, as it is solid granite, streams are flowing along the walls of the shaft and along the bottom of the ditches. A particularly hard job is that of the "water-lowerers," the name given here to people fighting ground waters in the Severomuyskiy Tunnel, where water literally springs out of the faces and shafts. Powerful pumps are constantly pumping out the water, and here and there the ground must be frozen to create an ice barrier.

Yet despite everything, the digging of the tunnels is progressing successfully. Underground explosions thunder and the moment the fans have cleared

the gallery from smoke and dust, the removal of the rock begins. All work is almost entirely mechanized. The people are equipped with the domestic and foreign machinery. The drillers are increasing their work pace. The socialist competition, organized by the BAMtonnel'stroy Party Committee and Project Committee, is contributing to the success. Among the best are the brigades headed by party members V. Tolstoukhov, Yu. Bordachenko, L. Bazaliya, V. Smirnov, and V. Leonov. Currently the miners are covering up to 100 meters of tunnel per month, rather than 75 as planned. The transport-draining shaft of the Baykal Tunnel was completed by the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, nearly two months ahead of schedule.

So far, we have discussed technological complexities. However, a number of difficulties arise as a result of an entire complex of organizational-economic, demographic, transport or sociopsychological problems. The work front is expanding and the number of construction workers is increasing. Problems of daily life arise urgently. A great deal has been done: Each settlement has good houses, cafeterias, clubs, schools and stores. Now, however, their number has become insufficient.

The BAM population is growing not only as the result of new arrivals, but tempestuous natural growth. Whereas before the beginning of the construction project every year several tens of babies were born annually in the Severo-Baykal'skiy Rayon, 100 were born in 1976, about 500 in 1977 and over 1,000 last year. Many construction workers who had come here alone subsequently ask their wives and children to join them. The climate here is exceptionally healthy, supplies are good, the work is most interesting and earnings are decent. The population of Severo-Baykal rose from 6,500 to 45,000. Hence the shortage of places in preschool institutions and interruptions in the work of mothers who could do full-time work had their children attended nurseries and kindergartens. Acutally, far from all women could work in their field. The rayon party committee and executive committee are "promoting" the opening of a clothing and furniture factories and other enterprises. However, the departments are excessively sluggish in resolving the matter.

The population growth called for increasing the construction of housing, cafeterias and children's establishments. Traveling from the settlements to the rayon center became difficult. The passenger transportation service has been ignored by the BAM management, while the ministries of motor transport and of construction and maintenance of roads are unwilling to take over the finished roads and organize regular passenger transportation.

Lack of coordination in transportation is affecting the pace of construction. Motor vehicle roads along the tracks were built by different organizations: mechanized columns made the road bed; bridge building detachments built the reinforced concrete bridges; small wooden bridges were built by the construction-installation trains; road finishing operations were in the charge of different organizations. As a result, travel along such roads is hard. Some of the wooden bridges were based on plans for conventional

roads and transport facilities, and were unable to withstand the heavy BAM equipment. Road congestions developed also after prolonged rains or downpours, when the small tayga rivers, peaceful in good weather, wash away bridge supports and parts of the roads. The trucks forced to cross the small rivers and travel on the sides of the washed out tracks get stuck, break down and slow down deliveries of equipment and construction materials.

In the Tonnel'noye Settlement I saw semi-assembled house frames. There was a mountain of panels and parts, but no work was being done, for they were incomplete. There was a surplus of roofs and right-side walls and a scarcity of left-side walls. It turned out that the panels reach Baykal Port by rail, from which they are reloaded on ships; those going to the Severo-Muyskiy Ridge are loaded on trucks. At a given stage of the transshipment some people find it more convenient to load only right-side walls, since they are more compact, while roofs, porches or left-side walls are left for the next trip. As a result, the transportation plan is overfilled, while housing cannot be completed on time and indentifying the culprits is difficult. The CC CPSU decree "On Measures to Improve Party-Political Work on Railroad Transportation" particularly emphasizes the need for coordination in the work of various transport facilities. This can be achieved above all by strengthening ties and the interaction with party organizations of enterprises of other types of transportation, industry and construction. Let us hope that after this decree such lack of coordination will be eliminated through joint efforts.

No less complex are so-called sociopsychological problems. Unfortunately, far from all managers realize how important a human approach, responsiveness and attention to the people are. In some collectives a climate of nervous tension develops because of production or living condition difficulties, or inability to work with people. Here even the slightest misunderstanding may develop into a conflict. There is irritation and grudges pile up, as a result of which people submit requests to leave. Several thousand workers have left the BAMtonnel'stroy since it was started. Three-quarters of them left for family reasons or following the expiration of their contract. However, far from all the rest left for other reasons, such as being unable to hold a job or in pursuit of better wages. Many of those who quit could have worked quite well for BAMtonnel'stroy. They moved to neighboring BAM organizations because of disagreements with brigade leaders or section chiefs. That is why the party members pay particular attention to educational work among brigade leaders or heads of tunnel detachments.

The role of middle management in the construction project is becoming more important. It was recommended at the practical science conference sponsored by the Severo-Baykal'skiy Rayon Party Committee, together with the Institute of Social Sciences, Buryat Branch, USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, to pay particular attention to the sociopsychological aspects of the work and life of the construction workers, and to relations between managers and subordinates.

The Communists Lead

One hundred thousand people are working on the BAM. Even though the people work at different sectors, we speak of the BAM workers as of a single collective, bound by a single end goal. Party members head the most difficult sectors--the shafts, the drilling of galleries and tunnels, and housing construction, making efforts to organize political and educational work which contributes to the unification of newly created collectives and the implementation of their assignments. Before the project was initiated, Severo-Baykal'skiy Rayon had 320 party members. Today it has nearly 3,000. However, it is not a question merely of a sharp quantitative leap. The activities of the entire rayon party organization have changed qualitatively. Previously, no one was faced with setting up so many labor collectives at the same time. This most complex operation is headed by the rayon party committee. N. Kryuchkov, its first secretary, is a native Siberian. He is a tall, strong and powerfully built person, slow of movement. Yet he is operative in making decisions and firm in their implementation. He was elected secretary in 1976.

"Initially it was dizzying," Nikolay Ivanovich recalls. "There were so many different projects, sectors and variegated collectives! I have seen everything and have resolved many problems working in Tunka and Ulan-Ude. Here, suddenly, I felt like just about a novice in party work." . . .

After studying the circumstances, seeing the construction of the tunnels and roads, and visiting literally all new settlements, Kryuchkov realized that some specialists and managers who had come from all parts of the country considered themselves on temporary assignment and were not joining a party organization. Why hurry, they thought, they could do without it, working here at most three years. Hence their attitude toward the work and living conditions: "Somehow we shall manage!" Naturally, this did not help to strengthen the party's influence on the course of the project, and divided related subunits whose managers tried to resolve all problems only within their own administrations, main administrations or ministries, bypassing the local party and soviet organs.

The rayon party committee did extensive work to organize the affiliation of the party members who had come here and insure their participation in rayonwide party matters. Many managers, specialists and leading production workers were elected rayon party committee members or deputies to the rayon and settlement soviets of people's deputies, or else involved in work with other public organizations. Actively resolving the vital problems of the construction project, the rayon party committee earned the respect and prestige of the construction workers, and made the heads of trusts and main administrations, located far from Lake Baykal, to take its views into consideration.

A number of ministries, tens of departments and hundreds of construction subunits are involved in laying the main line. The all-union Ministry of

construction in the Far East and Trans-Baykal regions, which was created last year, undertook to coordinate their efforts. Scientists are helping substantially. The USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on BAM Problems, headed by Academician A. Aganbegyan, drafted recommendations on upgrading the effectiveness in the development of the new areas and the comprehensive development of the zone adjacent to the main line. However, a number of specific problems on coordinating the efforts of construction workers are being resolved also by the party committees of the BAM subunits and the rayon and oblast party committees.

The Severo-Baykal'skiy Rayon Party Committee coordinates the work of the construction subunits with the help of the party organizations, systematically organizing cluster party-economic aktivs and joint unannounced investigations by people's control posts. On-site bureau meetings are held on particularly important problems. When the construction workers of the Baykal Tunnel faced a difficult situation with housing and services, the rayon party bureau members traveled to the Goudzhekit Settlement to study the situation on the spot. They toured the settlement and talked to the population and the workers of Tunnel Detachment No 12. The bureau discussion was principle-minded and stern. Currently the situation has improved considerably, which has not been slow in affecting the pace of tunnel drilling.

A similar session was held in Severomuysk, where reasons for the straggling of tunnel detachments Nos 11, 18 and 22 were discussed.

"We knew that the drilling of the Severomuysk Tunnel was taking place under complex engineering-geological conditions," N. Kryuchkov said. "However, we should not blame nature alone for everything. We gave practical help to those who failed to cope with the plan for objective reasons, while those who concealed their own slackness and lack of initiative behind difficulties were punished. Naturally, it is not a question of mandatorily punishing. The main thing is to help the people and to take measures to eliminate tight spots.

"Meetings after the work day" have become one of the important methods for party-educational work among the Severo-Baykal working people. In confidential talks the people describe their needs, while the managers give answers and advice immediately and take the necessary measures. Also participating in such meetings are the heads of tunnel detachments, members of the BAMtonnel'stroy and personnel of the rayon party committee and executive committee."

The ideological and political-educational work at the BAM has its special complexities and specifics. Because of the scattered nature of the projects and lack of premises, talks, political reports and seminars are occasionally directly at the work sites or in the small house trailers.

Like his predecessors D. Vasil'yev and F. Moroz, A. Podzarey, BAMtonnel'stroy Party Committee secretary, tries to relate as much as possible

ideological work with the struggle for strengthening labor discipline and upgrading responsibility for assignments. Energetic and light on his feet, Anatoly Ivanovich frequently visits the most distant sites. He is perfectly familiar with the circumstances and realizes that production and living problems cannot be resolved separately from each other, and that a militant moral-psychological mood is developed not only through lectures and talks, but through efficiently organized work and good living conditions. Yet, creating them here is no simple matter. In addition to difficulties with housing and children's institutions, there are other, seemingly "petty" difficulties which also cannot be ignored. Newspapers, journals and motion pictures are late in arriving, as sometimes the helicopters are unable to fly through rain or snow storms. There is a shortage of books and, unfortunately, performers come essentially during the summer. Remote settlements are not supplied with radio facilities immediately and television relays have not been set up as yet everywhere. The BAM people are understanding to when it comes to inevitable and objective difficulties and courageously withstand them. However, they are unwilling to tolerate lack of organization which could be avoided entirely.

In one of the settlements V. Bessolov, chief of the BAMtonnel'stroys Administration, came across a worker he knew. The boy had come from Moscow without being asked. He had no skill and it took him a long time to find a job. He was stubborn, however, and succeeded in hiring himself out to do auxiliary work. Never before had he handled a shovel or an ax. Yet he learned how to dig ditches and fell trees. The boy matured and strengthened and took up any job willingly. Yet Vladimir Aslanbekovich heard him argue with the brigade leader. It appeared that the explosive storage dump was refusing the lightning rod. Its design was such that no parts could be found. The lightning rod had already been refused once. The people shook their heads, installed the dump closer to the project and once again had it bulldozed.

"How much work has been wasted!" the boy argued. "It was not the fault of the commission or the designers. What are the suppliers thinking about? What are the bosses doing?! Money is wasted. Payments will be made but out of what? Out of the brigade fund and, in the final account, out of state money. Is the money endless? . . ."

Unfortunately, many such difficulties may be found at the BAM. Some of them are greater. A detachment of university students spent the entire summer opening a way into the forest. The students worked conscientiously but when autumn came it became apparent that the direction was wrong. Thousands of rubles and thousands of trees were lost. In addition to material damages, such errors cause moral damage as well. Some construction workers, justifiably indignant, do not always accurately express their feelings.

. . . On this occasion, Vladimir Aslanbekovich, a rather excitable person himself, behaved with amazing calm. He took the boy aside and began by telling him that he agreed with him.

"Indeed, this is shameful. One must find out what happened and find and punish the guilty. Tell me, what is the use of shouting? How would this affect the others? Did you turn to the people's control post? You did not. Do you know how powerful they are?"

"Yes, I have studied the law on people's control."

"So, instead of making noises you must involve others to help eliminate the error--the people's control and Komsomol committee. This will settle matters quicker. . . ."

It was thus that the party member gave the young worker a good object lesson in political culture. One must not pit oneself against anyone or shout at one's own immediate superiors or the GlavBAMstroy, but, as the master of the construction project, jointly fight bungling and slipshodness. Such was the meaning of this talk, clearly realized both by the boy and his comrades.

Recalling this and other events, one is convinced that, knowledgeably, without avoiding difficulties, the party members answer questions important to the people, converting the party's word into the labor efforts of the construction workers. Propagandists and agitators describe to them with particular enthusiasm the meaning of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, his address at the meeting with the voters of Baumanskiy Electoral District in Moscow, on 22 February 1980, the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Further Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy" and the CC CPSU decree "On Measures to Improve Party-Political Work at Railroad Transportation."

The "I am the master of the construction site" movement has spread throughout the sectors of the track. Specific measures have been formulated in the struggle against negligence and waste, and for economy and thrift in major and minor matters. The Komsomol Central Committee staff at the BAM and the Komsomol committees headed by party members are doing everything possible to organize effective and qualitative work and to make every ruble count.

The BAM party members have yet another responsible assignment related not only to the present but to the future of the main line--developing a concerned attitude toward nature.

Thinking of the Future

No need to repeat statements on the uniqueness of the lake--the deepest, the clearest and the biggest, accounting for over 80 percent the entire fresh water of the USSR. Yet the fact that 72 seas of Azov could be contained by Lake Baykal would not be accurate, in the sense that its water would become just as turbid.

With the beginning of the construction project, a tremendous amount of equipment, garages and warehouses containing fuel and lubricants appeared along the tracks. Some drivers wash their trucks directly from the lake. This care for the equipment turns into dirt for the "great sea"! Waters from the shafts and the fecal waters of a number of settlements still lacking treatment facilities flow into the rivers. Ships, launches and motor boats, whose number has greatly increased in the course of building the BAM, are also spoiling the water.

Thousands of people unfamiliar with the characteristics of the local environment have come to Severo-Baykal. Considering themselves temporary residents, some of them look at the wealth of the tayga as consumers. No one objects to hunting or the picking of strawberries, mushrooms or pine nuts. The point is how to behave in the tayga. Here the forests are essentially coniferous. In the summer the heat rises to 35-40 degrees centigrade. The smallest cigaret butt would suffice to set ablaze the bed of pine needles. The new arrivals, however, who either do not know or realize this fact start campfires which they fail to put out. During the first years of the construction project the number of fires increased severalfold. Fires have also broken out in the course of clearing operations, in burning twigs or dry grass. Roads along tracks on which fallen trees have been left become easy sources for and spreaders of fire.

The rayon party committee and other organizations have worked hard to develop reliable protection from fires and poaching. Not all BAM people are guilty, but as the saying goes, every family has a black sheep. The point is, however, that the BAM family is big and the damage which could be caused to the tayga by even a single careless person may turn out to be tremendous. The overwhelming majority of the construction workers protect the tayga and Lake Baykal. Many settlements have set up voluntary units to identify those guilty of starting fires or poachers and to conduct explanatory work among the population. The rayon party committee and executive committee pay continuing attention to environmental protection and have frequently summoned the head of subunits who are careless with the environment. The results are clear: trash has been removed from clearings, gas tanks and fuel and lubricant dumps have been equipped with chlorinators, and facilities set up along the banks of rivers have either been moved or reliably surrounded by dikes and equipped with oil tapping devices. Last year the number of fires in Severo-Baykal dropped sharply.

However, the local authorities cannot resolve alone all environmental protection problems. Here again departmentalism is a hindrance: forest wardens (Ministry of Timber and Wood Processing Industry) are in charge of the forests; the hunting inspectorate (Ministry of Agriculture) is in charge of fighting poachers; rivers and lakes are protected by the fishing inspectorate (Ministry of Fish Industry). The areas under their jurisdiction are huge, frequently their transport facilities worse than those of the poachers and, above all, a forest warden does not have the right to supervise fishermen while the fishing inspector, the hunters. The

environmental protection services under different departments should be urgently combined and equipped with proper facilities.

The Baykal animal world is unique. Three-quarters of the more than 2,500 species inhabiting it may not be found outside of the "great sea." Even before the beginning of the BAM project, industrial effluents had disturbed the "food chain"--by reducing the amount of plankton, the basic food for the owl and other fish. Should the BAM worsen the water, a number of animal and fish species may be threatened with extinction. No less delicate is the ecological balance in the BAM zone. Several years ago, 40 glaciers were discovered on the slopes of the Baykal'skiy, Barguzinskiy and Kodarskiy ridges, all of them unique, located considerable below the permanent snow level. Strangely though, some scientists hastened to proclaim that such "fresh water accumulators" had to be used to supply with water settlements and future enterprises. Justifiably, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA cited the opinion of other scientists who categorically objected to such irresponsible demands, for this could threaten with avalanches the future villages around Kodar.

Seventeen species of birds and animals within the BAM zone are protected and entered in the "Red Book." They include the snow sheep, black marmot, and northern reindeer (the southernmost of all reindeer species). An unknown species of fish has been found in the lake in Cherskiy Mount. Before it could be classified by the scientists, tourists may catch all of them, for due to shortage of food the fish are biting even wild rosemary blossoms. . . .

"Protecting the purity of the land, air and water is a national task," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "There was a time when efforts were made to commission a plant sooner and begin producing at all cost. Today we must build in such a way as to protect nature." This statement must mandatorily be considered by the planners and builders of the Kholodnyy Ore Mining-Concentration Combine and other enterprises.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Minister decree on improving the economic mechanism indicates the need to plan environmental protection work. The respective organs and ministries should implement this instruction in the BAM area as soon as possible.

"Baykal is not only a priceless cup filled with living water, but is also part of our souls," Leonid Leonov wrote. Preserving its purity means preserving the purity of the soul as well. We owe this to our forefathers and our offspring. Every one of us must remember this moral responsibility to past and future generations.

Baykal's outline reminds one of an ancient ax. It also looks like a tight bow. Extending this comparison, the BAM is an arrow flying toward the Pacific Ocean. Some 1,735 out of 3,200 km of tracks have already been laid. The economic development of the adjacent area is beginning. The BAM

has already begun to yield returns in timber and coal. We believe that despite the difficulties the main line will be completed on time or even ahead of time, and that by 1984 the first through train will run.

We shall see from its windows the blue smoothness of Lake Baykal. The wheels will hum through the longest tunnel in the country and the train will zoom by Chara, Tynda, Bestuzhevo, Urgal, Evoron and other stations. . . . Somewhere, between them, we shall see the small stops and stations of Skorokhod, Poyarkovo, Kyukhlya, Cherskiy, Venyukovo. . . . They are not on the map as yet, but how strongly we wish for them to appear! The people who followed this track for several centuries deserve this.

And the main heroes of today's stage in the development of the Trans-Baykal will travel in this train like honored passengers. The tickets will be issued to the best among them--leading production workers, competition winners and the Komsomol and party members of the 1980's who will complete the great construction project of the century.

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WE WERE INSPIRED BY THE GREAT LENIN

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 82-92

[Article by Mar SU V. Chuykov]

[Text] Thirty-five years have passed since our victory. The generation of Soviet people born after the war, familiar with the great battles of the Great Patriotic War and the unparalleled suffering and privations of our people from books or stories only, are entering their maturity. That was the most bloodshedding and destructive of all wars in history, particularly for the peoples of the Soviet Union. We must tell this to our children and grandchildren, to the future generations.

Each line of our recollections is the result of observations, experiences and thoughts, always sincere. We have spoken and will speak frankly about everything which we experienced and which concerns us.

Thinking of the sources of our victory, again and again my thoughts return to Lenin. . . .

I heard Lenin in Petrograd, in 1917, for the first time, as a young worker in Piter.

My elder brothers--Petr, Ivan and Il'ya--were serving with the Baltic Fleet. One of them was in Kronshtadt. I frequently visited him. It was there that I first read the "Communist Party Manifesto."

September came. Petrograd was hungry. Food prices were rising. Black marketeers and speculators were profiting at the expense of the workers. The stores were empty. News came from the front that the soldiers were refusing to go on with the war and that the army had broken down.

Our workshop closed down and I remained unemployed. Once again I left for Kronshtadt, to seek my brother's advice as to what to do.

Kuzz'min, one of the seamen, broke into our conversation: "Stay with us, boy. We will enroll you as a sailor." Two days later the chest carrying my belongings was already in Kronshtadt and I was in a navy uniform.

It was thus that, starting with the end of September 1917, at the age of 17, my new, military life began. I carried watches, was a stoker, ate rice meal and slurped the navy's borscht.

Twice before the October events I went to Petersburg, to the Obukhovskiy Plant, to my compatriots, to find out what their mood was. Kuz'min had sent me there. Both times I brought back important information: The Obukhovskiy Plant workers were getting thoroughly prepared and waiting for the signal to act. . . .

Detachments of Kronshtadt sailors were set up on 23 October. Every sailor was chosen individually. Everyone was armed. They were to go to Petersburg. Several detachments of people, firm and united in party friendship, were to go to the second navy crew. The same number were to go to the Baltic shipyards. My brother Il'ya was with the first detachment going to Petersburg. I subsequently learned that he took part in the storming of the Winter Palace and the disarming of military cadets.

The comrades returned by the end of October, happy and inspired: The armed uprising, headed by the Bolsheviki and Lenin had won!

Winter came. It froze the Gulf of Finland and the Neva. The main Kronshtadt forces moved to Piter.

Russia was seething. With the help of the entente the counterrevolutionary forces in the center and the outlying areas had reared their heads and began to provoke uprisings and sabotage. The party threw the most reliable detachments of Baltic Fleet sailors and Petersburg Red Guard detachments into the struggle against them. I was sent with one of these detachments to guard the trains running from Moscow to Saratov, which carried most of the grain to central Russia. In the course of one of the trips our train had a long wait in my native place, Serebryanyye Prudy. I was able to see my childhood friends Georgiy Minkin, Aleksey Gubarev and Vasilii Rykin. They had all graduated from the seventh grade of the city school the same year. I was the only drop out: I had finished the first four grades, but also had five years of practical experience as a worker.

We recalled our childhood and thought of what kind of life it would be. Someone said that courses had been organized in Moscow to train Red Army commanders. We decided to investigate. Georgiy Minkin left for Moscow with a certificate of loyalty to the Soviet system issued by the village soviet.

I was able to leave the detachment and, soon afterwards, the three village boys, with their wooden chests, found themselves in Lefortovo, in the building of the former Alekseyevskoye Military School.

Sigal', the commissar in charge of courses, came to us, looked us over, and asked:

"Have you come to serve or to study?"

I was wearing a seaman's pea jacket and bell bottom trousers. I was the first to answer:

"We have come both to study and to serve."

Having read our references, Sigal' asked us to his office. Entering the office, the commissar immediately summoned platoon commander Poletayev and then, looking me in the eye, asked:

"What other than the village soviet recommendation do you have that you have come honestly to serve the revolution?"

I firmly answered:

"I have no particular proof. However, if you would ring up the Paveletskiy Railway Station and ask for the Cheka detachment chief, you will find out that Seaman Il'ya Chuykov, my brother, is a member of the detachment."

This sufficed. Turning to platoon commander Poletayev, the commissar said immediately:

"Take these comrades as replenishments and train them." . . .

That is how I became a student attending the first Moscow military instructors' courses of the Red Army.

We worked hard to master military skills. Every free day we marched on Moscow's streets led by a band. Just in case we were issued 15 rounds of live ammunition each. The purpose of these marches was to show the Muscovites, friends and enemies, that the Soviet Government had units which were a fearful force in opposing any counterrevolution through their discipline, taughtness, loyalty and training.

There are events in the life of a person which he remembers to his last day and of which he speaks proudly.

This was on 2 July 1918. We, students, were urgently summoned back from field training. Entering the riding school we saw a rostrum. The hall was filled with workers from neighboring plants. We lined up around the podium, tensely expecting news. Yet the gates opened and a small, quite agile person rapidly walked to the stand. Suddenly, there were shouts: "Long live Comrade Lenin!" They merged into a single, powerful, ever-rising din. Lenin rapidly climbed up on the stand and raised to his hand to stop the ovations. It seemed to me that Vladimir Il'ich was in a hurry. Everybody quieted down.

Lenin called upon us, the young military students, to learn military affairs to be able to skillfully defend the homeland and the power of the

working people from the raging pressure of interventionists and White Guards. He called upon us to be vigilant, as we were surrounded by enemies within and outside the country.

"Who must we defend and on whom could we rely?" Vladimir Il'ich seemed to be asking.

All of us listened intently. It seemed to me that I could see, I could clearly imagine the old woman described by Lenin. She entered a coach and, seeing Red Army men on the platform, said that in the past many people, including herself, were afraid of people with weapons who protected the property of the rich and could kill one and all. Now the soldiers were different.

"Not so long ago," she told Vladimir Il'ich, "I went into a private forest to get a bundle of faggots. Suddenly an armed soldier approached me. I was so frightened that I decided to drop the bundle and began running. What do you think happened? The soldier stopped me and not only did not take the wood away, but even helped me to carry the bundle out of the forest." . . .

"That is what you are called upon to defend from landowners and capitalists," said Vladimir Il'ich to us, concluding his speech: "Your mothers and fathers, the toiling people, so that they will not fear you, but would love and respect you like that old woman."

Under thunderous applause and shouts of "Hurray!" Lenin left the stand just as rapidly and marched toward the gate. At the exit he stopped for a second, turned to us, smiled and waved his arm.

For a long time the students stayed there weighing each of Il'ich's words. His statement about the internal enemy concerned us in particular. The idea of the war launched against the Soviet state by interventionists and White Guards was understandable. However, we were not clear as to who was this "enemy among us." What was that? Soon afterwards we met him.

At the beginning of July all students moved to a camp, which at that time was near Moscow, at Serebryaniy Bor. No furlough to the city was allowed.

The alarm signal raised us on 6 July. Dzevaltovskiy, the commissar in charge of training establishments, who had arrived at the camp, announced that left-wing S.R. had organized a counterrevolutionary mutiny. They wanted to wreck the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty with Germany and thus provoke a war between us and Germany: The S.R. Blyumkin had killed Mirbach, the German envoy. The rebels had already captured the telephone station and the telegraph, and arrested some members of the Soviet Government. The left-wing S.R. headquarters was at Trekhsvyatitel'skiy Pereulok. Vladimir Il'ich himself was commanding the suppression of the mutiny, while the troops were commanded by the Latvian Vatselis. Comrade Lenin ordered that,

together with the Latvian units, the military students would seize the S.R. headquarters and suppress the uprising.

We answered this with the shout, "Hurray!" and with "Long live Comrade Lenin!"

We were lined up, issued full ammunition belts and taken to Moscow. We were led by Commissar Maslennikov. Our company was commanded by company course commander, front line veteran, Andreyev. Our platoon, commanded by Poletayev, was advancing along a street leading to the Trekhsvyatitel'skiy Pereulok where the left-wing S.R. headquarters was located.

The platoon was issued a three-inch gun. It was pushed by artillerymen by hand. We, infantry cadets, were advancing along the walls of the houses in short runs. We heard machine gun fire some 400 meters before reaching Trekhsvyatitel'skiy Pereulok. One of our students, crossing the street on the run, fell and failed to rise.

The gun behind us fired three or four shells. Shouting "For Lenin, Hurray!" we attacked.

In a few seconds we had reached the headquarters building. The firing stopped. Smoke was coming out of the windows, all of which were broken. The mutineers were coming out of the doorways. The students' losses were one killed and two wounded.

Thanks to the decisive actions of the Red Army units and the workers' detachments, the mutiny was suppressed and the next day Moscow and the Muscovites went to work as though nothing had happened.

The autumn was approaching. Our training was coming to an end. Every student was already thinking of the front he would be sent to and the enemies he would be fighting. In the night of 30 August the guards in our barracks began shouting, "Grab your arms!" Following the order, in our underwear, all of us ran to the rifle stacks. We grabbed our rifles and only after laying the weapons next to us began to dress.

We were lined up in the dark and, after roll call, divided into groups of five to ten students, and led in different directions.

With seven other students I mounted a truck. We were directed by two civilian comrades. One of them was sitting next to the driver while the other was in the back with us. He told us the following:

"An attempt was made today on Comrade Lenin's life. . . . Vladimir Il'ich, however, is alive.

I do not know what the other students felt, but hearing this I froze. The comrade then explained that we were going to detain important counterrevolutionaries.

We traveled a long time on the dark streets and, finally, reached a resort settlement outside the city. The truck remained behind while we moved forward. Soon the comrades in civilian clothes deployed us around a cottage with the strict order to let no one in or out. They themselves, together with two of our fellow students, jumped over the fence and hid.

Some 10 or maybe more exhausting minutes passed. Suddenly, the windows of the cottage lit up and two shots were heard, after which there was some noise, the sound of broken glass and trampling. I crouched. My rifle was loaded. Against the background of the lit windows the silhouette of a man appeared, jumping on the fence. I shouted:

"Stop or I shall fire!"

I heard a strange voice: "Do not shoot!" and he jumped into the darkness. However, I was able to squeeze the trigger. The man fell and lay still.

I was confident of hitting the target. Yet he may have been only wounded and was now aiming at me. It was difficult to look ahead, but I was ready for anything.

A few minutes later familiar voices were heard behind the fence. These were our people. They rushed to me, lighting the area with their flashlights. One of them shouted:

"Who shot?"

I answered: "I."

The same voice asked:

"Did he escape?"

"No, he is down."

"Good."

We went to the place where the man was lying. He lay motionless, dead. My bullet had hit the right side and reached the left of his chest.

"Good," the comrades heading the operation said, approving of my action.

The truck came. Loading the dead man in the back along with two detainees, we took off for Moscow, for the Lubyanka. Parting with Chekists, we reached camp at dawn.

On the morning of 31 August we were marching on Moscow's streets carrying posters which stated, "We Demand Red Terror Against White Terror!"

The attempt on Vladimir Il'ich's life triggered irrepressible anger in me.

Now we went to classes with live ammunition. This was required by the alarming situation in Moscow. News reached us that, here and there, in the countryside, kulak uprisings were breaking out and gangs were roaming headed by former officers.

At the beginning of September, a Moscow garrison order proclaimed that former officers residing in Moscow had to be reregistered. All of them had to come to us, to the former Alekseyevskoye Military School. The students were assigned to maintain order. The reregistration was done by Cheka personnel under our protection.

This measure taken by the Soviet Government caught the former officers, members of counterrevolutionary organizations, unaware. They rushed to the railway stations to join White Guard forces. Cheka detachments, however, had been deployed at the stations.

Hundreds and thousands of former officers came to us. The honest ones who had not been involved in counterrevolutionary organizations were immediately released to go back to work. However, many of those present had to be thoroughly checked.

Completing my training at the end of October, I was commissioned a "Red Officer." Six of my fellow students and I were assigned to the Privolzhskiy Military District, in Kazan', to staff the 40th Rifle Regiment of the 5th Rifle Division.

Before leaving, the "Red officers" were summoned to the House of the Unions to attend a joint session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, the factory-plant committees and the trade unions. There were 200 of us. We marched to the House of the Unions in our new officers' uniforms, spruced up, still unaware of the fact that we would be fortunate enough once again to see and hear Lenin.

We sat down and, suddenly, Yakov Mikhaylovich Sverdlov, the chairman, stated: "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, has the floor."

At first we did not think we had heard right, since very little time had passed since the attempt on Vladimir Il'ich's life, and everyone knew that after being wounded by poisoned bullets he had undergone a major operation and that he would have to stay in bed and undergo a long treatment. . . . Yet there he was approaching the rostrum. Shouts of "Hurray!" and "Long live Comrade Lenin!" filled the hall. The ovation lasted several minutes. Meanwhile, he stood on the rostrum as I had remembered him the first time, smiling at us. He then raised his hand and the hall fell silent.

Lenin spoke of the danger threatening the republic and the revolution. Describing the plans of the entente he exposed the base activities of the

imperialist circles in different countries who had organized a campaign against the Soviet Republic. He castigated the domestic counterrevolution, the S.R. and the Mensheviks as having betrayed the people and the revolution, as cowards who fired surreptitiously or at the people's backs, pointing out that the people would not follow them, that they were alien to the people. He called for beating the enemy and defending the revolution and one's toiling people.

We, the young, still unfamiliar with revolutionary theory, found it difficult to understand immediately everything we had heard. The main thing however we understood: Our strength resided in the alliance between workers and peasants; we must be in the offensive rather than the defensive; we must fight the enemy without sparing our lives. Soon afterwards we went to the various fronts, carrying in our hearts the unforgettable words of the leader.

In the summer of 1919 I had just turned 19, but for several months had already been in command of a rifle regiment. Losing the battles for Zlatoust and Krasnoufimsk, it appeared that, receiving new reinforcements from Siberia, the White Guards had decided to stop our further offensive. A particularly fierce battle developed for Chelyabinsk, the stake-hold of the Urals, and for Yekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk). These battles would definitively settle the question of whether Kolchak was to remain on the Urals.

Obeying the order to advance toward Karabolka, our 43d Regiment marched out of Voskresenskoye Village in the early morning of 19 July. As is usual in a march, the commissar and I were riding with a mounted reconnaissance ahead of the regiment. I had instructed my assistant Sergeyev to lead the main forces. Approaching the Allaki Village, the reconnaissance patrols reported that the enemy had appeared toward Karabolka. Emerging at the southern edge of the forest southeast of Allaki, we saw through binoculars a long infantry column carelessly moving toward us. The battle plan was developed instantly: Let the column of the Whites into the village, block exits on the west with the fire of the advanced battalion, bypass the column with the main forces from the east and attack it in its flank and rear, pushing it toward the Bol'shoje and Maloye Allaki lakes. I issued the necessary orders and deployed the men.

Soon afterwards initially rare followed by frequent rifle and machine gun fire opened in the village. Our vanguard joined the battle. Seeing that the enemy was focusing his entire attention and forces to strike in a northwesterly direction, and while Allaki was being attacked by our first advanced battalion, we bypassed the village from the right and the left and decided to use the horse patrol to strike at the enemy's reserve battalion. We were not very strong but relied on surprise. Furthermore, we were attacking from the rear. Taking both machine guns to an elevation stretching along the track followed by the enemy column, and opening sudden fire, the commissar and I with the horse patrol (about 40 sabers) hurled

ourselves into the attack, shouting "Murray!" This was so unexpected to the Whites that all soldiers with their officers threw down their arms and raised their hands. Separating the officers from the soldiers, we directed our captives toward Andriyanov's 3d battalion while preparing a new attack from the rear against the deployed enemy subunits.

Meanwhile, the 2d battalion commanded by Comrade Bukharkin, deploying along its starting line, struck the Whites from the flank, throwing them back toward Allaki Lake. Our horse patrol and two machine guns cut off the enemy's retreat. Panic and disorder broke out among the Kolchak forces. The battle lasted no more than two hours. Realizing that they were surrounded and pushed toward the lake, soldiers and officers stopped resisting, threw down their weapons and surrendered. Our victory was total. The entire 47th Regiment of the 12th White Guard Division, which had just reached the front, wearing new English uniforms and armed with new rifles and machine guns, was crushed. We captured over 1,000 prisoners including 17 officers.

An event pleasing to us was related to this combat success by the regiment. We were able to capture the White's food reserves. Immediately, troops and commanders unanimously decided to use this occasion to send V. I. Lenin a gift.

This sincere thrust was not accidental. In the brief intervals between battles our thoughts invariably went to Lenin and Moscow. We knew that the people in the rear were half starving, desperately fighting want, expecting good news from the fronts. "Perhaps Il'ich himself is short of food," grieved the Red Army men, not without reason. So, the regiment made several bags of rusks which were sent, amidst joyful fuss, to Moscow, to Vladimir Il'ich.

Other trials followed the battle at Allaki Village: Heavy fighting and long marches, and a victorious end to the Civil War. . . .

Such was the great beginning of our way. I served in the Soviet Army over 60 years. I fought for the homeland in Siberia, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the central part of the country. Yet if you were to ask me about my most memorable place, my thoughts would go back to the city on the Volga known to history as Stalingrad.

It was as though I was reborn in Stalingrad, fortunate enough to come alive from the fire. It was in Stalingrad that I realized the purpose of my life and training and what fate held for me.

The battle lasted 200 days and nights. The thunder of the guns, rifle and machine gun fire, explosions and the moaning of the wounded did not stop for a single minute. How many fascist soldiers hurling themselves at the Volga fell here, and how many Soviet soldiers defending this strip of land fell in this city, in front of the Volga!

Stench and dust covered the city. From the top of Mamayev Kurgan (at that point it was indicated on our tactical map as Elevation 102.0) we could see only the foundations of some buildings. The rocks crumbled, but not the people. Each ruin, each shaft, each pile of bricks became a defensive position. We fought for every meter of space, for every floor, and not only for streets or passages.

Mamayev Kurgan was the point where the fiercest battles were fought. It was estimated after the war that here over 1,000 fragments of mines and shells fell per each square meter. The earth was mixed with iron and lead.

Years passed. A new city rose from the ruins. It is a beautiful city with wide streets, outstanding architecturally. Plants were restored and new plants were built. The Volga Hydroelectric Power Plant imeni XXII S'yezda KPSS was constructed. The Volga-Don Navigation Canal imeni V. I. Lenin linked forever the waters of mother Volga with the quiet Don. The old residents came back, new people arrived, and the city came back to life. However, no one has forgotten that it rose on the common graves of the heroes, that its soil has been abundantly soaked in blood, and that this land is double and triple more precious.

I come here frequently. Whenever I approach the city my heart begins to beat faster. The past comes to me in the smoky flames of oil, the burning ruins, the raging flames. . . .

On 13 September 1942 I assumed command of the 62d Army. The battles for the city had already begun. I immediately informed the members of the Military Council of the assignment to hold Stalingrad to the last bullet.

Above all, we had to convince the entire personnel that retreat was no longer possible, and that the enemy must be stopped and defeated. The battle for the city as the last line had to be merciless to the enemy and we, the Soviet soldiers, following the call of the party and the order of the people, had to defend it or die. There was no other choice.

This assignment was passed on to the entire personnel and the party and Komsomol organizations through commanders and political workers.

The decision was made to set up armed detachments of workers and employees of the big city enterprises. Together with the troops, and even without them, they were to defend these factories and plants. They were issued weapons and other equipment.

In the breaks between battles, under the bombs and shells, these workers and employees repaired and restored equipment and armaments damaged or lost. Such militarized detachments, converted into companies and battalions, were created with the agreement and under the guidance of the party and soviet organizations and the city defense committee.

The Army's Military Council decreed that the commander of the garrison, Colonel Sarayev, who commanded the 10th NKVD Division, was to designate particularly strong buildings in the center of the city (houses or districts built of stone and plant buildings) with their own garrisons--army subunits or militarized detachments of city workers and employees, whose task would be to defend them to the last bullet, even if surrounded. Any unauthorized withdrawal from the positions held without the knowledge of the army commander and his chief of staff was forbidden. It was resolved that the Military Council and army headquarters would remain on the right bank, in Stalingrad. In no case were they to move to the left bank or the island.

All these decisions of the Military Council were explained to every soldier and discussed at party and Komsomol meetings.

In those days the word Stalingrad became something like greetings exchanged by honest people throughout the earth. Anyone who hated Hitlerite Germany and wished for the defeat of its barbaric hordes thought with admiration about the valorous soldiers of the 62d and 64th armies, which were defending the city on the Volga with a courage and heroism unparalleled in mankind's history.

At all times the armed forces of all nations have had famous elite units. Alexander the Great's armor-clad warriors and Napoleon's old guard decided the fate of a battle where other troops had failed. These tried soldiers were armed with year's of experience. The Red Army was young. However, its regiments had been tempered in the flames of the Civil and Patriot wars and had earned the fame of invincibility. The objective of our struggle against the enemy was noble. Hatred for the enemy was inexhaustible and the principles of the Bolshevik military organization were viable. For this reason, with every day of fighting ever new Soviet combat formations were developing as elite forces. In the young Red Army the 62d Army was one of the youngest in age and one of the most deserving in military skill. Its actions in Stalingrad proved the powerful force of our reserve formations.

The army reached Stalingrad at a period when our forces blocking the way of the enemy's divisions to the city were no more than a thin line. Ability to engage in lightning maneuvers was the first thing proved by the 62d Army in those critical times. The situation could be saved at that time only through flexible maneuvering. The army skillfully shifted its battalions and regiments along the front. It was not afraid to remove units from one sector and send them where they were more needed precisely at that time. It skillfully closed breaches through which enemy forces were ready to rush on. It broke enemy wedges, forcing him to feverishly throw himself in all directions facing the city defense lines which were only being organized.

Hypnotized by the power of their equipment, the Hitlerites had no doubt that the city would not last long. Past military experience taught them

that, for quite some time, ever since big armies with their powerful artillery had learned how to destroy strong fortifications, the cities had lost the taste for gambling their fate merely for the sake of postponing surrender for a while. However, the overall development of the battles fought by the Red Army against the fascist aggressors had proved that the Soviet cities play a tremendous role in our defense system as junctions connecting the strategic fabric of the entire war. Such was the case with Stalingrad as well. It was above all thanks to the valorous forces of the 62d and 64th armies that the city became a real shield blocking the enemy's path to our Volga and Ural rears.

Assuming its defense positions, the 62d Army did not retreat a single step. "Our army will not pull back," its soldiers said.

. . . One of the big city buildings was defended by a battalion from Rodimtsev's division. The guardsmen withstood tens of fierce enemy attacks. No one retreated. It was only after a while that a heavily wounded Red Army man crawled out of the building. The rest of the battalion died to the man and it was only then that the enemy was able to advance. The battalion did not retreat. It remained in place. The troops of the 62d Army do not pull back!

Receiving a government award, sniper Vasilii Zaytsev, who had killed 240 Hitlerites, said: "To us, the troops and commanders of the 62d Army, there is nothing behind the Volga. We stood up and will stand up here to death!"

The army was engaged in a truly active defense. Repelling enemy attacks, the defenders of Stalingrad themselves attacked, engaging in daring sorties, seizing the initiative and forcing the enemy to defend himself. In the course of this unparalleled battle, perfect methods for street combat, never used before, were developed. Our soldiers raised the defense of buildings, semicrumpled walls, individual floors, rooms and even staircases to a high skill, using all technical means of struggle.

The commanders of our 62d Army units were true Soviet commanders who had learned the science of leading the troops and of skillfully guiding battles. Virtually surrounded on a clump of Volga soil, for quite some time Colonel Gorokhov's formation skillfully repelled enemy and blocked all enemy efforts to achieve even the slightest success. The military talent of Generals Rodimtsev and Gur'yev, and Colonels Bolvinov, Gurt'yev, Skvortsov, and others, also played a tremendous role in the successful defense of the city. Today the land of the soviets mentions their names with great gratitude.

This unparalleled enthusiasm of the troops, mass heroism, irrepressible growth of military courage and skill displayed by all participants in the battle on the Volga would have been impossible, inconceivable without the main source of victory: the leading and guiding role of the Leninist party.

The communist party prepared the defeat of the enemy on the soil of the Volga under incredibly complex conditions and long before the historical battle began. The CC VKP(b) directed this purposeful activity of party members and all Soviet people, from the Supreme Command to the company party organization. The party members were the binding force of the growing unity between front and rear. They were in the most difficult spots in nationwide struggle against the enemy.

The formations and units of the 62d Army numbered 9,000 party members. Of them over 500 were party workers at different levels (secretaries, heads of departments and instructors at rayon, city, or oblast party committees, or party organizers at enterprises and kolkhozes). A strong party nucleus existed in the army. There was no company without a strong party organization, and many battalions of the 33d, 37th and 39th guards divisions consisted entirely of party and Komsomol members.

The party forces were deployed among the subunits and units of all the most important sectors. In marches, in the trenches and in battle, through personal example the party members showed how the order of the party and the homeland of "not one step back!" had to be obeyed. The fact that even in the most difficult battles there was no single case of mass panic was unquestionably, above all, the merit of the party organizations. Selfless exploit was the truest and most accurate recommendation of a party member.

Side by side with the communists, inspired by their examples, fought the members of the Leninist Komsomol. They too honorably withstood the severe trial by fire and blood.

In the course of the fierce battles one of the Rodimtsev's division rifle companies, holding the railroad station sector, was attacked by enemy tanks. Confusion arose in the company. However, Fedor Yakovlev, the secretary of the Komsomol organization, did not waiver. Grabbing two anti-tank grenades, he stood up and, with the words "not one step back, comrades!" threw a grenade under the leading tank. The tank burst into flames. Yakovlev was preparing to throw the second grenade but was hit by a bullet. Inspired by the firmness and daring of the Komsomol organizer, the troops repelled the fascist attack with grenades. After the battle, the comrades found in Yakovlev's locket a piece of paper with a poem written by the hero. The youngster had entitled simple, yet sincere poetic thoughts "My Oath." The poem began as follows:

I am the son of the party and the homeland is my mother.
My father is our beloved Lenin.

The army political workers played a truly invaluable role in creating the battle mood and patriotic uplift among the troops. They entirely justified the assessment subsequently given them in "Malaya Zemlya" by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "The true political worker in the army is a person around whom the people rally. He is closely familiar with their moods, needs, hopes and dreams. He leads them to self-sacrifice and exploit."

During the first half of the decisive battle on the Volga the Germans enjoyed superiority, particularly in the number of tanks. Toward November 1942, the German tankmen and tanks who had crushed the armed forces of Poland, Belgium, France and other Western countries, had been basically destroyed on the Soviet front. At Stalingrad tank forces of the armies commanded by Paulus and Goth suffered irreplaceable losses inflicted mainly by our infantrymen armed with antitank grenades, molotov cocktails, anti-tank weapons and artillery.

Those days, 33 soldiers of the 1,379th Rifle Regiment, 87th Rifle Division, headed by deputy political commander, Komsozol member, Leonid Kovalev, distinguished themselves in the area of Malaya Rossoshka, west of Stalingrad. These 33 fabulous soldiers, finding themselves surrounded, did not lose their presence of mind but daringly accepted combat with 70 Hitlerite tanks. The antitank forces assumed an all-round defensive position and camouflaged themselves. When the first tanks approached, they opened fire with their antitank weapons and hit two tanks. This did not stop the Hitlerites, who continued their advance. The moment the first tank crossed the trench, Private Semen Kalita threw at it a molotov cocktail. The tank burst into flames. Kalita threw two more bottles and two more tanks were set afire. With his submachine gun Vasilii Matyushenko killed all Hitlerites who had jumped out of the burning tanks. With equal success tanks were being destroyed at the other sectors of this position. All in all, in their initial attack the Hitlerites lost 13 tanks and over 30 soldiers and officers.

This did not mark the end of the battle. The fascist tanks circled the position from the left flank. The young political instructor, Komsozol member Yevtifeyev hit four tanks which had exposed their side in the circling maneuver. The enemy was pressing on the heroes from all sides. However, not one of the 33 soldiers was a coward. The Hitlerites were unable to withstand the firmness of our fighters and retreated. Twenty-seven fascist tanks and enemy vehicles were left to burn on the battlefield, illuminating the way of the fascist command to the last line, to the Volga, from where they did not return.

That is how the Hitlerite tank divisions were being ground down by the walls of Stalingrad, and that is how the numerical superiority and power of the Hitlerite military machine dried out. Thanks to the heroism of the defenders of the city on the Volga who held here on the final line, greatly superior enemy forces, the Soviet Supreme Command was able to accumulate reserves and prepare a powerful counteroffensive on the sectors south and southwest of Stalingrad.

On 19 November the forces of the Southwestern Front and the right wing of the Don Front launched their general offensive.

The forces on the Stalingrad Front passed to the offensive on 20 November. As a result of the headlong strike from both sides divisions of two

topnotch 4th and 6th German tank armies, totaling 330,000 men, found themselves surrounded.

The victory on the Volga marked the beginning of a radical turn in the Great Patriotic War. It was from here, from the ruins of Stalingrad, that the road of our victorious army started.

Following the unparalleled battle, in February 1943 we parted with Stalingrad, marching to the west, swearing on the dust of our dead comrades to avenge them, to liberate our entire homeland, and end the war by defeating the enemy in his lair. We believed that this hour would come. We kept our oath.

On the eve of the storming of Berlin the party aktiv of our guards army unanimously adopted the following motion: "On the eve of the onslaught all units and formations will raise on the front trench the combat guards flags so that every soldier can see that he was marching into battle together with his comrades, troops and commanders, and with the sacred object of his unit--the battle Red flag--the symbol of the revolutionary ideals and sacred aspiration of all honest people on earth--to the freedom and happiness of mankind."

On the night between 15 and 16 April 1945 the army forces assumed their starting position before the decisive attack. The unit commanders with the guards flags were in the lead. Under the light of the rockets, as though alive, Lenin looked from the flags on the soldiers, inspiring them to exploits. The guardsmen swore to fight the enemy as they had been taught by the great leader, sparing no efforts or their own lives. . . .

The Soviet Armed Forces covered a great and long road from the Volga to Berlin and the Elbe. If all the trenches dug during the war could be put together in a single line, it would go several times around the earth. I am proud that I covered this road together with forces of my army, under enemy fire and through water and mine fields.

The sinister flame of the last war burst out of the center of Europe, out Hitlerite Germany. What great sufferings and casualties were suffered by the Soviet people to put them out! Tens of millions of killed and maimed, and thousand of destroyed and burned cities and villages.

The war covered many countries and many nations. We have the full moral right to judge both the aggressor and those untied his hands.

Through the joint efforts of the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition the flames of war were put out where they began.

He who thinks of the past bears the future in mind as well. He who speaks of the future has no right to forget the past. Going through the flames of many battles, we, the Soviet people, know the hardships of war. We do not wish this fate to befall the nations again.

: am beginning the ninth decade of my life. I have worn the military uniform for 62 years. It was Lenin, the greatest of humanists, who called my generation to arms to defend the socialist fatherland. Our right to defend our fatherland is just and unquestionable. I state most responsibly that we, the Soviet soldiers, will do everything possible to defend our socialist homeland from any aggressor. We have always been and will remain in the front ranks of the struggle for peace the world over. We hope that the reason of progressive mankind will defeat war.

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EFFICIENT AND CONSTRUCTIVE PLATFORM OF EUROPE'S COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 93-104

[Survey of speeches delivered at the Paris meeting; the full text of all addresses of the participants in the Paris meeting of communist and workers parties of Europe will be published as a separate book by Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoy Literatuy]

[Text] The meeting of communist and workers parties of Europe for peace and disarmament, held at the end of April in Paris, proved the broad coincidence of assessments made by communists from various countries on the continent of the current state of affairs in the world arena, the closeness of their approaches to the solution of the most topical problems related to restraining the arms race, and the common nature of their views on the ways and means for achieving this most important task today. The fact that the participants in the meeting unanimously expressed the desire of their parties to work, as was emphasized in the CC CPSU document on the conference's results, "a turn in the development of the international circumstances with a view to safeguarding the peace, the continuation and intensification of detente, and the adding of military to political detente" is of essential significance. The "Communist Appeal to the Peoples of the European Countries for Peace and Disarmament," adopted in Paris, confirms the firm intention of the fraternal parties on the continent to assist in strengthening the cooperation among all antiwar forces.

As is well known, the Paris meeting had a clear and entirely specific objective: essentially, it was a means for multilateral consultations among authoritative representatives of communist parties of Europe, held on an urgent basis, as dictated by the very nature of the situation which has developed in the international arena. It is precisely for this reason that in the course of its preparations no discussions were held on the adoption of any kind of broad analytical document. The addresses in Paris were distinguished by a businesslike specific discussion of the practical items on the agenda.

At the same time, the Paris discussion did not ignore broader problems. This is understandable, for the communists have always considered any

matter, any political step they intend to take, within the overall context of their strategy, relying on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current situation. The Paris meeting, naturally, neither could be nor was an exception in this sense. Of course, the members of the different parties approached the interpretation of the processes currently occurring in the world also from the viewpoint of their national interests and their own experience acquired under the specific conditions of their countries. Nevertheless, the speeches by the heads of the delegations, taken together, provide an idea of the views of the entire European communist movement on a number of topical problems on international life. The purpose of the present survey of the materials of the Paris meeting is, precisely, to acquaint our readers with the basic elements of this position.

The starting point of the discussions in Paris was the acknowledgment of the fact that at the beginning of the 1980's Europe and the rest of the world are faced with imperialist attempts to make a turn toward a new cold war. Considering the present quantitative and qualitative level of armaments, today this represents a real threat to the destinies of mankind. The threat to peace was the theme of all speeches at the Paris meeting. "The problem now is as follows: Either the arms race will question mankind's further progress or the joint efforts of the peoples will defeat the present dangerous arms race, and thus the material preparations for war themselves," emphasized A. Phantis, deputy secretary general of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), head of his delegation.

The imperialist policy of escalating tension and, particularly, the policy of American imperialism, "whose unpredictable and dangerous nature threatens to intensify even further," as stated A. Urbani, chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, is striking heavy blows at detente. Unless this policy is reliably blocked, it may lead to the appearance of a critical political situation which might outstrip even the gravest crises of the cold war in scale and consequences. For, as noted A. Lilov, Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, "some forces and rulers of American imperialism are nursing the dangerous idea that in the current circumstances the ratio of forces in the world could be changed and the principle of parity in armaments reduced to naught, insuring the U.S. military superiority and advantage. The United States would like to assert its domination over the world with the help of and through armaments, with the help of force, including military force. This is precisely the essence of today's international circumstances."

What makes this foolhardy line pursued by the aggressive Western circles even more dangerous, said J. Norlund, Communist Party of Denmark Central Committee secretary and Executive Committee member, is that it encourages some senior imperialist politicians to "abandon realistic sobriety and replace it with military psychosis." At the same time, he pointed out, it is of essential importance to realize that a sharp reversal in imperialist policy "is not a proof strength," for "imperialism, state-monopoly capitalism, is

being shaken up by the crisis of its own system. It is forced to take into consideration that it has been unable to stop the building of socialism or the development of anti-imperialist movements. That is why it has mounted a counterattack against the policy of detente on which some of its leaders lay the blame for their own failures, even though such failures would have been even worse without a policy of detente." However, this counterattack, as M. Gremetz, French Communist Party Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, stated in his speech, "cannot conceal the main thing: The world is developing rapidly and in the proper direction, and imperialism is forced to defend itself."

The entire nature of the discussion at the Paris meeting proved not only the sober realism of the European communists, who are not inclined to underestimate the danger of a drastic and unfavorable development of international circumstances, but their ability no less soberly to analyze the existing situation from the viewpoint of the overall sociopolitical and military ratio of forces in the world arena. As was noted by C. A. Inglez, Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee member, this ratio of forces "with the inevitable uneven development is, as a whole, continuing to change in favor of the forces of democracy, national independence, social progress, peace and socialism. The end of the 1970's was a period of unparalleled upsurge of the movement for national and social liberation of the peoples, a movement which won major successes in many countries and parts of the world, including the 25 April liberation revolution in Portugal itself, and the failure of other fascist regimes in Europe. These successes showed the unbreakable connection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for national and social liberation. The three revolutionary forces of our time, merging within a single revolutionary channel--the socialist countries, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement--have become so strong of late and so mature that their influence on the course of global development has considerably grown and strengthened. It is precisely their activities that continue to determine today the deep course of development of international circumstances in favor of peace, detente, cooperation and the national and social liberation of the peoples. That is precisely why the recent activities of the most reactionary imperialist circles . . . are obviously aimed against this current. They are a counterattack aimed at holding back the struggle of the working people and the nations, to regain lost positions and turn the course of history back.

"The counteroffensive mounted by the most reactionary and aggressive imperialist circles is closely linked with another characteristic feature of the present international circumstances--the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. The profound decline experienced by the capitalist world in the mid-1970's has still not been entirely surmounted, while the monopoly experts are already predicting a new decline at the beginning of the 1980's. As always, looking for a solution to this crisis, the big monopolies would like to shift its entire burden to the shoulders of the working people and the nations, and are trying to resolve interimperialist contradictions through the subordination of the weak to the strong . . .

"All this determines the aspiration to restore the cold war atmosphere."

...
"The imperialist circles," said G. Axen, CC SED secretary and Politburo member, "would like to wreck the strategic line of the socialist countries which calls for achieving, over a lengthy period of peace, the all-round and decisive superiority of socialism in the most important sectors of the struggle and competition between the two systems. Finally, one cannot fail to see that in the capitalist countries right-wing trends are increasing. The atmosphere of hysteria and chauvinism which is marking the current preparations for the presidential elections in the United States is a vivid example of this."

"Naturally, this cannot fail to influence the ways and means through which the Western countries are shaping the destinies of the peoples."

However, it is precisely the overall ratio of forces in the world and the profound changes which took place in the 1970's in international and, above all, intra-European relations that give us reasons to assert that the current imperialist counteroffensive may be stopped while the aggravation of tension and a certain "freezing" of detente is merely a process which could not be qualified as irreversible in the least. "We have never believed that peace is a gift from heaven, easy to achieve and acquired once and for all," said A. Werblyan, CC PZPR secretary and Politburo member. "We shall also never accept the fatal inevitability of the condition of tension in international relations and hostility among countries and nations, inevitably leading to war. Today standing on the side of peace are the tremendous forces of socialism, the working class and the people's masses. An ever larger number of people in the world, in Europe in particular, realize that a cold war and a policy from the position of strength do not resolve a single problem of our time, and that their consequences could only be a useless waste of material resources and a headlong worsening of the threat of a nuclear conflict."

A great deal of attention was paid in Paris to the question of the origins of the present tension and those responsible for it. In the opinion of the European communists this has become today one of the main questions in the type of psychological indoctrination of public opinion through which the official representatives of Western governments and bourgeois propaganda are trying to justify and whitewash the aggressive course taken by the imperialist circles toward sabotage and undermining detente and increasing the arms race. In this connection, attention was paid also to the fact that anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaign, directed, as was mentioned by A. Magnien, secretary general of the Swiss Labor Party, "at drawing the attention away from the aggressive policy of imperialism and the consequences of the capitalist crisis calamitous to the nations."

All speakers at the Paris meeting unanimously agreed that the current worsening of the international climate is the result of the long-term

strategy of imperialism and its disagreement, as G. Axen (SED) said, "with the consolidation of detente and the offensive of the forces of social and national liberation," and result of its reduced influence on other countries and its aspiration, as said, for example, E. Kivimiaki, Communist Party of Finland Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat member, "to secure sources of raw material and energy through force and pursue a policy of enslavement of young independent states," and, finally, of the internal crisis in the United States and the power struggle in the White House.

The spokesman stated that it is not some anonymous policy of strength of the superpowers or "logic of blocs" that are the reasons for the aggravation of the international circumstances. "The neutron bomb, refusal to ratify the SALT II treaty, the decision to place new American nuclear missiles in Europe, the hysterical anti-Soviet campaign, the boycott of the Olympic Games and the economic sanctions and military threat directed against Iran are the stages of the strategy of the deliberate return to the cold war," noted R. Urbani (Communist Party of Luxembourg).

Following this way, the representative of the Turkish Communist Party emphasized, "the Beijing hegemonists have become the main allies of imperialism." As many other delegates pointed out as well, they are pursuing a chauvinistic and anti-Soviet course threatening to peace. It is precisely the policy of imperialism supported by China, that K.-G. Schroeder, chairman of the board Presidium and member of the Secretariat of the board of the German Communist Party, that "led to the aggravation of the international situation, rather than the democratic revolution in Afghanistan and the aid which the Soviet Union gave that country at its request in repelling foreign intervention."

Even though the intrigues of imperialism and of other reactionary forces on the subject of Afghanistan were not, naturally, an item considered at the Paris meeting, many of its participants discussed the "Afghan problem," which, using all sorts of sophistries, speculations and naked lies, the enemies of the peace try to present as just about the main threat to European security. "Today anti-Soviet propaganda is deafening the public with complaints that everything began with the Afghan events, confusing in the minds of the people causes and consequences," said B. N. Ponomarev, CC CPSU secretary and Politburo candidate member. "Let me immediately stipulate that this is neither the time nor the place to discuss events related to Afghanistan. This is, above all, because this meeting is not attended by representatives of the People's Democratic Party, which is leading this free country. I shall discuss only items on the agenda of our meeting."

"Long before the events in Afghanistan, decisions were made concerning a long-term planned growth of military expenditures by the United States and its allies. It is equally before Afghanistan that decisions were made on an entire number of new major military programs launched by the United States. It was before the events in Afghanistan that the United States and NATO declined the USSR suggestion of talks on medium-range missiles.

Sabotaging the ratification of the SALT II treaty also began long before Afghanistan, for which purpose the "Cuban minicrisis" was organized. Before Afghanistan the West had factually hindered and pushed aside the talks in Vienna, and abandoned joint efforts in favor of a just and peaceful settlement of the Middle Eastern problem in the spirit of the United Nations resolutions. It was before the Afghan events that the United States undertook a rapprochement with Beijing's leadership, which is once again proclaiming the inevitability of a new world war, displaying an ever greater readiness for military cooperation on an anti-Soviet basis.

"These are irrefutable facts. They prove that the campaign against detente began a long time ago." The leading NATO circles, noted the representative of the Turkish Communist Party, "are trying to use as a pretext for broadening their hegemonistic and provocative policy the armed selfless aid given the Afghan people by the Soviet Union; hiding behind the myth of the "Soviet threat" they are promoting anti-Sovietism. . . . This aid, military aid included, was provided on the request of the legitimate Afghan Government and is based on the friendship treaty concluded between the two countries. It is also fully in accordance with the United Nations Charter. This aid is aimed at the preservation of the national sovereignty and defense of the freedom of the Afghan people and against aggressive actions from the outside."

A number of delegates particularly emphasized that Soviet aid to Afghanistan is yet another confirmation of the consistent internationalist line invariably followed by the CPSU in accordance with Lenin's behests. "The people of Cyprus," said, for example, A. Phantis (AKEL), "well remember the valuable aid given our country by the Soviet Union in 1964, when the legitimate government of Cyprus requested such aid. The people of Cyprus well know that the USSR was, and remains, one of our best friends and supporters in our difficult struggle. Therefore, we shall not be tricked by the crocodile tears shed by President Carter and other Western leaders on the subject of the Afghan events."

R. Urbani (Communist Party of Luxembourg) pointed out yet another aspect of the "Afghan problem," relating it to the adventuristic line followed by the United States toward Iran. "The unsuccessful raid by the American Air Force clearly indicates," he stated, "that since the taking of the hostages the objective of the Carter Administration has been to restore in Iran a government consistent with the interests of the American monopolies. Unquestionably, this is also the reason for which the present Iranian Government would have been facing a far greater threat of extensive military actions without the presence of Soviet units on Afghan territory. Today even people who, until recently, had taken the wrong track are beginning to realize, to an ever greater extent, that the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan is a factor in the preservation of the peace."

The Paris meeting was a forum of European communists and it was natural for its participants to pay particular attention precisely to European

problems, the more so since insuring the cause of peace and security on the European Continent, as was emphasized in Paris, is of decisive significance to the preservation of universal peace.

The representatives of many parties pointed out that detente began precisely in Europe and that it was precisely Europe that benefited most from it. Yet it is precisely Europe that could lose more than anyone else (and is already beginning to do so) as a result of Carter's "antidetente" doctrine. "Today's American policy," said A. Lilov (BCP), "is a misfortune, a great misfortune afflicting Europe and, above all, Western Europe. We already see, once again, the gathering of clouds over the European Continent and that yielding to the unceremonious pressure of the United States, governments and political leaders are abandoning their former positions, business circles are suffering tremendous material losses, the scientific and creative intelligentsia is deprived of its contacts, athletes are deprived of the chance to compete, and so on."

The fact that the turn of imperialist policy is particularly aimed against Europe, said J. Norlund (Communist Party of Denmark) is not accidental in the least. All speakers drew the attention to this aspect of the matter, since in Europe, as A. Denesz, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee secretary, "by virtue of the direct contact between the two opposite military alliance systems, each new decision aimed at increasing the military potential leads to a series of responding measures. . . . The security of the European Continent is affected as adversely by increasing the quantities of weapons in other parts of the world and the intensification of military tension. The currently stalled talks on disarmament and the steps needed for disarmament even in the past were far from catching up with the acceleration of this race on a global scale."

It was emphasized that the decision to produce and deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of some Western European countries, adopted at the Brussels NATO Council session, last December, is an exceptional threat to the fate of Europe (and, naturally, the destinies of the world). "The implementation of this plan," noted V. (Bilja), CC Communist Party of Czechoslovakia secretary and Presidium member, "would disturb the balance between the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in favor of the North Atlantic Alliance and would lead to a new round in the arms race. In order to prevent such an undesirable development and in order for the talks on the reduction such armaments be conducted on an equal security basis, everything possible should be done for the December NATO decision to be canceled or at least that its implementation be officially stopped."

The representatives of the Western European communist parties described in detail the threat which NATO's decisions are creating for the peoples of their countries and to individual parts of the continent, and on the way communists and antiwar forces are organizing a counteraction to the implementation of such plans. "The dangerous development of the international

situation," emphasized D. Arens, chairman of the West Berlin Socialist Unity Party, "is creating a growing concern among the population of our city. Whereas some time ago the people could hope for a definitive assertion of a policy of resolving conflicts through peaceful means, the 12 December 1979 NATO decision on locating the new generation of American medium-range nuclear missile and Cruise missiles, above on, FRG territory, has concerned them seriously. Ever more clearly the people are realizing the danger of the fact that West Berlin is east of the territory on which such missiles are deployed and is within their range. It is precisely the population of our city that, from the time that the Quadripartite West Berlin Agreement was signed, essentially considered part of the detente process in Europe, has quite clearly seen the practical usefulness of the detente policy."

"The resumption of the arms race, attempts to restore the cold war atmosphere, and the threat to peace are seriously concerning the Communist Party of Belgium and the people of our country," stated G. Turf, deputy chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium. "It is no accident that Belgium was one of the two NATO countries which indefinitely postponed their acceptance of the decision to locate American medium-range missiles on their territory. This was the result of a rather broad public movement in which, in addition to the Communist Party of Belgium, the Flemish and French-speaking socialist parties participated, together with a considerable segment of the two social-Christian parties which are members of the government coalition, and two communal parties--the Walloon Union and the Volksuni, the Belgian General Federation of Labor and its biggest trade union organization; they were joined by other forces, including Christians, the Eno Provincial Council and others. On 9 December tens of thousands of people demonstrated in Brussels against the placing of missiles.

"Today the movement has not stopped, even though it has somewhat lowered its activities compared with the first weeks following the adoption of the 12 December 1979 NATO decision. . . . Today the main efforts of the movement against the placement of missiles are aimed at extending the postponement of the decision from six months to two years, as occurred in the Netherlands, in order to insure the study of all possibilities for talks."

G. Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party, who spoke at the reception at the closing of the Paris meeting, also discussed this most urgent problem of today. He pointed out that 80,000 participated in the demonstration against NATO's December 1979 Brussels decision. "These actions were the answer of the joint appeal of 14 organizations," he said. "We shall continue them and we shall do everything possible to increase them in the immediate future. We shall also make our contribution to the implementation of other initiatives in this direction, such as a nationwide survey organized by the peace movement."

To the Irish communists opposition to NATO's aggressive policy and plans is a structural component of their line of social liberation and independence

of the Irish people. With it, the very problem of national independence is an important element in their struggle for peace. This was the topic of M. O'Reardon, secretary general of the Communist Party of Ireland. "The continuing domination of British imperialism over Northern Ireland," he emphasized, "is aimed not only at the economic exploitation of the area. It is also one of the elements of the overall strategic objectives of Great Britain and of NATO, aimed at maintaining part of Ireland as a military base in the camp of the imperialist countries. This is yet another external threat to the neutrality of the Irish Republic and to peace in Europe.

The decision of the Thatcher Conservative Cabinet to accept Carter's demand of placing Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Great Britain particularly threatens the interests not only of the British people, but of the people of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom, as well as the people of the Irish Republic, considering their geographic proximity to Great Britain."

The Mediterranean and northern Europe play a particularly important role in the calculations of the Pentagon and NATO leadership, which considers these areas as its important strategic bridgeheads. At the same time, in an effort to tie more closely the countries of northern Europe and the Mediterranean, including non-NATO members, to the imperialist policy, the leaders of the Atlantic Bloc are hoping to stop or at least to hinder here the struggle of the people for democracy, sovereignty and social progress.

"The Greek peace movement," said S. Tsambis, Communist Party of Greece Central Committee Politburo member, "is very actively opposing the U.S. and NATO plans aimed at converting Europe into a nuclear conflict zone to which leads the production and deployment of the new American strategic nuclear missiles. So far over 1.2 million signatures have been collected and tens of protest demonstrations have taken place throughout Greece. Corresponding representations have been made to the Greek government, parliament and political parties. Virtually all opposition parties are against the NATO decision.

"Many other broad and mass movements, such as the movement for the closing down of foreign American and NATO military bases, which has become greatly widespread, are following the common stream of the struggle for international detente and peace. They also include the movement for total and definitive withdrawal from the aggressive NATO bloc; the movement for the conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and peaceful cooperation; and the broad movements of solidarity, particularly the movement for solidarity with the struggle waged by the people of Cyprus for a united, independent and sovereign Cyprus, nonaligned and demilitarized. They also include the movement of solidarity with the struggle waged by the Arab peoples for the total withdrawal of the Israeli invaders from occupied Arab territories and for the national rebirth of the Arab people of Palestine."

P. Adjus, Communist Party of Malta Central Committee secretary and national executive committee member, also spoke in favor of making the Mediterranean

a zone of peace and good-neighborly relations and cooperation. "All Maltese progressive and democratic forces," he added, "oppose the decision of the Italian Government to deploy the new nuclear missiles on its territory; let us remind the participants in this meeting that Malta is only 60 miles away from Italy. Our party has sharply protested to the ambassadors of all Western European countries in Malta and has called upon the government to do the same."

In northern Europe imperialism and the reactionary forces are trying to change what is usually described as the "balance in the north." "NATO's increased activity in northern Europe and, particularly, the recent exercises in northern Norway, close to the Finnish border, involving the participation of seven members of this organization, have triggered profound concern in our country," noted in this connection E. Kivimiaki (Communist Party of Finland). "We believe that the stockpiling in northern Norway of heavy NATO armaments, which in fact belong to the United States, or in other words the creation of a new military base, even though presently without troops, constitute an ever greater threat to Finnish security as well. In this situation the initiative of President Kekonen on proclaiming northern Europe a nuclear-free zone, becomes particularly important. It is exceptionally important to initiate without delay talks on this matter between the governments of the northern countries and the nuclear powers."

The viewpoint of the Norwegian communists on such problems was expressed by H. Kleven, chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, as follows: "When Norway joined NATO the government and the parliament issued a declaration which stated that, "Norway will never assist a policy pursuing aggressive objectives and never will an order be given which would make it possible to put Norwegian territory on the service of such a policy."

"The official statement concerning the country's policy toward military bases on its territory is of very great importance. For this reason, the Communist Party of Norway emphasizes that despite its negative attitude toward Norway's NATO membership, honoring the statement about bases is consistent with the national interests of the Norwegian people and is one of the important prerequisites for implementing the policy of detente in the north.

"Today we are forced to note with great concern that actions are being taken on an ever growing scale and plans are being formulated aimed at undermining this policy and emasculating the 1949 statement on bases. The United States is applying ever greater pressure. It is a question of deploying in the northern part of Norway large quantities of heavy American armaments, modern artillery, tanks and helicopters in particular. A brigade of American Marines, numbering 10,000 men, would be brought up to a state of readiness for use on Norwegian territory."

The pressure exerted by the United States and NATO on the northern flank of Europe is felt in Denmark as well, J. Norlund (Communist Party of Denmark)

said. The purpose is to "delete the stipulations made by Denmark in the past, when it declined the opening of NATO military bases and the deployment of nuclear weapons on Danish territory, and in order to involve the country more profoundly in U.S. aggressive plans. Efforts are being made to achieve this by setting up 'reception bases' for heavy weapons which could be staffed by foreign troops within the shortest possible time, and for nuclear weapons 'should a crisis arise.' However, no one says precisely who would determine whether a situation is critical."

On the one hand, the Paris meeting belongs to the type of communist conferences usually described as regional, since first of all they involve the participation of fraternal parties of a specific geographic area (Europe in this case); secondly here all problems are considered either from the viewpoint of the specific interests of the communists working under more or less similar conditions, or else problems are discussed whose solution is of interest above all to these parties, or else which depend above all precisely on them.

On the other hand, however, in that sense the Paris meeting was not entirely typical. Naturally, in a certain sense, its agenda could be considered limited--limited by the specific tasks of the struggle against the militarization of Western Europe, against the NATO decision imposed upon it of a new round in the arms race, to the struggle for preserving and multiplying detente based on the principles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and so on. However, it is clear that the significance of these problems far exceeds the European frameworks, and that the situation on the continent leaves, as was mentioned in Paris, a definite mark on the development of events far beyond it. Furthermore, a circumstance of essential significance, the communists are always and everywhere internationalists and, focusing their attention even on regional or national problems, they invariably approach them from the viewpoint of the common interests of the entire communist movement and of the task it faces. Such was precisely the case this time again.

The discussion was not of a "Eurocentrist" nature in the least. On the contrary, the speeches of the representatives of all parties mentioned international problems as well, conflict situations on other continents and their influence on the European political climate.

The principles of peaceful coexistence and detente, and the demand for their implementation in Europe and in international relations in general, as was emphasized at the Paris meeting, cannot violate the rights of the nations to independently choosing the ways of their social upsurge and struggle against oppression and the gaining and strengthening of their national independence. The continuation of detente does not conflict in the least with the help which the socialist countries and other progressive forces are giving to the cause of national liberations and revolutionary changes or to repelling imperialist intervention in domestic affairs. "The grave crises in various parts of the world," said A. Denesz (Hungarian

Socialist Workers Party) in this connection, "could be resolved only in accordance with the interests of the peoples of the area, without foreign interference. All possible means should be to prevent local conflicts from being used as a pretext for destroying the results of detente or inflating such conflicts to a global level."

A. Werbljan (PZPR) had an interesting approach of the problem of the "indivisibility of detente." Today, he said, it has become fashionable in Western propaganda to discuss the so-called indivisibility of tension. This thesis, the speaker continued, "is being practically applied in the desire to shift to international relations in Europe consequences of conflicts and grave situations created by imperialist policy in other areas, Iran, the Middle East or Afghanistan in particular. A variety of sanctions, "punishments," boycotts, and so on, are used for such purposes. This is a dangerous practice deeply conflicting with the interests of the peace and the universally accepted norms of international relations, including the decisions and recommendations of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Several military conflagrations were started in the world over the past 10 years. Bloody conflicts broke out, such as, for example, those in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. What would the world look like had such conflicts taken place in relations between European countries? The policy of the socialist states, the activeness of the peace-loving forces, and reason and a considered approach, however, did not allow this and a process of detente is developing in Europe, whose success has contributed to reducing tension and has favored the solution of problems in other parts of the world. Everything speaks in favor of continuing to act in this spirit."

At the Paris meeting the fraternal European parties highly rated the foreign political line of the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, emphasizing their decisive contribution to the struggle against imperialism and for the peace and security of the peoples.

"Let us gratefully note," said E. Scharf, Communist Party of Austria Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, "that the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity are not answering the aggressive measures and the 'psychological' warfare waged by the United States with the same currency. Ever since the October Revolution, the Soviet Union has been guided in its foreign policy by the Leninist policy of peace. It is a permanent source of initiatives in the interest of peace and disarmament."

All speeches emphasized, one way or another, the consistency of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe, and its basic foundations and practical embodiment, the tremendous constructive significance of the peace program formulated by the CPSU, and the numerous initiatives and proposals made by the Soviet Government to promote

detente and disarmament, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. "It is not merely a question of the fact that peace and socialism are indivisible, and that peace and detente are the backbone of our foreign policy," said A. Lilov (BCP) in his address. "It is also the matter that today there is no more powerful factor in the real struggle for peace than the USSR and the world socialist system, and that this factor is irreplaceable in the struggle against world imperialism. That is why it must be clearly stated that he who promotes the struggle for peace and detente without unity with the USSR and the other socialist countries essentially ideologically and politically disarms the working class and the progressive forces in the world and within each separate country."

This aspect of the matter was pointed out by all the participants in the Paris meeting, emphasizing that at present, as said, for example, G. Axen (SED), "The destinies of the world, more than at any other time, on the decisive rebuff of the irresponsible imperialist campaign of slanders directed against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and the anti-imperialist movement and the exposure of its underlining. For campaigns replace one another, while the dangerous arms race and the creation of new imperialist bases hiding behind them go on."

The policy of peace is one and indivisible. That is why, the delegates stated, the coincidence of objectives and tasks set themselves by ruling and nonruling communist parties is entirely natural.

"We do not formulate the question as follows: Adopt a policy of one of the military alliances against the other," said B. N. Ponomarev. "The question must be posed differently: Support of the policy of detente or the policy of antidetente. Here again there is no third way offered the representatives of the workers movement and the true antiwar forces. This formulation of the question does not equalize in the least the entire variety in the situation of the individual countries. We simply wish to caution them against the illusion that, putting NATO and the Warsaw Pact on the same level, the problems of war and peace could be resolved in favor of peace. The entire essence, the nature of these organizations are diametrically opposed."

This position met with full approval by all parties represented in Paris, for it is precisely the existence of the world socialist system, as was repeatedly emphasized at the meeting, that creates the real historical possibility to prevent a third world war. Therefore, as aptly stated by J. Norlund (Communist Party of Denmark), the "idea" of waging a struggle for peace without the socialist states and "to leave them, so to say, outside the door," is thoughtless and unacceptable. "We consider it unreasonable and erroneous in terms of the general problem of peace we are discussing to divide the communist parties of Europe into parties in eastern and western Europe, or into ruling and nonruling parties," emphasized in this respect S. Tsambis (Communist Party of Greece). "We reject this division. Even though the struggle for peace and disarmament is the general line of all

communist parties, the contribution of the socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism and for the preservation of the peace is decisive. It makes more effective the joint actions of all communist parties."

Along with problems of a general political order, in the course of the meeting virtually all speakers touched, one way or another, on problems of the situation in the international and, in particular, the European communist movement. Essentially, it was a question of the problem of the unity of the movement in its most different aspects: its significance from the viewpoint of the struggle for peace and disarmament; its nature under current conditions; the ways leading to it; and its interconnection with various types of cooperation among broad democratic forces.

It was pointed out at the meeting that the need to strengthen the interaction among fraternal parties is dictated, above all, by the imperialist attempts to pass to the counteroffensive against the forces of peace and social progress. Noting this, the participants in the meeting drew attention to the danger of the tactic chosen by imperialism in its attempts to weaken the international communist movement. "Imperialism would very much like to see us today divided, separated in our national areas, and convenient for neutralizing purposes," A. Lilov (BCP) said. "It would be even happier to see pitted one against the other. That is precisely the purpose of imperialism's notorious 'differentiated policy' toward Western communist parties and socialist countries. The philosophy of this policy is division. Its purpose is to erode communist unity and solidarity."

The unity of the communist movement is necessary not only to oppose such imperialist strategy and tactic but to create a powerful counterbalance to its substantial forces. "The course of the international class struggle," said in his address E. Scharf (Communist Party of Austria), "and the irresponsibility and aggressiveness of imperialist policy, with the danger it brings to mankind, underscore yet once again the significance of the international unification of communist parties. No other force united on an international scale could so consistently, through its demands, expose the reasons for the danger and mobilize all people of good will in the joint struggle for peace and disarmament. Our movement alone represents such a force."

All participants in the Paris meeting expressed the readiness and willingness of their parties to maintain contact with the other fraternal parties in order to exchange experience, analyze the developing situation, discuss various viewpoints and coordinate joint actions in the course of bilateral and multilateral encounters. In such matters they were far from leveling off differences in the objective conditions governing the activities of the individual parties and their consequences. Thus A. Denisz (Hungarian Socialist Workers Party) stated that, "The common interest in multilateral encounters, in thorough exchanges of views, and in achieving our international objectives do not reduce the importance of the fact that,

unquestionably, differences exist among our parties in terms of status, possibilities and means for the solution of common problems. Our objectives are served with identical success both by the international aspirations of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries, expressed in governmental foreign political steps, as well as the actions of the communists in the capitalist countries in the interest of mobilizing the masses and influencing the foreign policies of the governments of these countries."

The problem of the expediency of joint meetings between ruling parties in the socialist countries and parties fighting capitalist domination was, as we know, one of the items discussed on the eve of the Paris meeting. Some parties, which did not participate in the meeting, expressed, in addition to other matters, the viewpoint that such an attendance would mean that the Western European parties were "subordinated" to the line of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries. The farfetchedness of this argument was obvious from the very beginning. However, since the question was raised, it found an answer at the meeting itself. Discussing it, M. Gremetz (French Communist Party) answered it as follows: "The communist parties are equal. They cannot be divided into 'big' and 'small.' They operate under different conditions, have different tasks and occasionally hold different positions. Divergences may exist among them which must be taken into consideration. However, when it becomes a question of most important problems such as peace and disarmament, which are inseparable from the communist ideal, the cooperation and interaction among all our parties become necessary."

The principle of the autonomy of communist parties, respect for which is an inviolable norm governing their interrelationships, was most definitively asserted at the meeting. Naturally, it was related to the problem of the right to participate or not to participate in one or another international meeting in general, and the Paris meeting in particular. On this subject A. Denisz (Hungarian Socialist Workers Party) said: "We are convinced that unity based on the common interests of all communists does not conflict with the autonomy of our parties or violate their freedom of action. In precisely the same way that each individual party autonomously formulates its position on problems of international policy, in accordance with its national conditions, it is implementing on a sovereign basis the specific actions it deems most effective and contributing to the promotion of the cause of peace and disarmament under given circumstances. That is why we do not agree with views that meetings among communist parties allegedly hinder the unification of the communists with other peace-loving and progressive forces."

"Naturally, each party must decide by itself whether to participate in such meetings and whether to make a contribution to the exchange of views and for promotion our common cause. We sincerely hope that each communist party will actively participate in the struggle for disarmament and that the absence of some parties at the present meeting will not have an adverse effect on development of relations among communist parties."

The question of relations between parties participating in the meeting and parties which were absent was discussed as well. J. Norlund (Communist Party Denmark) stated the following: "Naturally, each party has the sovereign right to decide whether it would attend a meeting of communist parties. However, we do not recognize the right to attack parties which have decided, on an equally sovereign basis, to participate in such a meeting. We particularly reject the ascribing of false reasons for such a decision."

This question was raised on the level of a general principle by M. Gremetz (French Communist Party): "The style of relations which we favor involves strict respect for the sovereign right of each party to resolve the question of its participation or nonparticipation in meetings such as ours. We do not intend to raise this question into a criterion governing our future mutual relations. We cannot subordinate to any kind of 'concensus' the possibility of a communist party desirous to do so, to participate in joint discussion and actions.

"In this, as in all other, cases, we stick to our principles of reciprocal respect, equality and independence of each party, noninterference in its affairs, and international solidarity." In this context he spoke in favor of "seeking new means for encounters, which would be even more lively, flexible and effective, contributing to the intensified, frank and open discussion of one or another major topical problem which would lead to specific actions."

Belief that the holding of the Paris meeting would not erect any barriers to the cooperation between participating and other parties on the continent was heard in a number of addresses.

It could be said that the general opinion of all participants was expressed by A. Werbljan (PZPR): "Some communist parties decided to abstain from participating in our meeting. Unfortunately, they did not understand the full nature of our intentions. Allow me, however, to express the hope that the conclusions we are reaching and the ideas expressed in the 'Appeal,' will meet with their support as well. We shall do everything possible to assist this."

Many delegations linked the decision of their parties to participate in the Paris meeting to the letter and spirit of the final document adopted at the 1976 Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe. Let us cite the address by A. Phantis (AKEL) who said: "We, the participants in this meeting, can justifiably be proud of our attendance, for we consider our participation a consistent implementation of the principles expressed in the final document of the Berlin conference. We are thus implementing the noble task of reaching the objectives of the struggle waged by the communist and workers parties of Europe as proclaimed in the final document. As far as we are concerned, we do not have even the slightest doubt as to the expediency of this meeting and of our participation in it, for

our participation is consistent with the Berlin conference declaration. Refusal to participate in the meeting represents an inconsistency toward the tasks and objectives expressed in the joint final document adopted in Berlin."

The same was stated by V. (Bilja) (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia): "The problem we must discuss is so topical and clear that it does not require any lengthy preparations or agreements of a procedural nature. The urgent need for such a meeting directly stems from the positions approved by each of our parties almost four years ago at the Berlin conference."

One of the main topics at the conference was that of cooperation with other political parties and social movements. Many delegates, D. Arnes (Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin) in particular, emphasized that it is precisely the active role of the communist parties in the struggle for peace that creates favorable conditions for a dialog and interaction with other political, social and religious forces in the individual countries and throughout Europe. "Our experience in France," said M. Gremetz (French Communist Party), for example, "confirms the accuracy of the conclusion to which we ascribe very great importance: Namely that the activities of our party and its contribution to explanatory work and to specific actions not only do not contradict joint actions, which are so necessary, but, conversely, create favorable conditions for the creation of a broad alliance among all forces ready to make a contribution to achieving joint objectives on the basis of equality and reciprocal respect"

"Consequently, we cannot pit on the international level the activities of communist parties against joint initiatives which open the way to encounters, dialog or rapprochement of positions or joint actions with other major political forces, such as, for example, socialists, social democrats and Christians. All forms of participation are necessary when it is a question of problems of such major importance to the nations and the destinies of all mankind. In this sense the contribution of major organized forces such as the communist parties, and their ideas are irreplaceable. Our meeting as well confirms this. It is claimed that this would hinder the aspiration to unite all peace-loving forces. Yet this is precisely what we are calling for. We consider our common action as a contribution and prerequisite to the creation of a broad unity. We must entirely reject the view that, unlike meetings with social democratic and other parties, meetings among communist parties are harmful."

"We are convinced," said V. (Bilja) (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia), "that our meeting will provide a new powerful impulse to the broad development of activities of progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces in the struggle for disarmament and consolidation of the peace and against the attempts of reactionary militaristic circles to promote a new round in the arms race and wreck the process of detente." "In this historical moment characterized by instability and confusion," said P. Adjus (Communist Party of Malta), pursuing the same idea, "the peoples of Europe expect of us clarity rather than equivocation, and unity rather than division."

The Paris meeting proved the broad and deep internationalism of the communists and their understanding that the cause of peace, national independence and social progress, global in terms of its scale, adamantly calls for the need to establish and strengthen cooperation among the socialist comity, the international working class, the national-liberation movement and the anti-imperialist forces of the developing world for the sake of the security of the peoples and their readiness to engage in joint or parallel actions with anyone who opposes the threat of war.

"The communists," B. N. Ponomarev stated at the meeting, "have the full moral right--more, the duty!--to address themselves to the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, trade unions, religious circles, women's, youth, and other organizations, men of science and the arts, parliamentarians and people of the business world with the appeal of doing everything possible in order to:

Defeat the dangerous NATO plans for locating on our continent new American nuclear missiles;

Block a new round in the arms race which could have catastrophic consequences for all mankind;

Repel the attacks against the Final Act adopted at Helsinki and prevent the sabotage of the entire cause of peaceful cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries in Europe;

Do not allow the disturbance of the structure established in the 1970's of exchanges in the fields of science, culture, education and sports;

Eliminate barriers in the way to the establishment and development of trust, mutual understanding and friendship among nations;

Firmly oppose Washington's plan to impose on Western Europe the role assistant 'world policemen,' as this conflicts with the national interests of the Western Europeans and threatens to involve them in adventures far from home;

Expose the insidious militaristic plans of the enemies of peace and detente and see to it that all mass information media serve not those who profit from war or the arms race, but the cause of peace and rapprochement among European nations.

In the struggle for these and all other objectives which contribute to the preservation of the peace, the communists do not intend in the least to remain within their own circle. They do not counter with their own initiatives suggestions made by other democratic forces. On the contrary, they try to establish a dialog with them in order to find ways and means for joint actions and cooperation in attaining objectives common to all peace-loving forces."

A similar viewpoint was expressed by the other participants in the Paris meeting. "We agree to the fact that our present encounter, in accordance with the content of its work, has turned with an appeal to the European peoples," said S. Tsambis (Communist Party of Greece). "We believe that this appeal will meet with serious response among the European public. . . .

"We believe that we can discuss and submit specific proposals to other political, social and religious forces concerning joint actions on a European scale, as a result of which the broadest possible peace-loving forces in each European country will be brought into motion."

The fraternal parties which sent their delegations to Paris gathered in order to appeal to all forces on the European Continent to break the vicious circle of growing international tension and restore favorable development trends.

In this connection they particularly emphasized the fact that the Paris meeting does not conflict with the broad national and regional meetings for disarmament and peace. "On the contrary," emphasized in his address H. Kleven (Communist Party of the Netherlands). "This meeting is a prerequisite for an even stronger and more effective peace movement in Europe."

The participants in the Paris meeting welcomed with great interest the motion by E. Kivimiaki (Communist Party of Finland) to launch an initiative which would give a practical shape to the readiness of the communists to engage in a dialog and cooperation with the other anti-war forces. "Our party," he said, "deems it expedient to raise at this meeting the idea of holding a meeting of peace-loving and democratic forces of Europe in the course of which jointly, openly and comprehensively the problems of detente and disarmament could be discussed. Naturally, preparations for such a meeting presume the need for preliminary consultations with these forces. It would be desirable to present this idea in a general and open manner in the text of our appeal."

The suggestion of the Finnish comrades was unanimously approved and reflected in the final draft of the document. The representatives of the fraternal parties noted that forces ready and able to engage in a struggle against the threat of war, together with the communists, may be found in all classes, toiling strata or political groups. They exist, A. Werbljan (PZPR) said, "in the socialist parties, among liberal and Christian movements, and among those actively working for environmental protection and for the solution of other problems facing today's civilization. We are aware of the actions of the Vatican and Pope John Paul II in the interest of peace and cooperation among the nations."

The communists, as was pointed out in Paris, deeply respect anyone who, even though not sharing their views, is actively participating with them in the common struggle for peace. They do not intend to impose their philosophy or political convictions and assessments on anyone.

Summing up the results of the Paris meeting, G. Marchais (French Communist Party) drew the following conclusion at the reception marking its completion: "The very high-level discussion which developed in the course of the past two days proved that under the conditions of strict observance of the principles of total independence and equality, which is the foundation of our relations, regardless of the differences existing among us on some problems, the communist and workers parties can play a fruitful and original role in the struggle for a peaceful Europe.

". . . In no case do we pit national and international initiatives against the initiatives of the communist and workers parties or initiatives of a joint nature carried out together with socialists and social democratic forces and religious circles in promoting the objectives consistent with the interests of the peoples.

"It is precisely in this spirit that the Appeal was drafted. It formulates considered and realistic slogans which could contribute to promote extensive action in each country and on a European scale. . . .

"Therefore, as we considered from the very beginning, our meeting is a starting point, a trampoline for the development of joint actions.

The Paris meeting became an important political event. It provided a major impetus to the further energizing of the struggle against the threat of war and to increasing the number of participants in the movement for peace and disarmament. It called for closer cooperation among all those who are ready and willing to make their contribution to this struggle. At the same time, the European communists comprehensively analyzed the nature of the present complex and grave moment and the reasons for the drastic aggravation of the international circumstances. This is of great importance in the substantiation and clarification of their political platform. In this connection, as the CC CPSU document on the results of the Paris meeting states, it is very important that "all delegations emphasized the need to oppose the aggressive policy of imperialism, American imperialism above all, which bears the responsibility for the continuation and expansion of the arms race which increases the threat of war."

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MIDDLE EAST: FURTHER MILITARIZATION OF U.S. POLICY

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[Article by Academician Ye. Primakov]

[Text] The militaristic emphasis in U.S. foreign policy sharply intensified at the end of the 1970's. This was expressed mainly in the aspiration of American imperialism to increase the arms race, involve its NATO partners in it even further, and destabilize to its advantage the existing balance of strategic forces between the USSR and the United States. The Administration in Washington insisted on adopting a decision calling for the steady growth of the already huge military budget of NATO countries. It hindered the implementation of the agreement reached with the Soviet Union on limiting strategic armaments (SALT II). It insisted on the production and deployment in Western Europe of new types of medium-range American missiles aimed at the USSR.

On the regional level, the militaristic emphasis in American foreign policy was manifest most emphatically in terms of the Near and Middle East.

I

American propaganda is trying to present the current strengthening of the military element in U.S. foreign policy in the Near and Middle East as a reaction above all to the introduction by the Soviet Union of a limited military contingent in Afghanistan on the request of the Afghan Government in connection with the external threat to the republic, and on the basis of the USSR-Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Friendship, Good Neighborly and Cooperation Treaty concluded in December 1978, and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Yet the stiffened U.S. policy in the Middle and Near East and open reliance on increased American military presence in the area preceded not only the latest events in Afghanistan, but the seizing of the American hostages in the Iranian capital, which was presented as the initial impetus to concentrate a big group of American Navy ships in the Persian Gulf.

The increased militaristic emphasis in American Near and Middle Eastern policy is essentially based on the ever more obvious loss of positions by

American imperialism in that vast area and, above all, its loss of unhindered access to a possibility to exploit uncontrolledly local raw material resources, petroleum above all.

We know that an energy crisis broke out in the capitalist world in 1973-1974. It proved that the monopolies in the United States and the other capitalist countries were no longer able to dictate petroleum prices under the conditions of a continuing dependence of the United States, Japan, and Western Europe on oil imports mainly from the Arab countries and Iran. The development of the circumstances in that area clashed ever more strongly with the neocolonialist methods with which the "capitalist center" procured its petroleum. Uniting in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), nationalizing petroleum concessions, and diversifying in a number of cases the sources of technical aid by expanding their cooperation with the socialist countries, the petroleum producing countries converted from an object of imperialist petroleum policy into a force actively countering it, including on the matter of price setting.

Following the outbreak of the energy crisis, in 1974 President Nixon proclaimed his "independence" program, which called for the United States to become self-supporting in energy and raw materials by raising petroleum drilling in the country to 800 million tons per year, conserve fuel and energy resources, and develop nuclear power, the coal industry, and other alternative energy sources. The program was proclaimed in the interest of a monopoly capital group using petroleum and other types of energy raw materials. Meanwhile, the American petroleum industry which continued to earn huge profits by extracting oil abroad and processing and marketing petroleum products at inflated prices, considered the "independence" program as a blow against their interests.

The petroleum companies launched a struggle aimed at neutralizing the efforts of those who wanted a significant change in the structure of the balance of U.S. energy production and consumption. This was reflected in the development of subsequent energy programs, five of which were adopted. Whereas the first one--the Nixon program--promised to secure the United States total energy independence by 1985, President Ford merely called for reducing by that time petroleum imports by one-half compared with the level which could have been reached had the existing trend continued. As to President Carter, he pledged in his three energy programs to reduce the average annual growth rates of fuel and energy consumption by less than two percent. At the Tokyo conference of "the seven"--in June 1979--he promised not to increase liquid fuel imports compared with the current level.

However, the United States was unable to reduce the share of domestic consumption of petroleum and natural gas, which reached 75 percent in 1979. Its dependence on petroleum imports was not reduced. Furthermore, the share of imported petroleum and petroleum products rose from 36 percent in 1973 to nearly 50 percent in 1979. The United States was unable to diversify its foreign sources of petroleum and natural gas: 50 percent of American petroleum imports come from the Near and Middle East.

At the same time, the inconsistency of the attempts of the United States to restore neocolonialist control over the dynamics of petroleum and natural gas prices became apparent. At the beginning of the energy crisis the predominating view in the country was that the sharp increase in petroleum prices in 1973-1974 was of a limited nature and that such a trend could be contained, and possibly even turned back. These forecasts proved to be totally groundless. From 1973 to the beginning of 1980 petroleum prices rose by a factor of over nine.

Therefore, the U.S. forecast at the beginning of the energy crisis notwithstanding (this fully applies to its NATO and Japanese allies), at the beginning of the 1980's and, obviously, in the entire decade to follow, they will continue to be dependent on petroleum imports, mainly from the Near and Middle East.* This "petroleum situation" coincided with the further complication of circumstances in the Near and Middle East and the upsurge of the struggle of national liberation forces. In an effort to change the situation on the petroleum market in a suitable direction, the Washington leadership, immediately following the outbreak of the energy crisis, relied on a show of force against the "mutinied" petroleum producing countries. As early as the eve of 1975 H. Kissinger, then U.S. secretary of state, proclaimed the possibility of American armed intervention should a "threatening situation" to the "free world" arise in terms of petroleum supplies.

The "Carter doctrine," which proclaimed the area of the Persian Gulf a sphere of American "vital interests," was the logical extension of the bankrupt policy of threats and pressure on petroleum producing countries and the aspiration to restore imperialist control over the Persian Gulf area where 60 percent of the proven petroleum reserves of the nonsocialist world are concentrated.

Z. Brezezinski, presidential assistant for national security affairs, hastened to provide a "geopolitical support" to the new doctrine. In addition to the two "strategic zones" (Western Europe and the Far East) he suggested the creation of a third, extending to the Middle East and Southwest Asia. This idea is already gaining flesh through the broadened network of American military bases in the basin of the Indian Ocean, the

*This does not mean that the American economy is really threatened, for it has adapted to the increase in petroleum prices compared with 1973. Equally erroneous is the thesis promoted by neocolonialist propaganda that higher petroleum prices are the prime reason for the unparalleled growth of inflation in the capitalist world. According to many Western economists higher petroleum prices account for no more than 1-1.5 percent of the 10 percent or higher average annual inflation growth.

concentration of naval and air forces in the area, and preparations for new aggressive actions against Iran and other countries unwilling to surrender further the sovereign rights to the benefit of the neocolonizers.

II

In the admission of a number of American researchers the overthrow of the monarchic system in Iran had a direct impact on foreign political planning and on of the foreign-policy decision-making process in Washington. The United States was heavily relying on Iran as its strong and firm ally. The American military relied on Iran to perform "police function" (such as, for example, suppressing the liberation movement in Oman) and "guard duties" (protecting the petroleum sea lanes). It relied on the shah's active counterrevolutionary intervention should a progressive coup d'etat or simply progressive changes take place in any country on the Arab peninsula. The United States relied on the use of the Iranian army, equipped with the latest armaments, should a "situation X" arise, as it was described, involving the Soviet Union. The possibility was not excluded of using the tremendous arsenal of arms stockpiled in Iran by the American armed forces themselves "in case of need" (why move weapons over thousands and thousands of miles under emergency circumstances!). The United States not simply planned but was already using Iranian territory in setting up "observation posts" on the Soviet Union.

However, matters did not stop even there. Washington, particularly in the period of the preparations of the separate Egyptian-Israeli deal, relied on the shah as a force capable of "bringing together" Egypt with Israel, considering the Egyptian-Iranian-Israeli combination as the outline of its new military-strategic support in the Middle East, and as a new military-political alliance under the aegis of the United States.

Following the shah's overthrow, voices were heard in Washington calling for open armed intervention in Iran. The conclusion may be drawn that the firm warning against it voiced by the Soviet Union played an important role in the American Administration's abandonment of the implementation of these plans. However, the generally increased toughness of the American military-political course toward the entire area went on. Under the slogan of "prevent a repetition of the Iranian variant" in other countries in the area "with governments friendly to the United States," Washington began openly to proclaim its readiness to engage even in open military intervention with a view to the preservation of the status quo.

Various alternatives of a "hypothetical situation" in the area of the Persian Gulf, threatening the "vital interests" of the United States, began to be whipped up in the American press. In the spring of 1979 U.S. Secretary of Defense Brown deemed it possible to speak no longer of a "hypothetical" but of a "real and serious threat" (!!) to petroleum deliveries to the United States and its allies, and the need "to be prepared especially to deal with it." Citing these words of the secretary of defense, in its

7 May 1979 issue the periodical FORTUNE wrote that the danger "may arise in a number of ways and with amazing suddenness. A power seizure by the rebels in Oman would endanger the 'neck' of the Persian Gulf--a 19-mile-wide passage in the Straits of Hormuz through which the tankers reach the Indian Ocean. Terrorist raids on poorly protected oil fields and on distribution systems in Saudi Arabia could also stop the flow of oil. A conflict between Iraq, on the one hand, and Kuwait or Saudi Arabia, on the other, caused by old territorial disputes is yet another real threat." Both Brown and Brzezinski have recently led it to be understood that the United States would take measures, including the use of armed force, to protect its interests in Saudi Arabia.

In 1979 the Library of Congress in Washington published a report which depicted far more clearly and considerably more realistically "situations" in the Middle East in which the United States might use arms. The first was that the petroleum producing countries "could request U.S. aid should they be threatened with the loss of resources as a result of internal disorders or attacks by a hostile country." The second situation presumed armed American intervention "should an embargo be imposed or should chaos break out in the United States or other areas of the industrial world as a result of an arbitrary price increase." It is entirely clear that it was a question of the open return by the United States to the use of direct instruments of colonialist policy and the rebirth of the so-called "gun boat diplomacy."

The United States did not limit itself to proclaiming ahead of time the "fanning out" of a situation requiring intervention. It began to resort to an open display of military strength precisely at a time when no necessity could or did exist to do so, even from the viewpoint of the already named "pretext situations." Thus when after the military clashes between the Yemen Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in the winter of 1979, representatives of the two countries met at the conference table and already agreed on making peace, the American aircraft carrier "Constellation" with several other ships were urgently sent to the Arabian Sea. At the same time an American fighter squadron of F-15's visited Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Morocco. The shipping by air to North Yemen of modern armaments, totaling \$500 million, was planned on a superemergency basis.

The implementation of the establishment of special landing forces by the United States, a "fast reaction corps," approved by the White House two years previously, was undertaken in the middle of 1979. Furthermore, a plan for the creation of a fifth U.S. fleet was announced, to be based permanently in the Indian Ocean. Profiting from the events in Iran and, particularly, the holding of American hostages, the Pentagon concentrated major naval forces in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

Along with a military-political pressure on Iran (particularly manifested following the December 1979 events in Afghanistan) the United States began to make advances to the Muslim countries. The purpose was to conceal the

hegemonistic course of the United States, dull the anti-Americanism in the policy of the Islamic countries, and give an anticommunist direction to the contemporary Islamic movement, which as a result of the Iranian events had acquired a substantial anti-American impulse. Characteristically, that same American press which, only several months before, had been cursing the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Imam Khomeini and those around him, started publishing data falsifying the very close relationship which had existed between the U.S. Administration and the shah. THE WASHINGTON POST even claimed that the Pentagon had "sympathized" with the forces which had overthrown the bloody Iranian autocrat!

Through its agents, Washington promoted the holding of an Islamic conference in Pakistan with a view to using it to a maximum extent against revolutionary Afghanistan. Another purpose of the conference was to draw the attention of the Islamic world away from the Egyptian-Israeli conspiracy based on a White House scenario. Obviously, it was no accident that the holding of the conference itself coincided with the "normalizing" of relations between Egypt and Israel under circumstances in which the latter is continuing to occupy Arab lands on the West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza and the Golan Heights, and is refusing to acknowledge the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

As became clear later, this temporary "flirtation" of the United States with the Islamic countries had another purpose as well. It was to conceal preparations for an American armed sortie against Iran, mounted in April. Whatever motivations it had, and however embellished it was, this action by the American military is a grossest possible violation of the sovereignty of an independent country and could be characterized in all aspects as naked aggression against Iran. No one should be misled by the insistence that the alleged reason for the invasion was the desire of the United States to free the American hostages in Tehran: It is precisely as a result of the actions of the Washington Administration that the lives of the lives of the hostages could have been most seriously endangered. Furthermore, President Carter's initiative (he publicly assumed responsibility for the armed invasion of Iran) shocked America's European allies, who were able to see with their own eyes the unexpected and dangerous consequences to which the aggressive American course in the Middle and Near East could lead.

Following the most crushing defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam, many people in the United States believed that this lesson would restrain for some time the U.S. Administration from direct use of its armed forces abroad. Judging by everything, however, American policy has returned to "forceful means."

III

The aspiration of the United States to shift its policy to the tracks of a "power struggle" under the conditions of a growing American military

presence in the Near and Middle East was also manifested in the approaches of the Carter Administration to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was marked by a hardening as early as the end of 1977 and beginning of 1978.

As we know, following Carter's election to the presidency, he made a number of official statements on the desirability of resuming the work of the Geneva conference on Middle East disarmament. Soviet diplomacy supported this realistic intention. On 2 October 1977 a joint Soviet-American Middle East declaration was issued proclaiming the need for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle Eastern problem through the solution of key problems such as the "withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied during the 1967 conflict, the Palestinian problem, including the honoring of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, termination of the state of war, and establishment of normal peaceful relations on the basis of a reciprocal recognition of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence."

As indicated by subsequent events, the American Administration had no intention to implement this agreement. Soon after the publication of the joint Soviet-American communique, in November 1977 President Sadat made his "sensational" trip to Jerusalem, assuming the "right," regardless of the opinion and declarations of the leaders of the other Arab countries and forces confronting Israel, to speak on behalf of the entire "Arab side" on the Middle Eastern conflict. The initiated bilateral Egyptian-Israeli talks were directly used as an attempt to divide the Arab world and insure the failure the Geneva peace conference.

The United States exerted a most direct and stimulating influence on Sadat's preparations for his trip to Jerusalem. In 1978 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt issued a "white paper on the peace initiative undertaken by President Anwar al Sadat (1971-1977)." One of the documents it included was a "Declaration of the Official Egyptian Representative on the Visit of President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat to Jerusalem, on 19 November 1977." The declaration stated the following: "The visit will begin Saturday evening, 19 November 1977, in accordance with the message which he (Sadat) received from President Carter and which included the invitation of the Israeli Government."

In September 1978, as a result of the United States' rejection of the idea of joint Soviet-American actions aimed at reaching a just and durable peace in the Middle East, the American-Israeli-Egyptian Camp David summit meeting was held. Whereas until then Sadat had demonstratively rejected the intention to conclude a separate treaty, now all the cards of American diplomacy and of the Egyptian president, involved in its game, were turned face up. Following the Camp David agreement, a separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty was signed on 26 March 1979 in Washington. The treaty, which failed to meet the legitimate demands of the Arab participants in conflict, is now being used by Egypt, Israel and the United States in pursuit of a number of self-seeking objectives.

At a cost Sadat's betrayal of overall Arab interests, Egypt regained a considerable portion of the Sinai Peninsula. The United States promised Egypt loans totaling \$10-15 billion over the next five years. However, considering the difficult situation of the Egyptian economy and Egypt's isolation in the Arab world, it is possible to ascertain that Sadat merely achieved a number of circumstantial objectives without resolving the basic domestic economic and political problems facing the country.

To Israel the treaty with Egypt meant a breach in the "psychological barrier" which separated it from the Arab world. At the same time, the treaty factually legalized the Israeli presence on the West Bank of the Jordan and in Gaza, insuring the possibility for the further colonizing of these areas. In exchange for second-rate "concessions" (partial restoration of the Sinai to Egypt) Israel was granted an increase in the amount of U.S. economic and military aid. In addition to deliveries of new offensive weapons, the Carter Administration pledged to finance the construction of two airbases in the Negev Desert, additionally granting Israel \$3 billion for such purposes.

The United States, having achieved Egypt's total exclusion from the ranks of the Arab countries opposing Israel, expanded its possibility to struggle against the Arab national-liberation movement. The treaty, concluded on the basis of Israeli-American conditions, contributed to the strengthening of Israel as a bridgehead of imperialism in the Middle East.

Following the conclusion of the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty, Washington intensified its activities in the creation of new military-political conditions favoring the broadening of its military presence in the area. This line was manifested with particular clarity against the background of the American pressure on Iran. In the course of the trip to the United States by Israeli minister of defense talks were held including the problem of the use by the American military of Israeli bases for anti-Iran purposes. At the beginning of January 1980 American military aircraft buzzed over bases on Egyptian territory. American airplanes participating in the diversionary operation on Iranian territory, last April, took off from one such base--the Cairo-West Air Port. The United States opened talks on opening U.S. military bases on Oman and Somali territories, precisely in countries which had supported the separate Egyptian-Israeli deal. It became clear that Washington was planning the creation of an entire system of military-political pressures and intervention threats in the Near and Middle East, using the unprincipled Israeli-Egyptian alliance.

It is with the help of this alliance that the United States is trying to freeze the Middle Eastern situation under conditions marked by a continued Israeli policy of annexation of Arab lands seized in 1967. This is of particular importance to the American Administration in a year of presidential elections, for it allows to assume an "expectant position" which, all things considered, favor Israeli expansion.

The result of Israel's obvious hardening of its positions on the problem of occupied Arab territories and of Palestine, related to the purposeful U.S. line, has been a new dangerous increase in the tension of the area. This is convincingly confirmed by the Lebanese events. Confident of the safety of its "Egyptian flank," Israel undertook to escalate military operations against the Palestinians in Lebanon. Blocking through the Camp David deal and, later, the treaty with Sadat, the participation of the PLO in a Middle East settlement, Tel Aviv undertook parallel systematic actions aimed at undermining Palestinian resistance in Lebanon with the help of Lebanese right-wing Christian separatists. New elements appeared in Israel's policy toward Lebanon: A considerably greater reliance on an alliance with domestic Lebanese reaction, this time involving not only the help of right-wing Christian forces in their separatist activities, but open cooperation with them in the practical coordination of actions and a "freer" and more frequent use of Israeli armed forces on Lebanese territory in the struggle against the Palestinian resistance movement.

Yet some errors in U.S. Middle Eastern policy became apparent. They included, above all, Washington's obvious underestimation of the negative reaction of the Arab world to the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. At their Baghdad (November 1978 and March 1979) and Tunis (1979) summit meetings the leaders of the Arab countries spoke out against the separate treaty. The success of these summit meetings was determined also by the fact that they led to the formulation of a system of economic and political practical measures aimed against Sadat's separatist course. Egypt's isolation from the Arab world became total.

Saudi Arabia believed by many people in the United States, frequently not without reason, to be a bulwark of American policy in the area, assumed a negative position to the Egyptian-Israeli deal. Jordan staunchly resisted the pressure applied to it. In the face of the dangerous conspiracy the PLO strengthened its unity. The political forms of its activities are assuming ever greater significance.

The contradictions between the United States and its Western European allies and Japan were clearly aggravated on the subject of a political settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict. Western Europe is becoming ever more displeased with Washington's one-sided policy which ushered a Middle Eastern settlement into a dead end, extensively used by Israel and other forces destabilizing the circumstances in the area. Meanwhile, guided not in the least by electoral campaign considerations, the Carter Administration is opposing any Western European initiative which in its opinion could lead to a "clash" between the United States and Israel. Addressing the Washington Press Club on 9 June, U.S. Secretary of State E. Muskie reiterated that Washington would tolerate no initiatives which would conflict with the "Camp David process" and would contemplate the recognition of the PLO. This American position became a target of serious criticism in the Western European capitals.

The Soviet Union holds a clear position toward the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, considering it a clearly anti-Arab conspiracy as incapable of leading to a firm and stable peace in the Middle East.

The consistent line taken by the Soviet Union for a comprehensive, all-embracing settlement of the Middle Eastern problem was reasserted in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the luncheon in honor 'A. N. Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and prime minister of the republic. "The question arises," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "of is it not time to put an end to the dragged-out intrigues of an anti-Arab policy of separate deals? Is it not time to turn the matter of a Middle Eastern settlement back to the only correct channel --that of the collective efforts of all interested countries including, naturally, the PLO? The development of events will depend on the answers to these questions."

It is entirely obvious that only a general settlement, taking into consideration the interests of all nations, which would mean the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to create their own state, and insuring the independent and safe existence of all the direct participants in the conflict, could take the Middle East out of the labyrinth of intrigues and explosions which could have a destabilizing influence not only on the area but on the entire system of international relations.

IV

The intensified militaristic aspect of the United States in international practices has also been reflected and grounded in the American foreign policy concepts of the end of the 1970's. The U.S. foreign political strategy proved to be largely related to the very specific concept of factors which destabilize international circumstances, dominating the White House. They include the victory of the revolutions in Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan, and the victory of the anti-shah movement in Iran.

At the same time, a "complex" is developing within American foreign policy described, in its time, as the "domino theory": It is claimed that it would suffice for the United States to "lose" in one country in order for a pro-American regime to be defeated in another.

However, it is precisely actions aimed at the restoration of the old order in countries whose nations are overthrowing reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes, that are sharply destabilizing the circumstances and creating dangerous international conflicts. Recently American foreign policy practice provides precisely such examples.

The concept of "linkage," in the interests of the United States within a single entity of a variety of problems and trends in international life,

which appeared in the mid-1970's, has assumed a specific position in this practice. Speculating, in particular, on the aspiration of the Soviet Union to limit the arms race and ascribe an irreversible nature to the detente process, the United States tried to exert pressure on the USSR with a view to making it abandon the positions which hinder the development of world events according to American "scenarios." Following the defeat of the reaction in Angola, for example, Washington interrupted the American-Soviet talks on limiting military activities in the area of the Indian Ocean, stating that they could be resumed only should the "interference" of the USSR and Cuba in Africa come to an end, i.e., should the socialist countries refuse to provide the necessary support to the victims of aggression on the part of forces backed by imperialism.

The concepts of the "crisis arc" or "instability arc," originated by that same Z. Brzezinski, were a distinct reflection of U.S. strategic objectives which have taken a course of abandoning detente. This "theory" was based on a number of his conclusions: First, the assessment of objective historical changes in various countries as allegedly disturbing stability and existing "balance." Second, the interpretation of all these changes as a result of the "game played by the USSR" with a view to harming U.S. interests.

At the same time, the "crisis arc" concept was not a passive ascertaining of misinterpreted objective changes in the world. It became a factor energizing the military element in American policy in the area adjacent to the borders of the Soviet Union. It is on this level that we should assess both a return to the odious concept expressed by Dulles, who believed that progressive changes in Asia, Africa and Latin America create a certain "vacuum" which, under the conditions of the confrontation between the two systems should be actively filled by American influence. In its time, this concept was the "theoretical substantiation" for a number of aggressive actions mounted by U.S. imperialism.

Discussing Brzezinski's contribution to such actions, in his 30 May 1978 press statement, Senator G. McGovern emphasized that "obviously, he is brimming with the resolve to pursue a foreign political course oriented toward crisis and confrontation. . . . There is a sufficient number of dangers in the world to eliminate the need for the fabrication of new ones existing only in the mind of their author." The theory of the "crisis arc" became the foundation of the military energizing of the United States, above all in the area of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The military doctrine supported by Defense Secretary Brown became the "conceptual" reflection of this trend. According to it, the United States must be ready, at any given moment, to engage in a "half-way" war. In other words, without weakening its possibilities in a global confrontation ("total" war in Europe), it should have special military units which could successfully operate in different theaters in the struggle against national anti-imperialist forces ("half war" in the so-called "third world").

American strategic thinking, sustained in the cold war spirit, was further developed in the January "State of the Union" message delivered to the Congress by President Carter. It openly stated the U.S. claim for a "leading role" in the world, and its proclaimed approach to world affairs, according to which it would determine itself the area of its "vital interests" without any consultation even with its allies and would assume the "right" to defend such "interests" through the open use of military force. The proclamation of such a hegemonistic and extremist approach to international affairs as a norm of behavior for the United States, naturally, creates a real threat to the security of the nations.

The hardening of the U.S. foreign policy course by the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's is reflected in the very nature of the evolution of American military-political doctrines. Until the mid-1950's, direct actions on the part of the USSR were considered grounds for American intervention in the Middle East. The "Eisenhower Doctrine" raised another reason--"threat" to countries of one or another area on the part of "countries influenced by international communism." Today, to an ever greater extent, things are being given their proper names: Internal changes in one or another country noncoincidental with U.S. "interests" are grounds for intervention.

At the beginning of the 1980's international relations entered a grave period of development triggered by imperialist policy and, above all, by the aggressive U.S. circles. However, the future belongs not to the forces which are rising for the sake of narrowly selfish interests the tremendous achievements gained by all mankind along the difficult path of detente in the 1970's. Answering the questions of PRAVDA's correspondent, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated that, "We look at the future with optimism. This optimism is justified. We understand that the deliberate aggravation of international circumstances caused by American imperialism expresses its discontent with the strengthening of the socialist positions, the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, and the strengthening of force favoring detente and peace. We know that the will of the peoples opened a way through all obstacles to the positive trend in world affairs properly covered by the word 'detente'. The roots of this policy are deep. It is supported by powerful forces and this policy has all the chances to remain the leading in relations among countries."

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CSO: 1802

MARX' AND ENGELS' RUSSIAN BOOKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 116-120

[Review by Doctor of Historical Science K. Seleznev of the book "Russkiye Knigi v Bibliotekakh K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa" [Russian Books in the K. Marx' and F. Engels' Libraries], Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 277 pages with illustrations]

[Text] The publication of this book is a happy event for the students of Marxist and domestic history. The book depicts and reconstructs the outlines of the private libraries of K. Marx and F. Engels, which were not preserved in their entirety, including their Russian section.

Marxism could not have been created without reliance on worldwide literature. Naturally, Marx and Engels not only paid deep attention to the development of sociopolitical thinking and social movements in Russia, or predicted the prospects of the future people's revolution in our country and farsightedly depicted its outstanding international significance, but undertook the study of the then relatively unknown Russian language: Engels began at the end of 1850, while Marx began in 1869. Touching confirmations of their studies have been retained (cited in the book, see pp 211, 245-246, and 248)--Marx' big notebook and sheets with exercises in Russian grammar (prepositions and verb forms), a sheet with Engels' notes on Russian grammar and his copy of three verses of the first chapter of A.S. Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin" (with their translation into German), copies (with translations) of Pushkin's poem "Copper Horseman" and the A. S. Griboyedov comedy "Mad with Sorrow".

The Russian language, Engels wrote, "deserves comprehensive study for its own sake, as one of the strongest and richest among the living languages and because of its literature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 18, p 526; all subsequent references to this edition will be indicated only by volume and page numbers). Noting the attractive aspects of the Russian language, he wrote to V. I. Zasluch: "How beautiful the Russian language is! It has all the advantages of German without the latter's horrible coarseness" (Vol 36, p 106).

Engels loved to use Russian expressions and words. In one of his letters to Laura, Marx' daughter, wishing to praise her, he paid her the Russian compliment of "molodets," adding that he was unaware of the existence of a feminine gender for this adjective in the Russian language (see Vol 37, p 259). He used Russian words in letters to his Russian friends. Thus he signed one of his letters to P. L. Lavrov, after "F. Engels," with a name and patronymic he had invented: "Fedor Fedorych" (see Vol 36, p 244).

The study of the Russian language was needed by Marx and Engels in order to study not only the treasuries of Russian poetry and prose. They were even more interested in the works of the Russian revolutionary democrats such as N. G. Chernyshevskiy, N. A. Dobrolyubov and M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin. In the epilog to the second edition of "Das Kapital," Marx characterized Chernyshevskiy as a "great Russian scientist and critic" (Vol 23, p 18), writing about Dobrolyubov that, "As a writer I equate him to Lessing and Diderot" (Vol 33, p 266).

The most profound reason which encouraged Marx to learn the Russian language and literature was related to his scientific work. Having set himself the task of discovering the laws governing social development, operating "with iron necessity," he considered that "each nation could and should learn from others" (Vol 23, pp 6, 10). In the 1894 preface to the third volume of "Das Kapital," Engels pointed out that Marx intended to complete the sixth section on land rent (chapters 37-47) for which precise reason, for a number of years, he studied in their original Russian statistical manuals and other publications, making extracts from them for the sake of "using them in the revision of this section" (Vol 25, pt I, p 10).

Unfortunately, Marx was unable to carry out this plan, even though he was able to collect and study a number of sources needed for this purpose together with specialized publications in the Russian language. Scientific interest and, particularly, further work on "Das Kapital," which encouraged his intensive study of Russian socioeconomic and political development were combined in him and, naturally, in Engels, with the aspiration to determine the revolutionary potential of the biggest country in Europe, and of a great people oppressed by two forms of exploitation: still-existing serfdom and a rapidly developing capitalist exploitation. As Marx and Engels wrote in 1882, in the preface to the second Russian edition of the "Communist Party Manifesto," Russia represented the "leading detachment of the revolutionary movement in Europe" (Vol 19, p 305). They hoped that the Russian revolution "will be a signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, for they supplement each other" (ibid).

Consequently, at the age of 52, Marx undertook most energetically the study of the Russian language. It is curious to note that people close to him, concerned by the fact that this attraction could hold the publication of subsequent volumes of "Das Kapital" for a number of years, tried to talk him into abandoning the study. However, the "Maur" was inflexible. M. M. Kovalevskiy, a Russian historian and jurist, who maintained friendly

contacts with Marx, recalled Genny, Marx' wife, "threatened him" unless he would stop, with his book shipments, to "prevent her husband from reaching a long expected completion" ("Vospominaniya o Markse i Engel'se" [Recollections about Marx and Engels], Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1956, p 310). Even Engels, according to P. Lafarg, somehow jokingly told Marx, "I would gladly burn the Russian publications on the situation of agriculture which, for a number of years have been preventing you from completing 'Das Kapital!'" (ibid, p 85). Naturally, he perfectly realized the entire significance of the new extensive section of the work planned by Marx. . . .

The appearance of a Russian section in Marx' private library may be traced, probably, to the very beginning of the 1870's. It was expanded thanks to new shipments received by Marx from his Russian friends, particularly N. F. Daniyel'son, N. I. Utin, P. L. Lavrov, G. A. Lopatin, M. M. Kovalevskiy, N. I. Ziber, and many others. Engels as well received Russian books from them and from members of the "Liberation of Labor" group. They were, above all, translations into Russian of the works of Marx and Engels themselves. As we know, the number of such books in their lifetime was far bigger than in any other language.

Marx was quite proud of the Russian section of his library. In the final year of his life he drew a catalog of these books (he had never cataloged books in any other language), entitling it in his mixed German-English language, to which he occasionally resorted, "Russische in My Bookstall." In the book under review the word "bookstall" is translated as "library" (see p 17). An English dictionary gives it as a "book stall," or "pile," i.e., a place where used books are traded (possibly Marx hinted at the abundant number of second-hand books he owned. The list included over 150 titles and it is the most valuable and most reliable source, even though unquestionably it is far from complete. This document is published in full in the book under review, accounting for its first section (pp 1-22).

After Marx' death, Engels and Eleonora, Marx' younger daughter, took care of his library. Engels was faced with completing the preparations for the printing of volumes two, three and four of "Das Kapital." For this reason, he decided to keep the Russian books from which Marx had made extracts for these volumes and which could have become necessary in this work, leaving all other books at the disposal of P. L. Lavrov, "as the acknowledge representative of the Russian revolutionary emigres" and as Marx' old friend, so that they might become the nucleus for the creation of a "library of the Russian revolutionary emigres" (see Vol 36, p 83). However, Lavrov was unable to organize the library as conceived by Engels.

When Engels' health worsened, he bequeathed his entire library (including the books inherited from Marx) to the German Social Democratic Party, which was then, essentially, still standing on the grounds of the ideas of scientific socialism (see Vol 39, p 430). Insisting that the entire library be preserved in its entirety, he wrote: ". . . It would be a pity to break it up again" (ibid, p 265). Engels sent only a small part of the books to

Laura, Marx' daughter (and to her husband Lafarg), to his friend Sam Moore, who was working on a translation of "Das Kapital," and to the London Communist Education Society of German Workers (see Vol 36, p 90).

Following Engels' death, in October 1895, the board of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, in Berlin, received 27 cases of books from Marx' and Engels' libraries. However, it handled this priceless treasury quite inadequately. Not even a list of these books was made. Included in the party library, they were issued to the readers freely. As a result, some books were lost and some disappeared without a trace.

In 1923 personnel of the Marx and Engels Institute in Moscow began work on tracing the books (and documents) of K. Marx and F. Engels in the library of the SDPG board. They began by drafting a list, even though quite incomplete, covering 1,414 volumes. In 1926, P. Ginzburg published in a collection of materials of the "Liberation of Labor" group, entitled "Marx' and Engels' Russian Library," reviewing one of its sections totaling 22 books. In 1929, volume four of the "K. Marx and F. Engels Archives," published by the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, carried an article by B. Nikilayevskiy entitled "Russian Books in the Libraries of K. Marx and F. Engels (Materials for the Study of Their Attitude Toward Russia)." It contained a description of 209 books, pamphlets, copies and periodicals in Russian, belonging to Marx and Engels. The significance of this work is particularly great, bearing in mind the only a few years later fascists came to power in Germany. They tried not only to suppress the Marxist movement with particular animosity, but to destroy Marxist literature. The SDPG library was plundered. Its stock was placed at the disposal of the Prussian State Library, the Nazi Ministry of Internal Affairs and the library of an institute created by the fascists for the study of so-called "problems of the state."

The Russian section of Marx' and Engels' library particularly suffered in this case after having suffered a number of heavy blows. The point is that in 1902 the Russian books belonging to Marx and Engels, kept by Lavrov, fell, after his death, into the hands of the S.R. and became part of the Lavrov-Gotsz library in Paris, moved in the 1920's to Prague and, in 1938, to Amsterdam, falling into the hands of the International Institute for Social History (IISH). Following the Hitlerite occupation of the Netherlands, they were taken by Rosenberg, the fascist "führer." It was only after the war, after many tribulations, that the remainder of the Russian section of Marx' and Engels' private were returned to the IISH, while some fell into private hands. . . .

The main section of the book (pp 23-206) is the "Description of Russian Books in K. Marx' and F. Engels' Libraries," drafted by the compilers of the book under review. It is the result of a big painstaking labor and includes 364 titles (or 526 volumes, since a number of them are multiple volume works). Approximately 250 of them have already been found. Each book is described in sufficient detail. The annotations indicate the basis

for the assumption that this particular book was part of Marx' and Engels' library and a reference to where it is cited. If known, the sender of the book is named; information is provided on whether the copy owned by Marx of Engels was an original (and the basis for this assertion) or else a duplicate. The location of the original copy is also mentioned, if known. A book containing remarks and notes made by Marx and Engels is indicated with the pages of the volume in which they may be found.

Let us consider the nature of the 364 works included in this book. They include, above all, 17 editions of the works of Marx and Engels published in Russian (in Russia or abroad) in their lifetime. Eight of them are the works of K. Marx: "Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of the Law"; "Poverty of Philosophy"; "A Word on the Freedom of Trade"; "Hired Labor and Capital"; "Louis Bonaparte's 18th Brumaire"; "Das Kapital" (vols 1 and 2), and the "Manifesto of the International Association of Workers"; six editions of F. Engels' works: "Anti-Dühring"; "Development of Socialism from Utopia into Science"; "Origin of the Family, Private Ownership and the State" (three editions); "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy"; and their joint work "Communist Party Manifesto" (two editions).

This is followed by responses by Russian scientists to "Das Kapital" and other economic works by K. Marx: I. I. Kaufman, N. I. Ziber, Yu. G. Zhukovskiy, N. K. Mikhaylovskiy and S. N. Bulgakov, as well as P. V. Annenkov's recollections on his meetings with K. Marx (with notes by Marx!).

Let us single out in a separate group the works of N. A. Dobrolyubov, N. G. Chernyshevskiy and A. I. Herten, and A. S. Pushkin, A. S. Griboyedov and N. A. Nekrasov, the satirical works and fables by M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin, as well as the librettos of the operas by M. I. Glinka, "Russian and Lyudmila" and "A Life for the Czar" ("Ivan Susanin"). Let us single out among the scientific publications the works by Russian specialists on the general history of foreign countries, as follows: France, V. A. Gol'tsev and N. I. Kareyev; England, N. I. Storozhenko, and I. I. Yanzhul, and many works by M. M. Kovalevskiy on England, Switzerland, Bulgaria and the Northern Caucasus. The Russian translations of the books by P. Lafarg, K. Kautskiy, and others, may be added to these publications.

The heart of the collection of Russian books acquired by Marx was a series of sources and studies on Russian 19th century socioeconomic history. Let us name from the now restored list an extensive series of statistical "annals" and "yearbooks," including the familiar "Voyenno-Statisticheskii Sbornik" [Military-Statistical Collection], collections on statistical information on most Russian guberniyas "Results of Economic Studies of Russia Based on Land Statistical Data," "Works of an Expedition . . ." on the study of grain trade and production in Russia, "Statistics of Land Ownership," "Proceedings of the Commission" . . . revising taxes and fees, "Collection of Materials on Cooperatives in Russia," reports of the State

Bank and its balance sheets covering a number of years, the yearbook of the Ministry of Finance, "Report of the Commission . . ." on the situation in agriculture, and others.

Let us point out in particular a big group of monographs on agriculture and on the overall economic development of Russia (P. N. Skvortsov, A. I. Vasil'chikov, A. N. Engel'gardt, V. G. Trirogov, N. F. Daniyel'son, and P. V. Struve).

In the field of Russian history let us name the works of N. I. Kostomarov, V. I. Semevskiy, A. I. Skrebitskiy, V. I. Sergeyevich, and others. Marx was also interested in the works of Yu. E. Yanson on Russian and Western European statistics, particularly on peasant allotments and payments.

A large group of works deals with studies of rural communities and the situation of the peasantry (I. D. Belyayev and, particularly, V. V. Bervi (N. Flerovskiy), and many others).

Reading Russian literature, Marx carefully noted symptoms of the development in Russia of a domestic market and of capitalism. Noteworthy among the Russian section of his library are works on cooperatives and crafts, grain trade, banks, railroads and their influence on the economy, and the development of industry in the Urals, the Trans-Urals, and the central and southern parts of the country.

Marx and Engels had a very rich collection of Russian revolutionary publications which included the Leipzig edition of secret papers on the Petrashevtsy ("Propaganda Society in 1849"), "Municipality" by S. G. Nechayev, programmatic documents of the People's Will Party and the appeal of its executive committee to Czar Aleksandr III, materials of the trials of the "50" (1877) and "21" (1888), pamphlets by P. F. Alisov, "Statehood and Anarchy" by M. A. Bakunin, the "Revolutionary Municipality of Russian Anarchists" program, the pamphlet by P. N. Tkachev, a series of works by A. I. Herten, virtually all of P. L. Lavrov's writings and, finally, the works of the first Russian Marxist G. V. Plekhanov ("Our Differences" and "Ferdinand Lassale"), Sh. Dikshteyn's "Who Lives on Whom?" and other publications of the "Liberation of Labor" group. Let us add to this part of the Russian section a large number of populist agitation pamphlets such as "Clever Mechanics" by V. Ye. Varzar, "On Truth and Untruth" and others by S. M. Kravchinskiy, and a most valuable collection of revolutionary newspapers and periodicals such as A. I. Herten's and N. P. Ogarev's KOLOKOL, N. G. Chernyshevskiy's and N. A. Dobrolyubov's SOVREMENNİK, P. L. Lavrov's VPERED! NARODNAYA VOLYA! NARODNAYA RASPRAVA, NARODOYE DELO, NACHALO, RABOTNIK, CHERNYY PEREDEL, and SOTSIAL'-DEMOKRAT (collections and literary-political surveys), as well as "Domestic Notes" and "Reading Library."

It would be impossible to enumerate within this review all the books included in the list. Probably no single foreign scientists or, perhaps,

even a scientist within Russia itself had at that time such a rich and purposefully selected collection of Russian sources and publications!

The publication of this work is unquestionably is a major contribution made by its compilers. True, it would be difficult to determine its completeness. The compilers themselves point out that they are aware of the existence of some other books which, however, have not been traced so far. A total of 73 of the "approximately 100" books which Engels sent to Lavrov in 1884 have been found. In any case, at the present time this is the most complete of all available lists.

A remark could be made on the principle chosen by the compilers of listing book and other publication titles alphabetically, either based on the last names of their authors or the first letter of the title. In our view, it would have been more expedient to organize them according the type of publication (i.e., separate sources from publications) and by topic, and within each subsection by date of acquisition by Marx and Engels, or should such dates be unknown, by the year of publication of the works. The compilation has other minor errors. Thus some of the books have not been numbered and a number of books are listed as references "to refer to," even though their titles are printed in the same script, which could mislead the reader. The titles have been reproduced quite carefully; let us note one inaccuracy: The somewhat archaic term of "kingdom," found in one of the 1890 editions, has been replaced with the term "czarism" (p 170).

The third part of the book (pp 209-253) contains a brief description of manuscripts--extracts, notes, summaries and sketches by K. Marx (18 notebooks) and F. Engels (1 notebook) based on Russian sources and works by Russian authors, preserved in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, either as originals or photocopies. A substantial part of these works may be found in the 11th, 12th and 13th volumes of "Arkhiv K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa" [K. Marx and F. Engels Archives] and in some volumes of their works. The book includes a short description of these materials and a number of their photographs. They indicate how profoundly and comprehensively the founders of scientific communism studied available Russian publications and sources. As we know, the publication of existing documents of Marx' manuscript legacy on Russia is an important and responsible task of the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The final part of the work is a historical reference "On the Fate of the Russian Books of K. Marx' and F. Engels' Libraries" (pp 254-264), whose main content is briefly described at the beginning of the book. The book comes with a scientific instrumentarium. It is regrettable, however, that the name index does not provide dates and, above all, fails to give a short description of the authors mentioned. The reader would not find by himself such data easily. Yet without them it would be difficult to determine the principles governing the way Marx and Engels set up the Russian section of their libraries. In addition to the name index a list is provided of references, together with an index of the mentioned periodicals.

A number of photographs illustrate the book, which opens with the photographs of K. Marx and F. Engels on separate pages. The 120 illustrations in the book give the aspect of an album, enriching the work. They include a photograph of the list drawn up by Marx himself "Russian in My Library" (seven sheets), book jackets, many of which include dedications and statements that they were gifts by the authors to K. Marx or F. Engels (or else inscriptions by the donor); the publications contains 44 photographs of dust jackets, 32 photographs of pages from individual books with notes made by Marx or Engels, and 32 photographs of their manuscripts resulting from their studies of Russian sources.

Participating in this carefully edited book were scientific associates of the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism, M. A. Gladyshev (3d section), and B. M. Rudyak (general supervision, 1st and 2d sections, and historical reference). The book's editor is O. K. Senekin.

The old Latin saying states that, "Habent sua fata libelli" [Books have their own fate]. "Like books," Marx wrote, "doctrines also have their fate" (Vol 12, p 28). The fact that as many as possible of the Russian books which belonged to Marx and Engels have been traced has its pattern. Fascism was unable to destroy them. As to scientific communism, it is alive and victoriously marching across the globe.

This work will assume a place of honor on our shelves, together with its predecessors--the collections of documents "K. Marks, F. Engel's i Revolyutsionnaya Rossiya" [K. Marx and F. Engels and Revolutionary Russia], and "Russkiye Sovremenniki o K. Markse i F. Engel'se" [Russian Contemporaries on K. Marx and F. Engels], and the interesting monograph by R. P. Konyusha "Karl Marks i Revolyutsionnaya Rossiya" [Karl Marx and Revolutionary Russia]. Let us hope that Politizdat, which together with the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism is publishing this valuable documentary series, will contribute to its continuation and to the satisfaction of the tremendous interest of the readers in such publications.

5003

CSO: 1802

POWERFUL IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 120-122

[Review by I. Zubkov of the book "KPSS o Sredstvakh Massovoy Informatsii i Propagandy" [The CPSU on Mass Information and Propaganda Media], Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 590 pages]

[Text] The communist upbringing of the working people is an important front in the struggle for the prosperity of the Soviet state and for building a new society. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasizes that the course of the country's economic, sociopolitical and cultural development depends to an ever greater extent on the success of this work. In this case the mass information and propaganda media act as a reliable party combat weapon. Under mature socialist conditions a powerful information-propaganda apparatus, equipped with modern facilities has become an inseparable part of the spiritual life of the people and journalism an important realm of social activity. This was particularly strongly emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at his acceptance speech of the Lenin Prize, a speech which could be considered programmatic for our party journalism.

The party has always paid tremendous attention to the work of the press organs, new agencies, television and radio broadcasting. This is convincingly proved by this collection of documents, which sums the extremely rich experience gained in the political guidance of printing and defines the ways for the further advance of mass propaganda media at the present stage.

Put together, the party documents on such matters help us to understand how systematically the principles of a new type of press were shaped and developed. The study of the party's directives is an excellent school for training and source of knowledge for party, soviet and economic cadres and information-propaganda service personnel. They learn how important it is to creatively use the possibilities of the press, radio and television at each stage of the constructive activities of the Soviet people with a view to upgrading political conscientiousness, promoting the labor initiative of the masses, rallying around the Leninist party and mobilizing them for the solution of ripe problems.

High party-mindedness is a distinguishing characteristic of the press stemming from Lenin's ISKRA, as convincingly shown in the collection. Conceptual and organizational ties with the CPSU, clear ideological direction and purposefulness in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas and scientific communism, systematic reflection of party assessments of events and facts, and prompt and truthful interpretation of problems of domestic and international life are the basic principles governing the activities of Soviet information and propaganda media.

The communist party-mindedness of the press is a higher form of class manifestation, based on the expression of the basic interests of the working class and all working people. It insures a specific political guidance of the printed organs. The collection notes that the press can successfully resolve complex problems, and fulfill its function as collective propagandist, agitator and organizer of the masses only if it closely interacts with party committees and carries out its activities under their management. The essence of the party's leadership consists of the formulation for the benefit of mass information and propaganda media of political stipulations and recommendations and control over their implementation, excluding, naturally, interference in the details of daily editorial work. The party organs are always concerned with strengthening editorial groups with politically mature, knowledgeable and highly skilled cadres, and with the ideological and political upbringing of journalists. They regularly discuss long-term plans and major problems of their activities. A number of CC CPSU decrees have sharply criticized cases of underestimating the significance of the press as an important means for improving all ideological and mass-political work, insuring the guidance of party and economic life, and concentrating the efforts of the working people on the decisive directions of the building of communism.

The party documents emphasize the need to strengthen ties between party committees and the editors of newspapers, periodicals and television and radio, the organization of an efficient coordination of their activities, the comprehensive informing of journalists, and upgrading the level of their political and professional training.

The party guidance of the press is a live and creative matter tolerating no schematism and routine. Following Lenin's traditions, and relying on acquired practical experience and sociological studies, the CC CPSU and the local party organs, attentively taking in consideration the requirements and suggestions of the working people, are constantly improving the ways and means of such guidance. The party highly trusts the press workers, comprehensively encouraging and developing their independence and initiative in the solution of their problems. At all stages of the building of socialism and communism the Soviet press has loyally served the party and the people, has acted together with the party, and has lived with its ideals and actions.

The thorough study and dissemination of progressive experience in economic construction and its political lessons are the most important trend in

press activities. This is pointed out yet once again by the collection's documents. Thus the CC CPSU decree "On the Guidance of Mass Information and Propaganda Media by the Tomskaya Obiast Party Committee" directly states that the efforts of the press, television and radio broadcasting must be focused on the profound interpretation of problems of upgrading work effectiveness and quality at each sector, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, growth of labor productivity, intensification of economy, discovery and utilization of industrial and agricultural reserves, reduction of time and cost of construction of new projects, and increasing the production of consumer goods. The press must sharply react to cases of disorganization and negligence and labor discipline violations. It is important to skillfully combine the development of economic topics with the presentation of social and ideological-moral problems.

In this case it is necessary to bear in mind the educational significance of collective labor, capitalist competition in particular, which, as stated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is an irreplaceable means for the upbringing of the new man, contributing to his political growth and moral advancement." The understanding by the competitors that their work serves the common cause and the interest of the entire Soviet society asserts as a vital norm of their behavior mutual aid in the work, develops a selfless exchange of experience, and determines the healthy psychological climate in the collective. At the same time, the competition spiritually enriches man, helping fully to develop his capabilities and talents.

Progressive experience is a tremendous social gain and considerable reserve for upgrading production effectiveness and the quality of all our work. Many labor collectives, rayons, cities, oblasts, krays and union and autonomous republics were awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee on the basis of the results of the 1979 all-union socialist competition. Their experience must be most extensively covered by the press. It is important to show profoundly, inventively, and substantively the essence of the new and its economic advantages, to point out the ways and means for achieving high results, and to expose shortcomings and omissions. The press must comprehensively contribute to the dissemination of progressive initiatives, promote the highest possible labor productivity, improve production quality and economy of material resources and work time. It must see to it that concern for this become the personal concern of every working person.

Constant ties with the broadest possible masses is the first law governing the Soviet press, television and radio broadcasting. The firmness of such ties is expressed in the number of letters and answers received by the editors, and the publication of worker and rural correspondents. Lenin pointed out that the force of the press lies in the fact that "500 or 5,000 working people, rather than writers follow at the heels of managing or writing literary workers" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 9, p 106).

The democratic and truly popular nature of the Soviet press is convincingly proved by the appearance and development of the movement of workers and village correspondents. The collection traces the tireless attention which the party pays to the strengthening of its ranks. It has always called for listening closely to the feelings and requirements of the masses, directing their efforts in the struggle against stagnation, bureaucracy and various shortcomings.

Each letter sent by a reader, listener or viewer is a live confirmation of the feelings and concerns of the people and a guideline in determining topics, contents and forms of publications and television and radio broadcasts. One of the vivid manifestations of socialist democracy is the active and interested participation of the working people in the discussion of the basic problems of the country's socioeconomic development. In newspapers, periodicals and radio and television broadcasts they express their profound understanding and approval of the party's policy and its plans, and express their views and suggestions on a broad range of economic and cultural problems.

Now, when the development of the network newspapers, periodicals and radio and television centers has been essentially completed in our country, priority is given to upgrading the ideological standards and effectiveness of their work, for the prestige and influence of the printed word or of television and radio broadcasts do not come by themselves. They earned through persistent effort and intensive daily work by editors, principledness and topical nature of problems and content of materials, their operativeness, the variety of genres and the liveliness and clarity of presentation.

The party firmly follows Lenin's tradition, considering criticism and self-criticism a tried method for the correction of shortcomings. The collection draws particular attention to the importance of the struggle against the suppression of criticism, concealment of critical writings, and bureaucratic formal replies. It is emphasized that criticism must be principled, topical and aimed at improving matters.

Strict requirements regarding style and language are a mandatory prerequisite for the effectiveness of a publication. The party documents firmly condemn phrase-mongering, idle talk, dryness and a style inaccessible to the mass reader. It is as though the authors of many publications try to flaunt abstruse words and expressions, abundantly using unfamiliar foreign terms or technical names. The operativeness of materials, particularly in terms of domestic and international information, plays a major role in upgrading the effectiveness of the press. Lenin wrote that, ". . . A newspaper which is behind the news is dead. A newspaper must be ahead of everyone. . . . Monotony and delays are incompatible with newspaper work (Lenin, op cit, Vol 48, pp 71-72). The party principledness of our press has earned it the sincere love and respect of the people. This is confirmed by the steady increase in newspaper and periodical circulation.

Thus the circulation of PRAVDA alone exceeds by a factor of more than three the circulation of the entire prerevolutionary Russian press.

The documents in the collection are imbued with the party's concern for the development of the Soviet multinational press, the further increase in the circulation of newspapers and periodicals, and the development of radio and television broadcasts in the languages of the people in the USSR.

High strictness is displayed in the development of publications for children and young people. The CC CPSU has repeatedly considered the condition of the publication of books, periodicals and newspapers for the growing generation. It has invariably emphasized that publications for children and adolescents must be such as to promote loyalty to the communist ideals, love for the homeland, high moral qualities, and feelings of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism, friendship among the peoples, industriousness and thirst for knowledge.

The collection deals extensively with coverage of the foreign political activities of the Soviet state by mass information and propaganda media. They must comprehensively promote the peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU and the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, depict the successes of real socialism and contribute to strengthening solidarity and increasing cooperation with fraternal parties. They have the duty to expose most firmly the exploiting nature of capitalism, the promoters of the cold war, aggravation of international tension and the arms race. They must promptly and properly rebuff the ideological diversions of imperialism and its accomplices.

The Leninist party focuses its attention on steadily perfecting its management of mass information and propaganda media and intensifying their impact on the country's economic, political and cultural life. The collection documents are of essential importance and practical value in the solution of these problems.

5003
CSO: 1802

AT THE HEAD OF WORLD'S SOCIAL PROGRESS

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 9. Jun 80 pp 123-125

[Review by Prof I. Dudinskiy, doctor of economic sciences, of the book "Glavnaya Revolyutsionnaya Sila Sovremennosti" [The Main Revolutionary Force of Our Time] by L. N. Tolkunov. The world socialist comity: establishment, development and growing influence. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 414 pages]

[Text] L. N. Tolkunov named his book "The Main Revolutionary Force of Our Time," for it is a book dealing with the world socialist comity--an international alliance of a new type, heading contemporary social progress. A major distinguishing feature of this work is the comprehensive approach adopted to the chosen topic. To one or another extent it studies virtually all aspects of the development of the comity--history and contemporary status, domestic life of the fraternal countries and their international policies. Bearing in mind that the overwhelming majority of works reaching the book market deal, essentially, with one or another side or aspect of the topic, this book corrects an obvious shortcoming in studies of an all-embracing nature in which the world socialist comity is considered as a specific socioeconomic and political entity, as a new universal-historical category whose establishment marks a qualitatively new stage in the development of the global revolutionary process.

The books consists of the interconnected study of four ranges of problems: The founding of the world socialist system and, above all, the historical prerequisites and characteristic features of socialist revolutions; experience in the revolutionary reorganization of society and transition to the building of developed socialism; cooperation and reciprocal aid among members of the socialist comity in the most important of social life; and influence of the comity on global developments and the struggle waged by the fraternal countries for peace and international security. Chronologically, the work covers the entire period for the establishment and development of the world socialist comity to our time. This is a fact confirming the impressive scale of the study and the exceptionally extensive amount of data used by the author for purposes of analysis and summation.

The basic stipulations of the Marxist-Leninist classics, and the documents of the communist and workers parties of the fraternal countries and the international communist meetings, reflecting international experience in the building of socialism and communism, represent the methodological skeleton of the work. The author has made particularly extensive use of CPSU documents and of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches describing the universal-historical accomplishments of the Soviet Union and its role in the founding and development of the socialist comity, the strengthening of the unity among fraternal countries, and the steady strengthening of the positions of world socialism.

Running throughout the work are several basic ideas reflecting the essential achievements of the scientific thinking of the fraternal countries. They include above all the concept that socialist revolutions and the building of socialism and communism are based on common laws. They are achieved under the specific conditions of the individual countries which has ascribed specific features to the course of the revolutionary struggle and subsequent peaceful construction. Creative utilization of common laws, the author points out, has measurably enriched global socialist experience and brought about the creation of new forms of political, economic and cultural organization, reflecting both national specifics and the new trends in the socialist movement related to the strengthening and progress of real socialism on earth.

Another essential concept considered in the book is the fact that the world socialist comity is developing toward ever greater integrity and international unity. The levels of socioeconomic development of the individual countries are becoming equalized. The similarity among resolved problems is rising. Their reciprocal relations in all realms of social life are strengthening and becoming ever more durable. This is a dialectical process related to the surmounting of certain objective and subjective contradictions. Unlike capitalism, the author emphasizes, contradictions within the world socialist system are not antagonistic. The scientific class policy of communist and workers parties, insuring a coordination of the basic interests of the socialist countries, is contributing to their successful solution. The contradictions within the world socialist system created by factors not stemming from the nature of the socialist system, as has been the case with China, belong to a different category. Beijing's present policy is profoundly hostile to the requirements governing the development of socialism, both as a social and a global system.

The dialectical-historical-materialistic and internationalist approach to the assessment of the contemporary condition and prospects for the development of the socialist comity insure a scientific depth in defining the nature and reasons for difficulties arising here and the means for their elimination. This has enabled the author to avoid a one-sidedness in the presentation of the material and to depict the real state of things in the comity and its tremendous achievements and complex and as yet unresolved problems.

The main feature of the entire course of the building of socialism in the postwar period is the fact that from the very beginning, it took place in favorable international circumstances, with the existence of a powerful Soviet Union which provided substantial and comprehensive aid to the working class and all working people in the people's democracies in building their new life. This made it possible for many countries to resolve problems of socialist reorganization within a shorter time and with a less intensive class struggle compared with the USSR. This historical trend considerably intensified following the founding and strengthening of the world socialist comity, while most fraternal countries undertook the building of developed socialism. The experience in basic social changes in the members of the comity under the new historical conditions increased the experience acquired by the Soviet people and opened even broader possibilities to countries undertaking the building of a socialist society today.

The work gives the readers a clear idea of the powerful constructive force of the fraternal cooperation among socialist countries, particularly in recent years, when they have undertaken to implement the comprehensive program for socialist economic integration. One of the important results of the cooperation and mutual aid is a gradual rapprochement among levels of economic development of the members of the socialist comity, proving that within a relatively short historical period global socialism is surmounting the age-old division of countries into "developed" and underdeveloped, known to capitalism, and into a handful of "rich" and tremendous number of "poor" and exploited countries.

The author covers quite substantively the matter of political cooperation among members of the socialist comity and, particularly, their joint activities within the Warsaw Pact. The members of this organization, he points out, are united not by circumstantial considerations, but by the vital need for and common way to the preservation of the peace and the single objectives of preventing a new war and insuring the reliable safety of their countries. The pact is based on the class unity and solidarity of communist and workers parties and all working people in the fraternal countries, and the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism. Using extensive factual data the author describes the activities of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members, whose conferences are attended by the heads of ruling communist and workers parties. He describes the tremendous fruitful role of the initiatives formulated at the conferences in strengthening international security and developing cooperation among all countries on earth.

The firm resolve of the Warsaw Pact members to steadfastly continue their struggle for strengthening European security and cooperation, for universal peace, freedom and independence of the peoples, and for a termination of the arms race and for disarmament, was reconfirmed, as we know, in the documents of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee held in Warsaw on 14-15 May. The new constructive initiatives formulated at the meeting, expressing the interests of progressive mankind, have met with the warm support of all people of good will.

The author pays considerable attention to the ideological cooperation among fraternal countries--a topic which has not been properly reflected so far in our publications. Guided by the familiar stipulation of the 25th CPSU Congress to the effect that there is no place for neutrality and compromises in the struggle between the two outlooks, the author describes the tremendous significance of the ideological work done by the communist and workers parties, and the need for constant advance of counterpropaganda means and for further active offensive on bourgeois ideology. This presumes the abandonment of routine, the search for new propaganda arguments and more daring, inventive, flexible and lively methods for its conduct in the press, radio and television.

The USSR and the other fraternal countries have sufficient technical facilities to engage in active offensive propaganda abroad. Thus 76 countries receive TASS materials. TASS information is received by virtually all biggest news agencies in the world, and a number of newspapers and radio and television companies. The APN is fruitfully cooperating with 60 news agencies in the socialist and a number of developing and capitalist countries. The agency publishes its materials in over 50 languages. Annual conferences of heads of news and press agencies have become an important element in coordinating the information-propaganda activities of the socialist countries. In the course of such conferences plans and propaganda actions are coordinated. Experience is shared in accordance with the recommendations of the conferences of secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties on international and ideological problems.

The communist and workers parties of the members of the socialist comity, the book points out, have acquired considerable experience in collective cooperation in the development of the most topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. For example, major works have been jointly written by social scientists, such as "Leninism and the World Revolutionary Process," and "F. Engels and Contemporary Problems of Marxist Philosophy." Joint studies are undertaken on many other social science problems. The international scientific conferences, symposiums and other, now traditional, encounters among scientists of fraternal countries make a major contribution to the elaboration of the theoretical problems of the building of socialism and communism. The scales of such ties are broadening steadily. This raises the question of the finding of more advanced methods for the organization and planning of cooperation in the ideological area.

The ties between the communist and workers parties of the socialist comity and the communist and workers movements throughout the earth are strengthening steadily. The international workers movement finds in the comity not only a living example of real socialism, but political and ideological support in the struggle against monopoly capital and for the unification of its own ranks. The book provides an idea of the struggle waged by the communist parties of the fraternal countries against the ideological and political diversions of world imperialism and Beijing's leadership, which has drawn close to it, aimed at undermining the natural and vitally necessary alliance between the socialist comity and the international communist and workers movements.

On the basis of the study of documents of international communist forums, the author proves that the revolutionary movement today is distinguished by a great variety of specific conditions of the struggle. Relying on international experience and the common laws of social development, the communist and workers parties autonomously determine their strategies and tactics. However, they need solidarity and international support. A mandatory prerequisite for the international-revolutionary policy of any such party is its systematic defense of the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology and a struggle against opportunistic trends manifested in various models of "national communism" and revisionist concepts. It is precisely world socialism, the author emphasizes, that encourages the new level of requirement formulated by the workers movement in the capitalist system and the new possibilities and prospects of this movement.

With the help of extensive data the author describes the role of the USSR and the entire socialist comity in the universal-historical process of the breakdown of the colonial system. He shows the organic unity of the basic interests of the liberated countries and the policy pursued by world socialism. The socialist comity is the most important economic, political and ideological factor in the development of national-liberation revolutions. It is actively contributing to the successful struggle of the peoples of the liberated countries for strengthening political independence and achieving economic autonomy.

The systematic and adamant struggle waged by the socialist comity for a lasting peace, as the main objective of their foreign policy, is the subject of the concluding part of L. N. Tolkunov's book. The author describes how as a result of the radical change in the ratio of global forces in favor of socialism and the coordinated foreign political course of the members of our comity, the imperialist cold war policy failed and the principles of peaceful coexistence were asserted. However, the author does not simplify the situation. He depicts the tension and difficulties of the struggle for peace and international cooperation and exposes the intrigues of imperialism, American above all, and Maoism and their desire to create ever new hotbeds of international tension and turn the world back to the time of open confrontation between countries belonging to opposite social systems.

The author shows the historical significance of the peace program formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses and actively supported by the members of the socialist comity. He points out the outstanding role played by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in strengthening universal peace, preventing a dangerous arms race and converting to disarmament. The Leninist foreign policy has made positive changes in the system of international relations. For the first time in history a real possibility has developed to prevent and, with the further growth of the forces of socialism, in general to exclude global war from the life of society. The author emphasizes that the struggle for peace has become the most important prerequisite in the struggle for socialism and communism, and the most important historical

task of the working class, rallying other population strata. A single stream of mass movements is created, a leading and organizing force represented by the international working class and the socialist comity.

L. N. Tolkunov's monograph, covering a broad range of historical, social, economic, philosophical, ideological and international problems, is a substantial contribution to the comprehensive study of world socialism. We have been given a book written on a high scientific level, from distinct class positions, saturated with extensive factual data, offering a clear idea of the comprehensive leading role of the main revolutionary force of the contemporary world, the socialist comity of fraternal countries.

5003

CSO: 1802

IMPORTANT AND ESSENTIAL TOPIC

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 80 pp 126-128

[Review by L. Golovanov of the book "Bor'ba Idey i Napravleniy v Yazykoznanii Nashego Vremeni" [Struggle of Ideas and Directions in Present-Day Linguistics] by R. A. Budagov, Nauka, Moscow, 1978, 248 pages]

[Text] The book by R. Budagov, USSR Academy of Science corresponding member, might appear to be aimed essentially at specialists. Yet it cannot fail to draw the attention of any educated person. It discusses a science whose subject is language to the full extent of its characteristics and functions--a universal human attribute, an attribute of his very essence, "practical and existing for other people as well, and by that token existing for myself, for my factual consciousness . . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 29).

It would be no exaggeration to say that the phenomenon of language as a means for communication among people and at the same time a tool for the expression of their thoughts and feelings, is within the field of vision of all scientific disciplines studying the spiritual culture of mankind. Ideas on language are directly related to essentially important aspects of knowledge and practice, the vital problems of social progress, and future social changes. It is not astounding, therefore, that linguistics is today one of the arenas of a sharp ideological struggle. The book under review provides a comprehensive analysis of the significance of this struggle in the further development of linguistics. On the basis of dialectical-materialistic methodology, the author critically analyzes concepts characteristic of contemporary linguistics and philology, emphasizing conceptual and theoretical-cognitive principles on which they are based.

The monograph is most closely linked with a preceding work (see R. A. Budagov, "Chto Takoye Razvitiye i Sovershenstvovaniye Yazyka?" [What Does Language Development and Advancement Mean?], Nauka, Moscow, 1977, 284 pages). It comprehensively considers the fact of the progressive qualitative change of the language and provides a Marxist interpretation of its nature. The author convincingly proves that such a change should be considered only within the context of history and the progress of culture.

Without the interpretation of this problem any linguistic changes unwittingly may appear merely as "alternating forms"--a concept which has nothing in common with scientific understanding of the forward development of all human culture, including living human languages. This understanding is also necessary as a warning against voluntaristic reforms in linguistic practice. The author draws attention to the connection between language and thinking and social requirements and the sum total of social accomplishments, exposing the falseness of fashionable infections in linguistics which separate the form of appearance of a language from its essence. The author emphasizes the need to take into consideration the classical traditions of world science and rely on the dialectical-materialistic interpretation of the processes of the active functioning, development and improvement of living languages.

This new work which, essentially, in combination of essays on the main topic of the struggle for a materialistic understanding of the most important attribute of culture, convincingly proves the way the various views on the nature of language are reflected on the interpretation of special linguistic and philological problems.

The clash of opinions on such problems is determined by the noncoincidence of initial theoretical postulates. Quite substantively the author criticizes the aspiration of a number of scientists to consider that the only and real work of linguistics is to consider language "within itself and for its own sake," to provide "pure" functional analysis, be interpreted within its own "existence," removed from "marginal" circumstances, social factors above all, and from "habitual empirical content."

In recent decades structuralism has played a particularly important role among the various ideological currents, frequently quite different from each other, but as a whole opposing dialectical-materialistic methodology. Essentially, as a method for the scientific study of the structure (and functions) of objects any kind, structural (or structural-functional) analysis as such has been long known. Its expediency is unquestionable providing that the importance of this method is not exaggerated and taken beyond the limits of its factual effectiveness. Its absolutizing and separation from the social functions of language leads to an idealistic interpretation of the latter. This is characteristic of the trend usually described as strictly structuralistic. Under the influence of structuralism over the past 20 to 30 years sharp theoretical arguments in world linguistics (including Soviet) as to the nature of language have frequently been conducted as though separately from the national languages of the peoples of the world themselves. This has had as its consequence the development of concept not of language in the strict meaning of the term, but "on the subject of language," and considerations not related to languages themselves but only in connection with (frequently remote) languages. Abstract linguistic "structures" have been studied and formal-logical studies of structure have been undertaken, while relations within the structure have been presented as the only subject of linguistics as a science.

The author expresses the accurate view that linguistics could fruitfully develop only if it firmly stands on the grounds of factually existing languages and if the scientist develops all his views and conclusions on them. The removal of such grounds is fatal to this science.

From the very first pages the reader becomes involved in a polemic on the concepts of accuracy in the social sciences in general and in linguistics in particular. The author justifiably objects to the classification of sciences into "exact and inexact," the more so when this division is used in an effort to emphasize the various degrees of "scientificity" of the non-humanity and the humanity branches of the tree of knowledge; however, the very concept of "exactness" has different meanings in the different sciences ("each science has its own concept of exactness," p 8). This is not reduced in the least to the mathematical formalizing of the studied topic. The ideological argument on this problem is of essential significance, for a concession to formalism is fraught with a real threat to linguistics. The author convincingly proves that exactness is a functional concept; the formal noncontradictoriness of one or another philological structure does not guarantee it in the least a meaningful depth and convincingness. It is stupid for the search for exactness to lead, for example, to the elimination of the most important concept of shade of meaning, which is so greatly essential in the expression of human thoughts and feelings. The study of quantitative correlations in language is possible. However, this is merely of auxiliary significance, generally contributing little to the study of the nature of a qualitatively complex object; artistic accuracy stems from the specifics of the artistic-imagistic reflection of the living world rather than formal-logical abstract elaborations with the "absolute" axiomatics and rigid ("dead") formulation of rules and laws.

The problem of the interrelationship among symbol-meaning-object (phenomenon), which has excited the minds since most ancient times, is dealt with in a separate chapter. According to one viewpoint language is merely a system of symbols. According to another, it is not only that, but has the function of reflecting reality, a function closely linked with the overall historical process of knowledge. The author proves that the latter view not only supplements the former, but offers an essentially different interpretation of the functions of language; it has an entirely different understanding of symbols in their interaction with meanings and objects (phenomena). Language is not simply a system of symbols, but a culture embodied within this system, for which reason it is a great accomplishment of any nation with a national history. The possibilities of the human language are possibilities of an entirely different nature and scale than the possibilities of codes created for one or another technical purpose. The attempt to depict the language as a basic system of symbols, outside of the context of culture, history, politics or any part of the social life of man means grossly to distort the concept of language and impoverish possibilities for its study. The speculative separation of language from thinking and knowledge, turning it into a self-seeking substance, and

ignoring its specific social functions is a gross gnosiological error followed by inevitable practical errors.

The problem of the interaction between the categories of meaning and relations, both within the natural (national) languages and the science dealing with them is complex and requires an interpretation. The author justifiably claims that we should see (and realize) the historical variability of word semantics (determined by the sociohistorical nature of the language itself) without, however, absolutizing the aspect of the relative meaning of all words in any given modern national language. Despite the great variety of "doctrines" one could see that the conflict of views here is related to conflicting philosophical positions.

Could social factors be pitted against inherent (i.e., internally inherent) factors in linguistics? The problem is discussed in an entire chapter under the same title. The fact that language is a social phenomenon may have long been considered a truism. However, we find in publications diametrically opposed interpretations of this concept: To some scientists the "social nature of language" may be identified with external conditions alone. Others consider it identical to language itself in the course of its functioning. The author justifiably emphasizes that social factors do not conflict with specific factors and that they do not simply (externally) interact with each other. What is internally inherent in a language already includes a social aspect or an aspect determined by society. In this case we should bear in mind the dialectics of interaction between two sides, one of which (the social) is, in the final account, dominant. It is only an inadequate methodological standard that motivates the separation of these aspects, drastically opposing and absolutizing the significance of either of them as a permanent opposite. Naturally, in the final account, this view leads to an insoluble logical contradiction which could be resolved only by adopting the positions of dialectical materialism.

The struggle between opposite views on the nature of language is noted also in arguments on the norms of the literary language, i.e., concepts which express rules accepted in sociolinguistic practice concerning the use of words, grammar, pronunciation, and so on. R. Budagov proves that such polemics are related to the practical problems of speech standards. The accurate solution of problems of standards determines the consistency and effectiveness of linguistic recommendations of vital importance.

Recently modeling has become popular in theoretical research. Using specific data of literary languages, the author characterizes the place, extent and significance of this method in linguistics. For example, if we were to study the grammars of the national languages in the world, as the author points out, precisely the study of the interaction between a specific grammatical material and the various types of its summation (various models) that would enable us to understand the nature of the process of forming the structure of tools for live human communication.

The author emphasizes the dependence of grammatical models of natural languages on the real substance of these models. This does not disparage or question in the least the fact that abstract modeling plays a certain role. At the same time, the author points out that a simplified abstract model, allegedly equally acceptable both as a code and as a national language, would be unsubstantial. It would promote the coarseness and would impoverish the possibilities of a factual linguistic phenomenon. The wealth and variety of the grammatical resources of a language, not contained within the narrow frames of model systems, are organic to the spiritual world of the people, who are always trying to express and share their thoughts and feelings more completely, more accurately, more convincingly and more vividly.

Unfortunately, a bend toward formal theorizing has led to a multiplication of linguists who consider language "in general," but are unable to study a single specific language or linguistic structure. The works of such researchers remind us of scholastic exercises quite distant from linguistics per se and from real science in general. We must agree, in this connection, with Prof V. Panfilov who states that, "It has been established that so-called nontraditional trends in linguistics (various trends of structuralism in its consecutive forms and neo-Humboldtianism in its European and American varieties) failed to justify the hopes entrusted to them by their supporters. . . . Therefore, the question inevitably arises of the scientific substance of the philosophical foundation of these directions and the adamant need for the development of philosophical problems of linguistics on the basis of Marxist-Leninist philosophy" (V. Z. Panfilov, "Filosofskiye Problemy Yazykoznaniya" [Philosophical Problems of Linguistics], Nauka, Moscow, 1977, p 3).

R. Budagov is right when he says that, "The human nature of language always and everywhere lets itself be known, even when researchers are analyzing it using seemingly purely technical tools" (p 232). Naturally, his book contains some concepts which could be considered controversial and require further study. Let us emphasize, however, that as a whole the monograph has been written in a simple, clear and good style. This one of the rare works of its kind which presents, on a concentrated basis, and from dialectical-materialistic positions, the essence of clashes among theoretical concepts among linguistics. It would be suitable to include among works published in recent years, accurately characterizing the situation in contemporary linguistics, the collection "Filosofskiye Osnovy Zarubezhnykh Napravleniy v Yazykoznanii" [Philosophical Foundations of Foreign Trends in Linguistics] (Nauka, Moscow, 1977).

Noting the legitimate multiplicity of ways and means for linguistic studies R. Budagov justifiably criticizes the "pluralism of reasons," the eclecticism characteristic of a number of trends in linguistics, emphasizing that the purpose of cognitive tools should be one: The profound and comprehensive study of the very nature of language and its functions, based on the principle of dialectical-materialistic monism, remaining loyal to the banner of Marxist theory.

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