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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 11, July 1980



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No. 11, July 1980

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

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ON RESULTS OF THE TALKS BETWEEN THE HEADS OF THE USSR AND THE FRG

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 3-4

[At the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] After considering the results of the talks between L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, A. N. Kosygin, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and A. A. Gromyko, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, on the one hand and H. Schmidt, FRG chancellor, and H.-D. Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, on the other, the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers approve fully and entirely the activities of the Soviet delegation headed by L. I. Brezhnev. The results of the talks represent a major contribution to strengthening peace and security, improving the international climate and further developing cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG.

The fact that despite the increased complexity of the international circumstances and the existence of major differences on a number of problems, as a result of the talks, both parties have stated most definitely that they consider detente necessary, possible and useful, and have expressed their will to comprehensively assist in making it the leading trend in international relations, is of particular significance.

Pursuing the tried Leninist foreign political course and the coordinated line of the fraternal socialist states, expressing the will of the Soviet people, the Soviet delegation focused attention on problems of strengthening the peace and international security, on restraining the arms race and on disarmament.

On behalf of the Soviet Union L. I. Brezhnev presented a number of new ideas and specific proposals aimed at reaching agreements on this range of problems, including that of medium-range nuclear missiles.

After reiterating its position on the most accurate ways of resolving the problem of medium-range armaments in Europe, guided by the broad interests

of peace and security, the Soviet side called for a discussion of the problem of medium-range nuclear missiles simultaneously and organically linked with the problem of American advance-based nuclear armaments. It is considered that possible agreements on such matters could be implemented only after the enactment of the Soviet-American SALT treaty (SALT II).

The Soviet side formulated a number of specific considerations related to the Vienna talks on reciprocal reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe with a view to providing a new impetus for the elaboration of mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of such suggestions.

The Soviet Union expects that the governments of the Western countries will display a feeling of responsibility and will answer the new Soviet initiatives consistent with the vital interests of the peoples of Europe and the world over in a spirit of good will.

The CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers express their satisfaction with the results on the problems related to bilateral USSR-FRG relations considered in the course of the talks. The assertion of the parties to the effect that their further policy will continue to be steadfastly and firmly based on concluded treaties and agreements, the 12 August 1970 agreement above all, is a clear guideline in the development of constructive cooperation between the two countries.

The long-term basic-directions program for USSR-FRG cooperation in economics and industry, concluded in Moscow, is a substantial contribution to the strengthening of reciprocal economic relations and thus to strengthening the material foundations for their political relations.

The respective Soviet departments and organizations are instructed to take all necessary measures for the practical implementation of the program. Its effective implementation, naturally, will require a constructive approach on the part of the FRG as well.

5003
CSO: 1802

TO THE PARTICIPANTS AND GUESTS AT THE 1980 OLYMPIC GAMES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 p 5

[Address by L. Brezhnev]

[Text] On behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Soviet people I warmly greet the members of the International Olympic Committee, the heads of the international sports federations and national Olympic committees, and all participants and guests at the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games.

The Olympic Games are an outstanding event in international sports, reflecting the aspiration of the peoples to peace, agreement and beauty. They always have attracted and will continue to attract the close attention of millions and millions of people on our planet.

In the Soviet Union the international Olympic movement enjoys sincere respect and invariable support. In our country physical culture and sports have always been a subject of constant attention and concern on the part of the CPSU and our entire people.

Assuming the honorable right to hold the Olympiad-80, the Soviet people did everything possible to make the Moscow Olympic Games the biggest international sports forum most fully reflecting the noble Olympic ideals. All activities related to the preparations for the games were conducted strictly in accordance with the traditions of the Olympic movement and the rules and regulations of the Olympic Charter and on the basis of the guarantees given to the International Olympic Committee by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

It is pleasing to note that within a short time and thanks to the selfless efforts of workers, engineering and technical personnel and specialists in many national economic sectors, excellent sports facilities and other Olympic projects were built, reconstructed and equipped. In a word, all necessary conditions were created for holding the 22nd Olympic Games on a high sports, organizational and technical level. The outstanding and varied cultural program of the games is a demonstration of the multinational art of our people.

In the course of the comprehensive preparations for the Olympics, the Moscow Organizational Committee for the Olympic Games engaged in active and fruitful international cooperation with the International Olympic Committee, the international sports federations, the national Olympic committees, and the business circles and mass-information media of a number of countries throughout the world. This contributed to the further development of international sports, economic and scientific and technical relations.

May the ideals of friendship and mutual understanding which inspire the Olympic movement be always present at meetings among athletes of different countries. We are pleased that athletes of most countries from all continents gathered in Moscow under the Olympic flags. This confirms, yet once again, that the time-honored experience and tradition of the peoples to maintain relations and to cooperate with each other are insurmountable.

I wish with all my heart to the participants in the 22nd Olympic Games--an outstanding sports celebration--new accomplishments in sports and a happy and pleasant stay in Olympic Moscow.

5003

GSO: 1802

DISARMAMENT--AN URGENT PRESENT-DAY PROBLEM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 6-23

[Article by A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister]

[Text] Our party Central Committee's June Plenum adopted the decision to convene the 26th CPSU Congress in February 1981, which fills all Soviet communists with enthusiasm. The highest forums of the Lenin Party commemorate important stages in the life of the country of soviets. They are also always major events internationally. The upcoming congress, which will sum up the results of the multifaceted activity of the CPSU and the constructive labor of our people since the previous [25th] congress, determine their tasks for the future and open a new page in revolutionary theory and practice and in the struggle for communism, peace and progress, will undoubtedly be of just such major significance.

The plenum also examined the question "The International Situation and the Soviet Union's Foreign Policy." Its decree wholly and fully approves the activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and of L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in implementing the Leninist foreign policy of the 24th-25th party congresses.

The plenum's decree and a number of L. I. Brezhnev's recent speeches make an in-depth and comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current world situation. It is well known that the international climate markedly improved, detente policy gathered strength, the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems was consolidated and came to be suffused with concrete content, a clear abatement of the "cold war" was discerned, more favorable prerequisites for the solution of urgent international problems were created and a wealth of experience of the settlement of conflict situations between states was accumulated in the 1970's primarily as a result of the energetic activity of the USSR and the socialist community as a whole.

The positions of world socialism continued to strengthen constantly throughout this decade. It made an increasingly impressive contribution

to the cause of world peace. It is to the inestimable credit of the socialist community, which for the first time put the task of excluding war from the life of human society on a practical plane, that it succeeded in severing the tragic cycle when peace was merely a breathing space between world wars. And this is the most impressive success of the struggle for peace since the time when, 55 years ago, the Great Victory over Fascism was won.

Undoubtedly, the far-reaching achievements of socialism, which has scored a historic gain--military-strategic balance with the capitalist world--and which plays the part of a leading factor of world development, the confident step of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the peoples and the development of detente into the prevailing trend in international politics--all this has manifestly run counter to the general course of imperialism in world affairs. Frightened on this latest occasion by the fact that the world is developing not entirely or, rather, not at all as it would wish, imperialist reaction--and the further imperialism's possibility of dominating other peoples is reduced, the more fiercely it resists this--has attempted to halt or, at least, apply the brakes to its progress. To this end and to preserve their positions the forces of imperialism are resorting to building up their military muscle and aggressive acts.

1

Imperialism has firmly tied its fate and its very existence to militarism. Its aggressive nature, which was revealed by V. I. Lenin, has not changed. At the same time the cult of power in general and of the force of arms in particular, which is inalienably inherent in imperialism, testifies to its lack of confidence in its future as a social system.

All this is being graphically displayed right now. The leaders of the NATO military bloc, primarily the United States, are taking active steps to disrupt the strategic balance between West and East to their advantage and to the detriment of the USSR and other socialist countries and the interests of detente and international security and to return the world to the time of the "from-a-position-of-strength" policy.

Back in May 1978 the NATO countries expressed themselves in favor of an annual automatic increase in military spending right through to the end of our century. Last December NATO adopted a decision to produce and deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in West Europe.

The United States simultaneously announced a new multibillion-dollar program for an accelerated buildup of its armaments. Even Pentagon generals sometimes throw up their hands and ask whether they will be able to assimilate their entire appropriation.

a striking indicator of the current nature of the U.S. policy is the continuing delay over ratification of the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-II). Other facts such as the United States' creation of a "rapid-deployment force"--a new stick of imperialist diktat--its bellicose, provocative acts in relation to Iran and the feverish search for sites for new military bases should also be examined in the light of the growing aggressiveness of this policy.

The same thing is indicated by Washington's announcement of certain areas of the world, chiefly those where there is a heavy smell of oil, as "spheres of the United States' vitally important interests." Such actions are reminiscent of the morals of the American "wild West," when the owners of the land were those who managed to stake their claim to it first.

The aggressive circles of the West, primarily the United States, are putting increasing emphasis in their military-political calculations on playing the "China card" and using in their own interests the policy of the Beijing leaders, who, for their part, are contributing considerably to whipping up international tension, a policy which is imbued with great-power aspirations and which is hostile to the socialist community. The partnership of imperialism and Beijing's hegemonism is a dangerous phenomenon in world politics, dangerous for all mankind, including the peoples of the United States and China.

Imperialist reaction is camouflaging its intrigues by fanning a propaganda campaign, which is essentially "psychological warfare," the crux of which, is, as before, the thoroughly tattered myth of the "Soviet military danger" and the "threat of communism." Anti-Sovietism and anticommunism have become, as the June Plenum decree points out, a means of undermining detente and urging on the arms race and an instrument of struggle not only against the USSR and other socialist community countries and not only against communists but also against all peace-loving forces.

Of what are the USSR and the socialist countries not being accused. They are charged with having taken the path of an "unprecedented buildup" of their armaments--conventional and, particularly, nuclear. Such an utter absurdity as the intention to break through to "warm waters" and take possession of others' oil is also attributed to us.

The West's propaganda board is also making much of the question of some "Soviet aggression" in Afghanistan. This is the name given to the temporary commitment of a Soviet limited military contingent to this country to assist its government and people in defending the gains of the revolution and repulsing armed invasions of its territory from outside and also to remove the threat of Afghanistan becoming a pro-imperialist springboard on the USSR's southern borders.

in spite of how and to what degree events in the world really developed. The resolutions which was drafted in response to the Afghan leaders' repeated appeals and which is entirely in accordance with the UN Charter is portrayed virtually as the first cause of the present exacerbation of the international situation. We are dealing here with the latest falsehood of the imperialists, who aspire to conceal behind it the abrupt turnabout in their policy toward stepped-up military preparations which began long before this.

The Central Executive Board fully approved the decision to render comprehensive assistance to Afghanistan, which is the victim of aggression, and firmly supported a political settlement of the situation throughout this country, which is pursuing a policy of nonalignment.

The realistic basis for such a settlement is the program put forward on 15 May by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which provides for an effective halt to foreign armed encroachments on Afghan territory, appropriate arrangements for a normalization of relations between Afghanistan on the one hand and Pakistan and also Iran on the other and the discontinued interference of all forms of outside interference in internal Afghan affairs. The question of the Soviet military contingent's withdrawal from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan could also be settled in precisely this context.

The withdrawal, following coordination with the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, of Soviet military units whose presence there is no longer necessary in connection with the continuing stabilization of the situation in the country occasioned by the serious defeats sustained by the armed bands sent in from outside is contributing to the implementation of practical steps in the field of a political settlement appropriate Afghanistan and an improvement in the situation throughout this region. A responsible approach should be displayed toward an evaluation of this action and the favorable possibilities it opens up by all parties concerned. It stands to reason that the Soviet Union will continue to render Afghanistan the necessary support in protecting its independence and territorial integrity. Washington and London and other capitals which usually like to play up to Washington should take account of this.

As far as the claims that the Soviet Union is increasing its military potential on a scale exceeding its defense requirements are concerned, these also represent a deliberate deception of its peoples. Take Europe, for example: the number of medium-range nuclear carriers in the European part of the USSR has not been increased by a single rocket or a single aircraft in the last 10 years. On the contrary, the number of medium-range missile launchers, like their nuclear payloads, has even decreased somewhat.

The number of Soviet troops in Central Europe has not increased for several years now. Furthermore, having coordinated this with its Warsaw

Pact allies, our country is now completing the unilateral withdrawal from the territory of 50,000 servicemen, 1,000 tanks and other military equipment.

In other words, the Soviet Union is doing nothing which goes beyond the framework of defense needs--its own and also those of its allies and friends. Firmly adhering to the principle of equal security, it believes that approximate equivalence and parity is sufficient for these needs. But when it comes to "military superiority," the idea of achieving it is taken to us, and this very concept in fact becomes meaningless given the present huge arsenals of stockpiled weapons.

This approach was corroborated by the mid-May meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, which again demonstrated the outstanding role of socialism in world affairs and its consistent internationalism and unshakable love of peace and the significance of fraternal solidarity and the coordination of the actions of the socialist countries in the name of consolidating international peace.

The Declaration adopted by the meeting emphasizes that these countries have never aspired and will not aspire to military superiority; they invariably advocate that a military balance be insured at increasingly low levels and a destruction in and elimination of the military opposition in Europe. They have, had and will have no strategic doctrine other than a defensive one and there is, was and will be no intention of creating the potential for a first nuclear strike. By virtue of the very nature of their social system, they cannot and will not aspire to the creation of "spheres of influence" and the establishment of military or political control over some regions or international transportation lines of communication or other.

At the same time, in the face of increasingly new attempts to crank up the arms race the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries urgently appeal to the West for a halt, for its gamble on securing for itself military superiority is futile. The Warsaw Pact states will never allow this. They will continue to maintain their defense capability at the proper level and to display constant concern for the security of their peoples and to insure that no one risks disturbing their peaceful life and peaceful work.

It is not competition in the military sphere but the ideal of a world without wars which inspires the socialist countries--societies where there are no classes, social strata or professional groups which are interested in war or preparations for it. And they are sparing no forces to insure the continued construction of an edifice of lasting peace.

Naturally, this task is only feasible on the path of a policy of detente, to which there is not nor can there be a reasonable alternative. It is

The sacred duty of all who advocate peace is to defend ardently, protect it against the increased imperialist intrigues and take decisive steps to remove from international relations everything that is preventing a continuous and comprehensive character, universal in scope, being imparted to this process.

Aspiring to contribute to surmounting the increased degree of exacerbation in the international situation and to its normalization, the Warsaw Pact Committee possesses and all historical experience from the time of the anti-fascist coalition through our day indicates that this is the most dependable path toward lasting peace—a meeting at the highest level of leaders of states of all regions of the world to examine key problems of world politics, among which removal of the hotbeds of tension and the prevention of war would occupy a central place.

In the interests of the preservation of peace and the consolidation of defense in the political, military and other spheres the CPSU and the Soviet people, as before when approaches to a settlement of many international questions in which the fate of peace depended have proven difficult, now also make the issue of their policy such a burning problem as limiting the arms race and disarmament. The Soviet Union's policy in the solution of the complex of issues which constitute it has been consistent and scrupulous since the time of the Great October. Its firm basis is Lenin's conclusion that "disarmament is the ideal of socialism" ("Poin. Soch." [Complete Works], vol 30, p 152).

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The ultimate goal of this policy, which is now recorded in the USSR constitution, was and remains general and total disarmament. Together with this we have since and are now doing everything to secure progress in individual directions leading to this goal: in an arrangement with other states we are ready to limit or prohibit any type of weapon, but, of course, on the principles of reciprocity and without detriment to the security of any party.

Back in April 1922 at the Geneva Conference--the first international forum in which our country participated--it proposed a general reduction in armaments. At the end of the 1920's the USSR was the initiator of the first developed draft agreement on general and total disarmament. Our country actively supported the consolidation of international security, including the solution of disarmament questions, in subsequent years also.

Since the war the Soviet Union, in conjunction with other socialist countries, has developed a broad struggle for curbing the arms race and for disarmament. We have put forward more than 100 specific proposals--from the implementation of individual measures in the said sphere, and this applies particularly to the banning of atomic and, subsequently, thermonuclear weapons, through general and total disarmament.

The enterprising policy of the USSR and its constructive efforts largely predetermined the conclusion of a number of international treaties and agreements aimed at limiting the arms race. An entire system of such treaties and agreements emerged. We are speaking of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Space and Under Water (1963), the Treaty on the Principles of States' Activity in the Exploration and Use of Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (1967), the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968), the Treaty Banning the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea Bed and Ocean Floor and in its Depths (1971) and the Convention Banning the Military or any Other Hostile Use of Means of Influencing the Environment (1971). We should also mention the Convention Banning the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and on Their Destruction (1972).

Imparting a universal character to these accords, having all states without exception subscribe to them and countering attempts to undermine their stability are pertinent requirements on the plane of their increased effectiveness and political weight.

The bilateral Soviet-American agreements--the Treaty Limiting ABM Systems (1972) and the Protocol thereto (1974), the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures in the Sphere of Limiting Strategic Offensive Arms--SALT I-- (1972) and the Treaty Limiting Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests (1974)-- are also performing their important role.

We must also mention the Agreement Between the USSR and the United States on Preventing Nuclear War (1973), the Soviet-French accord on preventing the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons (1976) and the Agreement Between the USSR and Great Britain on Preventing the Accidental Outbreak of Nuclear War (1977), which are designed to lessen the risk of nuclear conflict.

That talks were initiated on the bilateral, regional and international levels in the 1950's on many aspects of the problem of halting the arms race and of disarmament should also be put in the category of undoubtedly positive facts. This has opened up the road toward an intensive search for mutually acceptable solutions and made it possible to draw closer to reaching understanding on certain questions.

It cannot, however, be said that the talks mechanism is operating smoothly. It is misfiring. The drawing up of agreements is being dragged out unwarrantedly, frequently for many years. This is happening owing to the stubborn aspirations of the Western powers to achieve unilateral military advantages and to use their participation in the negotiations to conceal the arms race they are pursuing. The policy of deceiving the peoples is operating to the utmost and systematically here. The NATO countries reject many of the constructive proposals for curbing the arms race or

apply the brakes to a discussion of them, are attempting under a variety of pretexts to sidestep the adoption of agreed decisions and emasculate the content of the negotiations and are resorting to obstruction.

There have been increasing signs recently that the West is disposed to continue to block progress in disarmament negotiations. In particular, the United States has unilaterally postponed certain negotiations or rejected them altogether.

The Soviet Union firmly supports the ongoing negotiations seriously examining questions of limiting the arms race and of disarmament, the suspended negotiations or those which have been broken off being resumed immediately and continued and a dialog being initiated on urgent questions which are not yet the subject of negotiation.

While pursuing an enterprising policy in the disarmament sphere we simultaneously attach importance to states' unwavering fulfillment of the commitments they have assumed per existing accords in this sphere. The USSR has always acted and now acts precisely thus. And life itself is throwing to the trash can one after the other the falsehoods which are manufactured in the West to sow doubts as to our country's loyalty to its corresponding commitments and to distract attention from its own obstructionist policy on disarmament issues which is based on deceiving people.

The peoples judge the effectiveness of efforts in restraining the arms race not by the number of adopted resolutions but by practical, tangible results. If an evaluation of the situation in disarmament matters is approached with this, most accurate, yardstick, it has to be stated, regrettrably, that as yet not much has been done. Elimination of the physical means of warfare has not essentially begun. The arms race not only has not been halted but is gathering speed. This is a consequence of the fact that the United States and its allies are intensively building up their military potential quantitatively and qualitatively.

Nevertheless, credit has to be given to the fact that the treaties and agreements in force cut off certain channels of the arms race, prohibit or limit certain types of weapons and erect certain barriers, without which this arms race would be even more unrestrained and costly. These precedents, like the useful experience of disarmament negotiations, prove that practicable measures in this sphere are feasible and that the states are capable of achieving significant agreements. In a word, the basis for taking further steps to halt the arms race and for disarmament objectively exists.

Man's conscience will not be able to reconcile itself with opportunities for averting the danger of war being missed. No single state and no single government conscious of responsibility to its people has or can have convincing reasons permitting it to stand to one side of the struggle

For this, curbing the arms race and disarmament is the common task of all countries. They must accomplish it jointly.

In what areas, then, should efforts be concentrated to insure a fundamental improvement in this sphere?

III

A program of concrete and constructive measures embracing the principal aspects of the problem has been put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These measures have been expounded in the Peace Program of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, in L.I. Brezhnev's speeches, in foreign policy documents of the Soviet Union and in joint declarations of the socialist community countries.

A wide-ranging complex of such measures is contained in the declaration which was unanimously adopted recently in the Polish capital by the Warsaw Pact states and which confirms that these countries are in the vanguard of the worldwide movement of the peoples against war and for disarmament.

The Soviet Union devotes paramount attention to a cessation of the nuclear arms race. The reason for this is that now, when nuclear stockpiles of monstrous destructive power have been built up in the world and when the nuclear factor has become the leading factor in present-day military reality, this race is threatening world peace and man's very existence.

Despite the comprehension of the extraordinary complexity of this problem, a fatalistic view of its solution is, nevertheless, alien to us communists and Soviet people. We regard as groundless the assertions of those who declare that it is now absolutely impossible to reverse the development of events in the nuclear arms sphere. State wisdom, political will, an honest and objective approach to the essence of the problem and an awareness of the historical responsibility for the fate of peace are, of course, needed to open up the path to success. This is the crux of the matter. It is not some fate which determines success or failure in this sphere but the policy of states and the will of peoples.

Wishing to put matters on a practical footing, the Soviet Union came forward with an initiative--and it was supported by the United Nations--concerning negotiations with the participation of all the nuclear powers and also a certain number of nonnuclear states on a halt to the production of nuclear weapons in all their forms and a gradual reduction in stockpiles thereof until their complete liquidation. Our country also put forward specific proposals on the procedure for conducting these negotiations and on the composition of their participants and the complex of issues to be discussed. Yet a start has yet to be made on these negotiations owing to the attitude of the other nuclear powers. But solving such an important problem is essential, and the quicker, the better. Further delaying the negotiations is impermissible.

Naturally, measures to halt the production of nuclear weapons and gradually liquidate stockpiles thereof should be inseparably connected with a strengthening of the political and international-law guarantees of states' security. To this end it is essential to embark on businesslike negotiations on the question of concluding a world treaty on the nonuse of force in international relations. The USSR's proposals on this score and the UN General Assembly decision on the nonuse of force in international relations and the banning of nuclear weapons in perpetuity are well known. Now efforts need to be made internationally to achieve the conclusive prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and all states' renunciation of the use of force in relations with one another.

The direct interdependence of the problem of banning nuclear weapons and a limitation of and reduction in the numbers of strategic arms and also their further limitation in a qualitative respect with regard for all the factors influencing the strategic situation in the world is also obvious. An urgent task in this field is the entry into force of the Soviet-American SALT-II Treaty, which was signed about a year ago and whose ratification continues--and no end is yet in sight here--to be deferred by Washington for a variety of groundless reasons, like references to the present international situation, which is allegedly unsuitable for this.

Such actions by the American side are by no means isolated: It is now 6 years that it has failed to ratify the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on Limiting Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests and 4 years for the Soviet-American Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. And this, like other similar facts, cannot fail to engender the attitude that the United States is an unreliable partner capable of violating its international commitments at any time. This stigma is being stuck increasingly tightly on the policy of the Washington Administration.

Washington's position on the question of ratification of the SALT-II Treaty is an obstacle to talks on SALT-III. The Soviet Union advocates that they start as quickly as possible, but the SALT-II Treaty needs to come into effect first. On such an important matter as the limitation of and reduction in strategic arms our policy is consistent and not subject to fluctuations at a given moment.

It is 17 years since the determination of the ban on nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, space and under water. But tests thereof underground have not been banned, although the USSR and the United States have limited the power of their underground nuclear explosions in accordance with a mutual understanding. Furthermore, far from all countries, and there are certain nuclear powers among them, have subscribed to the bans and limitations in the sphere of nuclear testing which are already in force. China, for example, considering itself bound by nothing, openly declares that it will continue to conduct nuclear tests. Thus the

Business of banning nuclear weapons tests has not been brought to its final solution, as a result of which limits would be set on increasing the power and "perfecting" nuclear arms.

Despite the fact that certain nuclear powers display a reluctance to agree to a complete ban on nuclear tests, the Soviet Union, guided by the interests of reaching a constructive agreement, entered into corresponding negotiations with the United States and Great Britain and also consented to a future treaty on a complete and general ban on nuclear weapons tests taking effect even in the event of only three of the five nuclear powers being party to it initially. Agreement was reached in the course of the negotiations on the main provisions of this treaty, and it seemed that its signing was, as is sometimes said, on the tip of the pen. Nevertheless, the West's abrupt turnabout toward an increase in military preparations has led to a point where at the present time these negotiations are scarcely "breathing."

We believe that as soon as the Western partners display a responsible approach on the question of a total and general ban on nuclear tests, the formulation of the treaty could be completed and it could be concluded in a short time. Our country is fully resolved to do everything in its power to achieve the cessation of nuclear tests in all media and by all who conduct them.

Additional steps should also be taken to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. For it is obvious that the number of states which in the level of their economic and scientific-technical development could be potential possessors of nuclear weapons is growing. And these include those which up to now not only do not subscribe to the corresponding treaty but also, like the Republic of South Africa and Israel, do not in fact conceal their nuclear ambitions.

The achievement of states' universal participation in the said treaty and the frustration of all attempts, under whatever pretext they may be made, to reexamine or revise the provisions of this document, which is of considerable help in reducing the threat of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict, could effectively serve to further strengthen the process of nonproliferation. It is our belief that the upcoming second conference to examine the effect of this treaty could impart a new supply of strength to both the nonproliferation process and the treaty.

Important Soviet initiatives concerning the conclusion of a convention on strengthening the security guarantees of nonnuclear states and on agreement on the nondeployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of states which do not currently have them are directly associated with the problem of consolidating the nonproliferation process. There is no doubt that the commitments assumed within their framework would contribute to the consolidation in international law of the security guarantees of nonnuclear

states and these countries' protection against the use of nuclear weapons against them, narrow the sphere of their geographical proliferation and prevent a possible destabilization of the strategic situation. Discussion of the issues linked with this in the Disarmament Committee is, however, encountering the negative position occupied by the Western powers.

Mention must also be made in the same context of a step by the Soviet Union which elicited extensive world comment--the solemn declaration that it will never use nuclear weapons against states which renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and do not have them on their territory. It expressed here a readiness to conclude agreements with any of them on this score. The USSR called on the other nuclear powers to act the same and assume full-blooded commitments and not ones surrounded with cheapening reservations, as has been the case with the United States and Britain.

The creation in different regions of the world of zones free of nuclear weapons is intended to perform an important role in consolidating the non-proliferation process. Plainly, these zones must be really free of such weapons, and the corresponding agreements must fill in all loopholes for the violation of their nuclear-free status.

The Soviet Union will continue to contribute toward insuring that the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons becomes an obligatory and unconditional law of international life.

Together with the most destructive weapon of our day--the nuclear weapon--there exists, and has done for many decades, moreover, such a dangerous means of mass annihilation as chemical weapons. And negotiations on banning them have also been underway for many years. Although they have now made certain progress, and considerable progress on certain aspects of the problem, the course of the negotiations remains unsatisfactorily slow because the West is sidestepping the speediest completion of the elaboration of a convention banning chemical weapons. Attention is attracted in this connection by the fact that ever increasing information is currently appearing about the intention, on the part of the United States, in particular, to continue perfecting chemical weapons, expand their production and compel its allies to do the same.

All this is being concealed by a noisy campaign, with which Western propaganda is attempting to prove that it is the Soviet Union which is building up its chemical weapon potential. This is, of course, an invention.

The Soviet Union is participating constructively in negotiations on banning chemical weapons both bilaterally--with the United States--for the purpose of preparing a joint proposal on this question for presentation to the Disarmament Committee and in the committee itself, working so as to successfully conclude the above-mentioned negotiations and to insure

that the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons is banned once and for all and their stockpiles destroyed.

The task of preventing the appearance of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction which could prove even more lethal than nuclear weapons is very acute. The USSR came forward in the United Nations with an initiative aimed at the conclusion of an agreement on this score 5 years ago. Despite the fact that our initiative won the approval of a substantial majority of UN members, the corresponding negotiations are progressing slowly because of the Western partners' reluctance to embark on a concrete discussion of the issue.

While defending the need for its all-embracing solution our country is taking steps toward reaching agreement on individual new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. The Soviet proposal on the banning of radiological weapons was perfectly justified and opportune in this respect.

The Disarmament Committee is currently examining a paper drawn up in the course of Soviet-American consultations on the banning of the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons. This treaty could, if artificial barriers are not put in its way, be made ready for signing comparatively quickly.

On the road toward preventing the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction we will have to overcome many difficulties presented by the West's militarist circles. Thus, recently, these circles have again been shipping up the question of the neutron weapon, plans for whose deployment in West Europe were derailed about 2 years ago. We need to be on the alert here and must continue to struggle actively against this barbaric means of people's extermination. The Soviet Union resolutely advocates a conclusive and irrevocable ban on the neutron bomb by way of the conclusion of an appropriate international convention, a draft of which it has submitted to the Disarmament Committee for examination.

It is also necessary to impart a practical character to the solution of the question of a reduction in arms which are termed conventional, but which in our day possess the most destructive power--even more with their massed employment, as was the case, say, at the time of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It is the Western powers' fault that this question has in fact gone by the board with respect to concrete negotiations.

In the above sphere the USSR gives prominence to the problem of the formulation of an international agreement banning or limiting the use of conventional weapons which cause inordinate damage or which operate indiscriminately.

We also advocate a halt to the creation of new types of conventional arms of great destructive power and the achievement of an agreement on a renunciation of an expansion of the armies and an increase in the conventional arms of the powers which are permanent members of the UN Security Council and the countries linked with them by military agreements. These measures are, together with a halt to the production of nuclear weapons in all their forms and a halt to the production and the banning of all other types of weapons of mass destruction, an inalienable part of the far-reaching Soviet initiative concerning a complete halt to the further quantitative and qualitative growth of the arms and armed forces of states with major military potential.

In connection with the question of a reduction in conventional arms it is also necessary to turn our attention to such an aspect of the matter as limitation of the international trade in and supplies of these weapons, which serves as a dangerous channel of the spread of the arms race to various regions of the world and is leading to tension and conflicts there.

True, the essence of the problem is not straightforward: Military assistance to peoples which are fighting for their national liberation or which are the victims of aggression and suppliers of weapons to colonizers, racists and aggressors cannot be put on the same footing. Taking as a basis precisely this political approach, the USSR repeatedly proposed that negotiations be started on limiting the trade in weapons. But the Soviet-American negotiations which began and whose purpose was to agree on practical steps in this direction were suspended by the United States last year without any convincing reason.

The Soviet Union believes that negotiations on this question should be resumed.

Our country has always supported proposals for the creation of zones of peace in various regions of the world, regarding their realization as an important step along the path toward limiting the arms race and easing tension at the regional and international levels and toward the more extensive spread of the detente process territorially. Particular relevance is attached to the idea of making a zone of peace of the Indian Ocean, where the United States is persistently increasing its military presence, has concentrated, primarily in the Persian Gulf zone, a naval armada, feverishly expanding its existing military bases and is seeking sites for new bases. Such U.S. actions directly contradict the proposal on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, which has been approved by the United Nations, are a direct threat to the security and independence of the littoral countries and are leading to the creation of another center of international tension.

The assertions which are sometimes heard that it is the "rivalry of the big powers," in which the Soviet Union also allegedly participates, which forms the basis of the tense situation in this ocean have nothing in common with reality. They objectively play into the hands of those who are in fact striving to establish their diktat in the Indian Ocean region.

The USSR decisively condemns the United States' militarist policy in this region, insists on a resumption of the Soviet-American negotiations on a limitation of and subsequent reduction in military activity in the Indian Ocean which were broken off by Washington and declares its readiness to contribute, at the international conference on the Indian Ocean scheduled for 1981 also, to the creation here of a zone of peace, proceeding from the fact that the central issue here is the liquidation of foreign military bases.

In the interests of peace and the stabilization of the international situation and, equally, in the interests of insuring the dependable and unhindered use of the most important sea lanes the USSR, together with the other Warsaw Pact states, recently came out with an initiative for a start to be made on an examination within the UN framework, for example, of the question of limiting and lowering the level of military presence and military activity, whether in the Atlantic, Indian or Pacific oceans, the Mediterranean or the Persian Gulf.

An effective means making it possible to impose financial limitations on the arms race, as far as the implementation of major measures in the disarmament sphere, moreover, alleviate the tremendous burden of military expenditure now borne by the peoples and free considerable resources for peaceful purposes and, among other things, the needs of the developing states is a reduction in military budgets. The USSR has repeatedly proposed an absolute or percentage reduction in the military budgets of the states on the UN Security Council and also of other states which are important militarily. This proposal is encountering patent obstruction from the NATO countries, which have made a long-term decision on an annual increase in military appropriations.

The totality of concrete measures for curtailing the arms race and for disarmament were submitted by the USSR in 1978 for examination at the UN General Assembly's special disarmament session. Approved and supported by the majority of countries, they were extensively reflected in the final document adopted by this session.

While paying tribute to the UN role in maintaining international security and its activity in curbing the arms race it has to be admitted that this organization's resolutions are useful, but of a recommendatory nature. The USSR intends to continue to make active use of the UN rostrum for disarmament issues. At the same time it advocates a forum which could adopt effective decisions which would be really binding on all states--a world disarmament conference. Its convening is an urgent matter for the

need for the adoption of such decisions in all areas of the struggle to save mankind from the catastrophes of war is not diminishing but increasing.

IV

Questions of insuring security and the development of peaceful cooperation in Europe have always occupied a most prominent place in the overall complex of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. This is natural. After all, it is a generally recognized fact that the course of events on the European continent, whether positive or negative, exerts, without exaggeration, a tremendous influence on the entire international situation. It is with all the greater attention that we address the situation evolving in European affairs under present conditions, when imperialist circles--and this is most strikingly displayed in the activity of the NATO bloc--are speeding up their militarist preparations, inciting tension in the world arena and aspiring to undermine everything positive that the policy of detente has brought the peoples as a result of the prolonged efforts of many states, including European states.

Actively counteracting this policy, which is threatening the abutments of peace in Europe, and it is precisely here that the contrast between the two policies--socialist and imperialist--is now particularly noticeable in world politics, firmly defend the interests of the consolidation of European security and the intensification and extension on the continent of the detente process, primarily its progress in the military sphere, which is an objective urgent requirement.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, to which bloc politics is organically alien, present a comprehensive action platform designed to contribute to surmounting Europe's division into military-political groupings, lessening the opposition between them and presenting their activity spreading to new regions and increasing the degree of trust in relations between all European states. From the time of the creation of their defensive organization they have declared their readiness to agree to its disbandment given the simultaneous liquidation of the North Atlantic bloc. On this plane they have proposed abolishing as a first step both groupings' military organizations, beginning with a mutual reduction in their military activity, and also the nonexpansion of existing and noncreation of new military-political alliances.

An important step along the path of consolidating the positive bases in the situation on the European continent and imparting greater stability to it would be the realization of the recent initiative of the socialist community countries--performing a joint act of good will: coming to an understanding that from a certain agreed date no state and no group of states in Europe would increase the numbers of its armed forces in the region determined by the Final Act of the All-European Conference.

The Warsaw Pact countries also advocate the implementation of a number of steps which would lead to the strengthening of the political and legal foundation of observance on the continent of the principle of the nonuse of force or the threat of force. Their proposal for the conclusion by all states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe of a treaty on their nonuse against one another of both nuclear and conventional arms is geared to this goal.

Special measures should also be adopted to reliably guarantee the security of the continent's nonnuclear countries. The reference is, in particular, to the nuclear powers' renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons against European states--irrespective of their participation or nonparticipation in military alliances--which do not possess such weapons and which do not have foreign nuclear weapons on their territory. These states also have a right to obtain a guarantee that no other weapons will be used against them.

A serious danger for European and international peace was created by the NATO decision taken in December 1979 to produce and deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in West Europe. This decision is frankly aimed at achieving military superiority and, consequently, undermining the approximate equivalence of the forces of the Warsaw Pact and the countries of NATO which has evolved and which was even recently acknowledged by this bloc and which was at one time a material basis of the detente process. Its implementation will not only involve West Europe in an even tighter twist of the arms race spiral and harness it even more firmly to the Pentagon's military chariot but will also entail a sharp increase in the destructive potential in Europe and a deterioration in the political atmosphere on the continent and thereby inevitably threaten the European peoples' fundamental interests.

Washington and those who follow the course of its policy attempt to justify the decision to bolster the armament of NATO by referring to the Soviet Union's alleged buildup of its analogous weapons targeted on West Europe. This argument is built on pure fiction. The truth is that the USSR's actions in modernizing certain types of medium-range nuclear missile weapons--and the West has carried out such modernization repeatedly--by no means give it a military advantage and cannot serve as justification for the deployment of a qualitatively new American weapon on the territory of the West European states.

The USSR proposed to the NATO countries prior to the adoption of the above decision negotiations to settle the question of medium-range nuclear missiles on a basis suitable to both sides. But having approved this decision under pressure from Washington, they in fact turned down our proposal.

True, the leaders of the United States and certain other NATO countries pretended to want negotiations here. But their real intention was to

current negotiations "from a position of strength" and discuss only our medium-range weapons. As far as the new American weapons, like the NATO decision itself, are concerned, they would essentially remain beyond the framework of the negotiations. NATO logic--"what is mine, is mine, and what is yours, let's discuss"--is, of course, unacceptable to us.

The West's militarist forces should know well that we will not go along with agreements which are detrimental to our security and the security of our allies and that the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries will not allow anyone to disrupt the correlation of forces which has taken shape.

The USSR proposed honest, equal negotiations, with observance of the principle of equal security. The most correct thing would have been to have begun negotiations, the NATO decision having been rescinded or, at least, its implementation having been officially suspended. We are also prepared for another alternative: questions related to the medium-range nuclear missiles could be a subject of discussion within the framework of negotiations on SALT-III after the SALT-II Treaty has come into effect.

Confirming the proposals put forward earlier, the USSR recently came forward with the initiative of embarking on a discussion of the question of the medium-range nuclear missiles simultaneously and in organic connection with the question of American forward-based nuclear weapons. It is meant here that possible accords on these questions may be realized in practice only with the entry into force of the SALT-II Treaty.

We believe that it is still not too late to stop the fly wheel of the arms race in the sphere of medium-range nuclear missiles which is being spun by the decision of Washington and NATO. The European peoples have a vital interest in seeing negotiations begin immediately on whatever basis they can be conducted.

A diminution in the military opposition on the European continent and progress in the disarmament sphere would be promoted by movement at the Vienna talks on a reduction in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, where the level of this opposition is particularly high and where huge masses of troops and armaments of the two strongest military-political alliances--the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic bloc--are concentrated.

The Vienna talks have been underway for about 7 years without any palpable results, the reason for which is the NATO countries' unwillingness to go along with mutually acceptable agreements and their aspiration to use the talks to secure military advantages for themselves in defiance of the legitimate interests of the security of the socialist states. The proposals which the Western partners are putting forward at the negotiating table are graphic testimony to this. Furthermore, their latest proposals disavow previous proposals in a number of essential points, which reflects the NATO countries' present policy of a sharp increase in their military preparations.

Nevertheless, we proceed from the fact that the possibilities of moving the Vienna talks from dead point are far from exhausted and that the concentration of troops and armaments in Central Europe can be reduced to actual advantage without the parity of the sides' forces being disturbed. For this it is essential for the Western participants to renounce claims to unilateral military advantages and display the political will for a genuine search for agreed solutions.

The socialist countries' comprehensive proposals create a substantial basis for agreement. In basic outline these compromise proposals provide for a reduction at the first stage of troops and armaments of the USSR and the United States in Central Europe and the establishment of a clear link with the second stage, at which the other direct participants in the talks would reduce their troops and armaments commensurate with their military potentials, and the achievement ultimately of reductions in the equal collective levels of strength of the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact in this region.

In July the socialist countries presented proposals at the Vienna talks making it possible to facilitate and accelerate movement toward success at these talks. The reference is to a reduction at the first stage of 13,000 U.S. servicemen and 20,000 Soviet servicemen in addition to our 20,000-strong military contingent whose withdrawal from GDR territory is being completed at this time.

The socialist countries are displaying a willingness to agree to a collective "freezing" of the number of troops of the direct participants in the talks for the period between the two stages of the reductions and to the creation of a mechanism for maintaining a collective level of the strength of the armed forces of both alliances whereby the numbers of troops of one state would not exceed 50 percent of the overall collective levels of 900,000 men for each alliance.

The Warsaw Pact countries, which have taken significant steps at the Vienna talks in the interests of bringing the positions of the parties closer together, regard further delays in these talks as absolutely intolerable. They will continue to exert efforts to find solutions which, without affecting the security of either side, secure a reduction in the military opposition in Central Europe, and expect the same approach from their Western partners in the Vienna talks.

Steps for military detente should also be taken in relation to other parts of Europe and also the Mediterranean. In respect of the latter they could include, we believe, the extension thereto of confidence-building measures, a reduction in armed forces there, the withdrawal from this region of warships carrying nuclear weapons and a renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of the Mediterranean European and non-European nonnuclear countries.

Proceeding from their fundamental position in favor of the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in different regions of the world, the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries also support the creation of such zones on the European continent.

Questions related to the strengthening of trust between states in Europe and a reduction in the concentration of armed forces and armaments on the continent deserve to be examined in all their multifaceted and intricate complexity at a special forum--a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe--a proposal on the convening of which and its location--the Polish capital--has been put forward by the Warsaw Pact states.

It would be advisable to conduct the discussion at this forum in stages: from the simpler measures to more important and profound ones. At the first stage the conference could concentrate their attention on confidence-building measures (notification of large-scale military maneuvers, air force and naval exercises and movements of ground troops, limitation of the scale of the military exercises and so forth) inasmuch as some experience has been accumulated in this sphere and some concurrence or proximity exists in the attitudes of the parties. Subsequently the conference agenda would also include disarmament questions. The conference would also have to discuss political and treaty-legal steps--and our proposals on this score are well known--to reduce the threat of the outbreak of war and to strengthen the security guarantees of states on the European continent.

We also approach and will continue to approach with the utmost attentiveness other countries' considerations concerning the organization and content of the above conference.

The Madrid meeting of representatives of the states which participate in the All-European Conference, which has to formulate practical steps with respect to the military and political aspects of security and the development of the mutual understanding and cooperation of the European countries, should play a considerable part in the achievement of general agreement as to the convening, preparation and procedure of the conference.

This conference, if it is sustained in a businesslike and constructive spirit, could be an important landmark in the business of disarmament and the strengthening of the abutments of peace on the continent and in supporting and further extending the process of an improvement in the international situation.

The implementation of the wide-ranging program of measures to secure a breakthrough both on a European and global scale in the solution of questions of a halt to the arms race and of disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community would be of historic significance in the struggle for lasting peace in this world.

These measures would imbue with real content the second disarmament decade, which is what the 1960's have been proclaimed in accordance with the resolution adopted by the United Nations. Our country, which supports this resolution, sees the main task as insuring that the forthcoming decade really becomes a decade of disarmament and not of a continuation and intensification of the arms race and that that which is positive which was achieved in the business of curbing it in the 1970's is preserved, consolidated and developed. And we are cooperating constructively and are ready to continue such cooperation with all countries which display a sincere interest in a solution of the problem of disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

"Soviet communists are proud," L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "that they have taken on the difficult, but noble mission of being in the front ranks of those fighting to deflect from the peoples the dangers connected with a continuation of the arms race. Our party calls on all peoples and all countries to unite their efforts to put an end to this disastrous process."

We look to the future with optimism. This optimism is based on our firm belief in the inexhaustible strength and indisputable advantages of the socialist system and on the correctness of our foreign policy, which has been corroborated convincingly by practice itself and which enjoys the Soviet people's boundless trust and support and encounters the understanding and approval of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world and all to whom peace is dear and who do not need war.

Soviet foreign policy is directed by the party's Leninist headquarters--the Central Committee and its Politburo headed by that outstanding personality of the present day--L. I. Brezhnev.

Leonid Il'ich's gigantic work for the good of socialism and peace have won the profound respect and recognition not only of our people but of all progressive mankind also. For this reason his every speech, more, his every word--and behind it stands the might of the Soviet state, the wisdom of the Communist Party and the will and cohesion of our entire people--whether spoken from the platform of a party congress, a Central Committee plenum and the Supreme Soviet or in the course of talks with foreign personalities--instantly reaches the most remote corners of the world.

In the current complicated international situation we are, as before, convinced that the necessary opportunities exist for preventing a slide into a new "cold war," insuring the normal, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and averting the threat of nuclear conflict. There are also forces capable of putting the peaceful future of the peoples on an even firmer foundation.

These are the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries.

These are the international communist movement. And here we should mention the recent Paris meeting of European communist and workers parties, which gave additional, vigorous impetus to the cause of the further galvanization of the peace-loving forces and the mobilization of all people of good will for the defense of peace and international security.

These are the revolutionary and national liberation movement of the peoples and also a substantial number of nonaligned states, which operate from antiwar, anti-imperialist positions.

Soviet foreign policy is a realistic policy. We are far from underestimating the forces opposing us in the world arena and are maintaining constant vigilance and repulsing the aggressive designs of imperialism. At the same time we display due flexibility in our approach to international affairs and take into account, among other things, the fact that there are soberminded statesmen and politicians in the West who are disposed to heed the real state of affairs and are aware of the dangerous consequences ensuing from the policy of those responsible for the present spiraling of the arms race and the kindling of tension in the world.

With truly Leninist restraint and firmness, not succumbing to the provocations of imperialist reaction and invariably aspiring to mutual understanding and cooperation between countries and peoples, the CPSU and the Soviet state are consistently pursuing an honest and high-minded policy in the interests of insuring lasting peace on our planet. The CPSU Central Committee June Plenum instructed the Central Committee Politburo even in the present situation, when the adventurist actions of the United States and its accomplices have given rise to the increased danger of war, to continue unswervingly the policy of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses aimed at the strengthening by all possible means of the fraternal alliance of the socialist states, support for the just struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, peaceful coexistence, the curbing of the arms race, continuation of the policy of detente and the development of international cooperation.

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FROM ANALYSIS TO ACTION

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[Article by the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, acting as KOMMUNIST collective correspondent]

[Text] After hearing the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum passed the decision to convene the regular party congress on 23 February 1981. In the life of our party and country each congress is an event of tremendous historical significance, opening new horizons for the building of communism. The forthcoming congress will define, above all, the basic directions of the country's economic and social development between 1981 and 1985.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech to the plenum earmarks a specific program of action related to the preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress and formulates the basic means for the fulfillment of the 1980 Plan. The plenum made it incumbent upon the party organizations to comprehensively analyze, again and again, their work on the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The preparations for the new congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in his speech, are a powerful lever for upgrading the political and labor activeness of party and nonparty members.

In a city such as Moscow, with its tremendous economic and scientific and technical potential, multisectorial industry, most complex urban economy and powerful transport junction, the systematic and purposeful work by CPSU raykoms, party organizations, party groups and individual party members in preparation for the next congress is particularly important.

Currently the plenum materials and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report are the focal point of attention of the party members and all working people in the capital. The thought that the main thing today is the successful implementation of the annual assignments and the fulfillment of the five-year plan as a whole and the creation of the necessary things for successful work in 1981 is steadily emphasized at party meetings and aktivs and in the talks of agitators and political informants. Fully and entirely approving and supporting the wise domestic and foreign policy of the

CPSU, the working people of the capital well understand that the successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan will strengthen even further the power of the socialist homeland and will contribute to the effective implementation of the Leninist peaceful course charted by our party and Soviet state.

Preparations have been undertaken for the forthcoming 26th Party Congress at industrial enterprises, construction projects, urban economy organizations and scientific research institutes. The work of the party organizations and labor committees on the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress is profoundly analyzed, above all, and measures are earmarked to eliminate omissions and shortcomings.

This year the Moscow City CPSU Committee held two plenums on such problems. The course of the implementation of the decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the 23rd city party conference by the capital's CPSU organization was considered extensively and comprehensively. Also discussed was the work of Moscow's party members on implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the instructions issued by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on paying greater attention to the needs and requirements of the working people and the further improvement of their working, living and leisure-time conditions. Plenums and party meetings and aktivs with similar agendas were held in all city rayons and primary party organizations. They helped better to interpret past accomplishments, sum up progressive experience, draw the attention of the party members and all working people to unresolved problems, and critically consider omissions still occurring in economic management and party work. The decisions passed earmarked a broad program of measures for the mobilization of the labor collectives and the strict implementation by each enterprise of the 1980 assignments and the five-year plan as a whole. They contain specific measures for achieving these objectives.

Today this is the main and determining feature of the work of the party organizations. The November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum drew the attention of the party to the need to insure the further dynamic and proportional development of public production and systematically to pursue the course of upgrading work effectiveness and quality in all national economic units. It is no secret that work at some industrial enterprises in the city remains unstable and that monthly assignments are not met. For example, a number of light and food industry enterprises have fallen behind the control figures of the five-year plan by virtue of objective reasons. A tense situation with the implementation of annual and five-year assignments has developed in some plants of the machine-tool and instruments industry.

Extensive work must be done by industry, transportation and the urban economy in order to successfully fulfill the assignments of the five-year plan by the end of the year. Lagging in the implementation of the five-year plan at enterprises, where this has been allowed to occur, must be eliminated or reduced to a minimum, while the above-plan output

at enterprises where the five-year plan is being successfully implemented must be insured. This is precisely how, in preparing for the 26th Party Congress, the party members in the capital understand their task.

The struggle for the implementation of the party's economic and social policy is the principal and determining factor in the work of the city party organization which is adamantly encouraging the fullest possible utilization of the industrial and scientific potential developed in the capital, and the increased effectiveness of output based on the growth of labor productivity, increased work quality and fuller utilization of reserves.

The annual plans and socialist obligations for the past four years of the five-year plan were successfully fulfilled thanks to extensive political and organizational work and the extensive development of the socialist competition and the initiative of the working people. It is important to emphasize that these plans were fulfilled by all industrial enterprises in the city. In the first 4 years industrial output rose 16.6 percent as compared with 13.9 percent as planned. Sectors determining technical progress in the national economy developed at a faster pace, such as the electric-power industry, machine building and particularly, radio electronics, instrument manufacturing, automotive manufacturing, and the chemical industry. Major successes were achieved in resolving a problem such as upgrading production effectiveness. Between 1976 and 1979 89 percent of the growth of output came from higher labor productivity, which rose 14.6 percent rather than 13 percent as planned.

The city's party organizations pay great attention to improving output and raising its technical standard. Suffice it to say that in the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan 1,459 prototypes of machines, equipment, apparatus, instruments and automation facilities were created by the city's industry with the participation of scientific research and design organizations. Every year the production of about 1,000 commodities is mastered. In 1979 5,300 items bearing the state Emblem of Quality were produced.

The party organizations of the ZIL, AZLK, and Transmash associations, the Khromatron and Znnya Truda plants, the Factory imeni Frunze, and others are paying a great deal of attention to production mechanization and automation and the application of scientific and technical achievements. The city already has hundreds of enterprises in which labor conditions and the level of production mechanization meet the highest standards; 234 of them have been awarded the title of "High Standard Enterprise," and 62 enterprises and organizations are considered model.

The party organization at the Automotive Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev has acquired interesting experience in working along this line. Here great attention is being paid to the fastest possible utilization of the latest scientific developments and research making it possible to steadily improve the equipment and the technology, develop new prototypes with high

quality characteristics, and apply them in current production work. The plant has organized and is effectively utilizing a system for applying the latest scientific and technical achievements in production. This contributes to considerably shortening the time for the development of goods and for increasing productive capital returns. With a view to upgrading the effectiveness with which scientific achievements are used, the association has set up a unified scientific complex which includes research laboratories, special planning and design bureaus for the creation of technological equipment, and a technical base.

Specific problems related to the utilization of scientific and technical achievements are resolved together with the scientific institutions. The plant has developed close business contacts with the Moscow State University (Imeni Lomonosov), the Moscow Higher Technical School (Imeni Bauman), the Atomic Energy Institute (Imeni Kurchatov) and many other scientific research institutes and VUZ's which are doing an ever greater amount of work for the fastest possible practical utilization of scientific developments.

The plant's party committee and the party committees and bureaus of the production and technical subunits systematically control the implementation of the plans at all stages from the development of technical problems to the mass production of new equipment and application of technology. Here the time for the application of scientific developments has been reduced by one-half. The plant has resolved a number of complex technical problems in developing new motor vehicle designs, the mechanization and automation of production processes, and the mastering of progressive technology. As a result of this, over the past five years labor productivity has increased 41 percent and about 4,000 workers have been released in theory. Production quality has risen considerably. Higher category goods account for 73 percent of the overall volume of output. Savings from the application of scientific and technical achievements have totaled about 130 million rubles. The Moscow City Party Committee Bureau approved the work experience of the plant's collective and recommended its extensive dissemination.

The specific feature of Moscow's industry is that a number of its enterprises and even entire sectors are over 100 years old. Under the Soviet system, naturally, they were subjected to radical changes. However, scientific and technical progress calls for the steady renovation of output. For this reason the city party organization considers the fastest completion of the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises one of its most important tasks. It is precisely this that is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the 10th Five-Year Plan and for insuring stable work in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Over the past 4 years about three billion rubles have been channeled into the construction, reconstruction and technical retooling of industrial enterprises. This has effectively influenced the development of the capital's national economy. The volume of output is growing and labor productivity is rising. As a result of the implementation of comprehensive plans for the technical retooling of the city's industrial facilities, between 1976 and 1979 the capital-labor ratio

rose 28 percent while the power-labor ratio rose 11 percent. A total of 125,000 people were released from heavy, labor-intensive and nonmechanized work.

Yet, by virtue of a number of objective reasons, the pace at which industrial enterprises are being reconstructed does not meet present-day requirements. This greatly concerns the party organizations. In order to insure the rhythmical and stable work of the labor collectives in the next five-year plan, this year approximately 700 million rubles' worth of capital investments must be used for industrial reconstruction. Effective measures must be taken to accelerate the commissioning of projects and the normative deadlines for mastering their capacity must be observed. The pace of renovation of the machine-tool fleet must be increased considerably. Unquestionably, these are complex tasks whose implementation will require the extensive and intensive work of the party organizations and all labor collectives, efficient planning and material and technical support.

Together with scientific institutions, ministries and planning organs, the Moscow City Party Committee drafted a general plan for the development of Moscow's industry to 1990. It calls for the extensive further reconstruction of enterprises and for improving the production process. The general plan also contains a broad program of measures to improve labor conditions.

The party defined the 10th Five-Year Plan as a five-year plan of effectiveness and quality. "We set ourselves the major assignment of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum. "It must remain steadily within our sight."

Upgrading the technical standard and quality of output is a mandatory prerequisite for increasing production effectiveness. The quality of output is a summarized result of the production process and the end result of human labor and of the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the production of superior quality goods in the city must be improved by a factor of 2-2.5. A great deal has already been accomplished to achieve this. From the beginning of the five-year plan the production of such goods has increased by a 2.3 factor and its share in the overall volume of output today is 21.3 percent. Complex quality control systems have been introduced at 250 plants and factories.

Are the party members in the capital satisfied with this situation? The answer, most categorically, is no. Today only one-third of the plants and factories are producing goods classified in the superior quality category. The enterprises of many ministries, including those of the automotive industry, heavy-machine building, and food industry, fail to fulfill the five-year plan assignments on this important indicator. This particularly applies to enterprises producing consumer goods.

The 23rd city party conference called for raising the share of superior quality goods by 1980. The production of such goods must be accelerated at all plants and factories. The quality of consumer goods must be upgraded and their variety increased. Technical conditions must be observed strictly and comprehensive quality control systems must be extensively applied at all enterprises.

This can be achieved only through the effective interaction between science and production. The biggest institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and scientific research and design organizations considered leading in their sectors and crucial to their future development, have been concentrated in the capital. That is why the city party organizations pay such great attention to upgrading the effectiveness of scientific institutions and to strengthening their ties with production. Moscow's scientists have achieved considerable results in all fields of knowledge. Together with production workers they have created a number of technological prototypes. The capital's scientific collectives are actively participating in the formulation of a 20-year comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress; 800 scientific research and design organizations are providing scientific and technical assistance to production enterprises. Over 10,000 contracts for creative cooperation between scientific research institutes and design bureaus, on the one hand, and production collectives on the other, have been signed. The capital's scientific organizations sponsor the tempestuously developing new economic areas of Siberia and the Far East. They are doing extensive work on the comprehensive programs drafted by CEMA.

The training institutes have actively joined the efforts to develop the city's economy and to upgrade its effectiveness. They conduct extensive research at enterprises and are developing new equipment and technologies.

Here is what Prof. N. Khavskiy, prorektor in charge of scientific affairs of the Moscow Institute of Steels and Alloys, told MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents:

"As we know, the final link in the 'idea-application chain' is among the most difficult. To the VUZ's this problem is particularly grave, for the most important aspect of the activities of a teacher is to train the students. How to free part of the time of a VUZ teacher to help the production process without harming the training process? In our view, the solution lies in creating support application groups and creative brigades at the biggest enterprises, for conducting joint studies, and opening branches of sectorial laboratories.

"For example, we have opened such a branch at the Moscow Carburetors Plant. The physics and physical-chemical methods laboratory for the intensification of technological processes formulated and applied for this enterprise ultrasound systems for the cleaning of air and fuel carburetor jets for automotive engines. For a number of years a creative group has been operating at the Moscow Pipes Plant.

"We are also expanding already traditional forms for strengthening contacts with production enterprises. This includes, above all, socialist cooperation contracts. Every year our VUZ scientists conclude up to 200 such contracts. The economic results of their implementation are quite considerable: In the first 4 years of the five-year plan they totaled 12 million rubles. What makes such results even more tangible is that the implementation of contractual cooperation obligations does not require additional financial outlays, as the work is done free of charge."

Taking into consideration acquired practical experience, the city party committee has set the scientific collectives in the capital and their party organizations the task of considerably upgrading the effectiveness of research on the basis of extensive utilization of program-target control methods at all stages in the research process, strictly insuring timely completion of assignments as stipulated in target scientific-technical programs for 1976-1980, and the implementation of topic plans and the meeting of obligations for the ahead-of-schedule utilization of the results of completed projects.

"The components for high effectiveness in capital construction are building quickly, economically, and on a modern technical basis," the 25th CPSU Congress emphasized. Implementing the congress' instructions, the party organizations have done a great deal to develop this industrial sector of the greatest importance to the capital's economy. The volume of contractual work carried out by the city construction organizations has increased 9.9 percent compared with 1975. Construction and design organization have achieved a great deal in the implementation of the general plan for the development of Moscow and the construction and reconstruction of industrial enterprises, engineering systems, transport networks, and urban economy projects, and in improving urban construction.

The party organizations of construction projects insured the extensive utilization in civil construction of standardized items included in the unified catalogue, whose compilers were awarded the 1980 Lenin Prize for science and technology. The use of such items makes it possible to meet the requirements of assembly-line production and achieve the necessary architectural expressiveness and variety of housing in mass construction areas. Today over 40 percent of prefabricated housing and about 70 percent of engineering-transport and other systems built in Moscow are based on the items included in the catalogue.

The scale of housing construction with improved planning and finishing of apartment units and a variety of facades has been increased. The building and reconstruction of one-of-a-kind Olympic Games projects were completed. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev congratulated the Moscow construction workers for this outstanding labor victory. The one-of-a-kind sports installations, the Olympic Village, and the new hotel complex in Izmaylovo were highly rated by the members of the International Olympic Committee and the participants and guests at Olympiad-80. Following the games all these new

construction projects will be used by the Muscovites. They have been built in accordance with the general plan for the development of Moscow.

Today the Moscow City Party Committee and Moscow Executive Committee are working on accelerating the conversion of all civil construction projects to items found in the standardized catalogue and on the extension of its principles to industrial construction.

In the current five-year plan over 180 million rubles have been used to expand the capacities of construction organizations and of construction-materials industry enterprises. The production of prefabricated reinforced concrete, carpentry and ceramic goods, nonmineral, sanitation, and polymer materials, and steel and aluminum structures has been expanded.

Yet, all these measures remain insufficient and the situation in capital construction remains tense. This is due to the scattering of forces and funds among many projects and the insufficiently high level of organization of construction output. The volume of unfinished construction remains high as a result of which considerable funds are frozen. The elimination of such shortcomings is a decisive prerequisite for the implementation of planned assignments. A great deal remains to be done. Before the end of the year over 500,000 square meters of industrial-production areas, 2.6 million square meters of housing, and dozens of children's preschool institutions, hospitals, polyclinics, and cultural and social projects must be commissioned.

Currently the party organizations are making a thorough study of the situation at each target project and are drafting intensive yet realistic work schedules. They are coordinating the activities of contracting organizations and of delivery plants and transport and design organizations with a view to insuring the efficient and uninterrupted work at each project and the rational utilization of available forces and funds. It is a question of achieving the rhythmical completion of projects, reducing the volume of unfinished construction, insuring comprehensive urban construction, closely linking the plans for construction and installation work to the capacities of construction organizations and available material supplies, stopping the building of obsolete-type housing, and insuring preliminary engineering development of construction areas at a faster pace. Another task facing the city party committee is to insure this year that the necessary funds are allocated for the development of a construction base amounting to no less than 25 percent of the overall volume of construction and installation projects for housing, cultural, and communal purposes. This will make it possible to insure their rhythmical completion in 1981.

The development of the city is inseparably linked with the implementation of a huge social program. The stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress on upgrading the prosperity of the Soviet people and the development of science and culture are being implemented systematically. In the first 4 years of the five-year plan housing totaling over 17 million square meters, schools for 79,000 students, preschool institutions for 65,000

children, hospitals for 6,000 beds, polyclinics for 39,000 visits per shift, and about 1,000 trade and public catering enterprises have been built in Moscow; 675 consumer services enterprises have been commissioned. Two new subway lines have been opened and 60 lines of surface passenger transportation have been organized.

However, a great deal remains to be done in this area. It is a question, above all, of the comprehensive nature of resolving social and consumer problems, the proportional development of housing and cultural construction, the timely engineering development of new microrayons, and the more intensive development of surface passenger transportation in mass construction areas. The topical nature of these problems determines the particular attention paid to them by the city party committee, the Moscow Soviet, the rayon party committees, the executive committees of rayon soviets, the permanent commissions of deputies, and the public at large. Everyone perfectly realizes that they are key features in the solution of the main problem of making Moscow a model communist city.

The most favorable opportunities have been created in the capital for the active exposure of the working people to spiritual values. Over two million people are attending VUZ's, technical schools, schools, vocational-technical schools, and various courses. Every day as many as 400,000 books and pamphlets are sold in the city. Every Moscow family receives an average of four to five newspapers and periodicals; 88 out of 100 families have a radio receiver or radio-gramophone and 98 out of 100 have a television set. The over 1,300 public libraries in the city have very rich stocks of books. Hundreds of museums, exhibits, theaters, concert halls, movie theaters, and clubs are at the disposal of the Muscovites. A number of other facts and figures could be cited indicating the way the all-round upsurge of the economy, science, and culture, and the steady growth of the people's prosperity are influencing the daily life of the Muscovites.

The city is systematically implementing the decisions of the 25th Party Congress on the further advancement of planned economic management, the development of democratic principles in production management and the upgrading of the creative initiative of labor collectives. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" stresses that the task today is to raise the level of planning and economic management, making them consistent with the requirements of the present stage of developed socialism, achieving a considerable increase in public production effectiveness, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the growth of labor productivity, and upgrading production quality and, on this basis, insuring the steadfast upsurge of the country's economy and the prosperity of the Soviet people.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan important measures have been implemented in the capital to improve the structure of industrial and construction management. New production and scientific-production associations have been created. New main administrations have been set up by the Moscow City Executive

Committee, 148 Moscow enterprises have converted to work based on the normative net-output indicator and construction organizations of the Main Moscow Engineering Construction Administration, to planning and accounting based on finished construction output.

It is already possible to say that the experiment has been fully justified. For example, starting with the beginning of 1979 the Main Moscow Engineering Construction Administration has been operating on the self-financing principle. Profits are the main source for financing the development of production and for the material incentive of the collective. Last year they rose 45 percent compared with 1978 and material incentive funds rose correspondingly. Fast construction methods began to be applied more energetically and projects have been completed more rhythmically. Next year the other main construction administrations will convert to the new planning method--the Main Moscow Construction Administration, Main Moscow Industrial Construction Administration, and Main Moscow Installation and Specialized Construction Administration.

The Main Moscow Construction Materials Industry Administration is engaged in an interesting experiment. Here over several years the normative net production indicator has been used in planning the volume of output, labor productivity, and wages, replacing the marketed output indicator. Starting with 1976 this indicator was applied to the prestressed reinforced concrete sector and, starting with 1978, to all enterprises of the main administration. In the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the volume of output of the main administration rose 23.1 percent compared with 20.3 percent as planned. Labor productivity rose 20.4 percent as compared with 18.2 percent as planned. Profits rose 43 percent and about 9 million rubles were earned above the planned figure.

In the course of the experiment the pace of mastering the production of new goods doubled (from an average of 350 to 700 per year). Material intensiveness was reduced by 15 million rubles. Deadlines for completing the construction of prefabricated housing were shortened by 10 to 15 percent. Thanks to the new type of planning, without substantial interruptions the main administration enterprises were able to master the production of new items for the Olympiad-80 projects and use standardized items from the uniform catalogue.

The brigade form of labor organization and wages is being applied ever more actively in the capital's industry. In the 11th Five-Year Plan it must become the basic method. These problems are always considered, for example, at meetings of the bureau of the Zhdanovskiy Rayon Party Committee and at conferences of secretaries of party organizations and economic managers. The rayon's enterprises are extensively applying the brigade system. Let us name, among them, above all, the GPZ-1. In order to implement the planned measures the enterprise created a work group headed by A. Gromov, its general director. The main lines of activity were defined: organizational, engineering-economic preparations, and mass-political work. Management, starting with foremen, is given special

training in the new forms of labor organization. Plans for the creation of brigades in basic and auxiliary production shops have been formulated. Equipment has been assigned to such shops and their final operations have been defined for purposes of determining output. The layout of workplaces has been changed.

Today this plant has eight comprehensive brigades following the new method. The results of their activities have been quite substantial. Thus, in the collectives headed by B. Isayev, since the beginning of the work based on a single order, labor productivity rose 18 percent while wages rose 8 percent. Similar indicators have been achieved by the other collectives as well.

At the First Time Mechanisms Plant 62 percent of the piece-rate workers are using the brigade work system. At the Automated Lines Plant imeni 50-Letiya SSSR 50 brigades are working on the basis of a single order. The brigades, with 7 to 10 people each, are mostly specialized.

The practical experience of the party committees in the field of economic management and in the ways and means of exerting party influence on economic processes at an enterprise or rayon has been considerably enriched in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Depth and competence are the main factors governing today the work of party committees in this area.

Let us consider the experience of the Kievskiy Rayon Party Committee. Here all rayon party committee plenums and meetings of the party-economic aktiv are prepared with the most active participation of economic scientists and specialists. Thus, a commission was set up to prepare for the rayon party committee plenum discussion of the tasks of party organizations and economic managers on further upgrading labor productivity in the rayon's industry. It included scientists from the All-Union Correspondents Finance-Economics Institute, heads of economic services of a number of ministries, plant directors, and leading workers. The commission skillfully analyzed the state of affairs and made a thorough study of "right spots" and lagging sectors at enterprises and helped to find additional reserves. Such analytical work also preceded the rayon party committee plenums at which upgrading capital returns and the quality of industrial output were discussed.

The extent of preparatory work on economic problems done by the rayon party committee here determines the economic substantiation and political significance of its decisions to be implemented by the primary party organizations. That is why a systems approach is used here in the study of economic problems and the knowledge of specialists and the experience of leading production workers are always relied upon.

It would be no error to say that the results of the rayon's industry in the first 4 years of the five-year plan--a 26 percent increase in labor productivity, steady increase in capital returns, and increased share of

goods bearing the Emblem of Quality from 4 to 28 percent--were largely determined by the increased level of training of party and economic cadres. Over 50 percent of all secretaries of primary party organizations in industry, construction, and transportation now have higher political education and about 100 enterprise directors and their deputies have either graduated or are continuing their training in the two-year course for economic managers sponsored by the rayon party committee.

This is a very typical example. The city and rayon party committees are steadily working to upgrade the role of the party organizations in all fields of labor activities and in achieving high end results. All this has considerably contributed to the growth of the labor and political activeness of the urban working people and to the extensive development of the labor competition for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the five-year plan.

The Moscow working people initiated the socialist competition in honor of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. Moscow's slogan of "Fulfilling Individual Assignments by the 110th Anniversary of V. I. Lenin's Birth" essentially assumed unionwide significance. By that noteworthy date 279 enterprises and associations and 12,000 shops, sectors, and brigades fulfilled their five-year assignments on the rate of growth of the volumes of output and labor productivity; 30,000 leading production workers completed their individual five-year plans.

Who are these people and how do they achieve such high results? What is their moral, their civic stance? In order to answer these questions the editors of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, together with the party committees, conducted an investigation at a number of enterprises in the city. Production innovators who fulfilled their individual five-year assignments answered the questions of the survey.

The results of the surveys conducted at the MELZ Association and the Moscow enterprises which had fulfilled their output and growth of labor productivity plans at the beginning of June were noteworthy. They indicated that about 70 percent of the production innovators were party and Komsomol members. This is natural, for the party members are always in the vanguard of the socialist competition and provide models of highly productive labor. The absolute majority of the workers who have fulfilled their five-year plans were mature people, over 30, with a solid work experience of no less than 10 years, and with secondary or unfinished secondary education. This too shows nothing amazing. Modern equipment and the complex technological processes characteristic of electric vacuum production require extensive knowledge and special skills acquired in the course of time and which enhance the importance of the vocational and general educational standards of the workers.

It is quite characteristic that highly skilled and experienced people are always attracted by the new. Thirty-two of the 48 workers who answered the questions in the surveys emphasized the particular importance of mastering the progressive experience of their colleagues; another 13 submitted suggestions for improving the effectiveness of various methods for sharing

The valuable experience of innovators. As most workers emphasized, it is precisely the mastering of progressive experience that enabled them to fulfill their five-year plan ahead of schedule. Another characteristic feature of today's innovator is that only 10 of the 48 leading workers had no permanent party or other social assignments. Thus, production activities are naturally combined with social work.

Such are the people who head the socialist competition and determine the appearance of the capital's working class. It is precisely they and their comrades who launched the new patriotic initiative started by Moscow's labor collectives, that of completing annual assignments by 7 November, the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Revolution. They included the brigades and sectors headed by I. Lipilin, from the Plant for Adding-Analytical Machines imeni Kalmyko, of N. Kalinin, from the ATE-2 Plant imeni 60 Letiya Oktyabrya, Ye. Kop'yev, from the Machine Building Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze, and many others.

These collectives decided to insure the ahead-of-schedule implementation of the annual plan through improvements in the organization of labor, the rational utilization of the working time and the extensive utilization of progressive ways and means of work, thus reaching high labor productivity at each workplace. Characteristically, the pledges of the leading workers included measures for the conservation of raw and other materials, fuel, and electric power.

The initiative of the leading collectives met with the extensive support of the city's enterprises. The rayon party committees and party organizations asked a broad range of engineering and technical personnel, economists, and technologists to help the workers in defining their obligations. The party organizations are taking measures to insure the uninterrupted and highly effective work of each machine tool, machine, or apparatus.

The Moscow City Party Bureau approved the initiative of the collectives of sectors and brigades and the production innovators who decided to fulfill their annual assignments by the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Considering the great national economic importance of this initiative, the bureau made it incumbent upon the party raykoms and party organizations of enterprises in industry, transportation, and construction organizations to undertake organizational and mass-political work for its extensive dissemination and to channel the efforts of the working people toward finding and utilizing all production reserves and insuring the economical utilization of material, raw material, and energy resources in order to increase output and insure the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the 1980 and the five-year plans.

The capital's party members well realize that the power of any initiative and undertaking lies in its extensive and truly mass development. This was repeatedly emphasized by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. He believed that the main aspect of the competition is to promote ever more extensively the independent initiative of the workers and all working people and for the example of

the best to have a mass influence. The city party organizations consider the socialist competition for the fulfillment of the annual assignment by 7 November a most important component of the preparations for the 26th Party Congress. It is precisely this initiative, concreteness, and substantiation of the socialist obligation of progressive collectives that enabled the Moscow enterprises to adopt new and increased obligations in honor of the congress in answer to the decisions of the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum.

These are a few examples of such obligations. The collective of the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant decided to overfulfill its 1980 counterplan by 500,000 rubles. It pledged, in addition to its five-year assignment, to manufacture goods worth 6.5 million rubles and raise the share of superior-quality goods to 88 percent rather than 77 percent as stipulated in the five-year plan.

The Manometer Plant decided to produce in 1980 above-plan commodities worth 400,000 rubles. It pledged to master by the opening of the congress the series production of advanced remote-control manometers based on microelectronic elements. The collective has pledged to work with saved resources on 23 February, the day the congress opens.

The workers of Automotive Combine No 1 pledged to haul by 23 February, in addition to the two-month assignment, over 50,000 tons of freight for the national economy and, on the day the congress opens, to work only with conserved fuel, electric power, and materials.

"We must emphasize that maximum energy must be applied," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the June 1980 Central Committee Plenum, "in order successfully to fulfill and overfulfill the plan for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, complete on time target projects, and insure the stable work of the national economy in 1981--the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Naturally, the socialist competition in honor of the congress must play its role here."

The profound and comprehensive analysis of the experience acquired during the five-year plan in the field of economic and organizational work is helping the Moscow party raykoms and primary party organizations to define more accurately the range of unresolved problems and focus the efforts of the party members on the implementation of the most important among them. It dictates new ways and means of work. The party members all working people in the capital see it as their duty successfully to complete the assignments of the last year of the 10th Five-Year Plan and welcome the 26th CPSU Congress with new labor successes.

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URGENT PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE AND ITS EFFECTIVENESS

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[Article by M. Gorbachev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by Marxist-Leninist teachings, developed and consistently is accomplishing a contemporary political course, which responds to the objective necessities of developed socialism, to the problems involving an unswerving improvement in the material and cultural life of the people. This course was formulated under the profound influence of the historic October (1964) Central Committee Plenum and received its embodiment and development in the decisions of the 24th and 25th Party congresses. The regular 26th CPSU Congress to be convened early next year will determine the strategy and tactics for the struggle during the forthcoming period of communist construction.

The agrarian policy is an important component of the CPSU overall political course. Steadfastly solving the problem of improving national well-being, the party places special emphasis on accelerated growth of agricultural production, on achievement of vital economic and social goals. The interests of Soviet society's comprehensive progress require that we not only have powerful industry, but highly-developed agricultural production as well.

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Agrarian theory and policy occupy an important place in Leninism's ideological and theoretical arsenal. Relying upon the concepts of scientific communism's founders, V. I. Lenin created detailed teachings on the agrarian-peasant question, he fully revealed its political, economic, and social aspects. Enormous credit goes to Lenin in scientific substantiation of the role and significance of cooperation in socialist construction, of the basic trends in the development of agriculture's material and technical base, of ways to draw the city and the countryside together.

Developing an agrarian theory, the classics of Marxism-Leninism pointed up agriculture's special role in society's economic and social development. "...Production of food," K. Marx wrote, "is the very first condition of life of direct producers and of all production overall..." (K. Marx and F. Engels. "Works," Vol 25, Part II, pp 184-185). This Marxist position always was considered and is being considered by our party in its agrarian policy. Outlining the program of socioeconomic transformations, Lenin underscored that creation of food resources is one of the vital foundations of a socialist economy.

Our country's Communist Party during economic and cultural construction did an enormous amount of work on practical accomplishment of the Leninist agrarian program and its further developments. It was the first in history to solve the problem of the basic social reconstruction of small peasant farms and insured the victory of socialism in the countryside. "Leninist teachings on the agrarian question, the ideas and principles of his cooperative plan," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated, "were and remain in our party's inventory. The CPSU is immutably guided by them and continues to develop further, taking specific historical conditions into consideration."

The entire developmental process of Soviet society is persuasive confirmation of the progressive nature and vital force of the socialist system of agriculture. An especially great amount of work was done to develop kolkhoz and sovkhoz production following the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The party's social, economic, and organizational measures taken elicited an enormous outflow of social and labor activity by agricultural workers. The Plenum decisions, its political and theoretical conclusions, the breadth and scale of the problems propounded exerted an enormous influence on all subsequent socioeconomic progress in the countryside and throughout the society as a whole.

An outstanding role in development of the contemporary political course and of the urgent problems of the agrarian policy falls to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. His reports, articles, and speeches on agrarian problems, his book "Tselina" (Virgin Lands) and other works are a mighty ideological and political arsenal, they arm our cadres with a precise program of practical actions. L. I. Brezhnev shows unswerving concern for a comprehensive improvement of agriculture, the initiative in posing weighty questions on development of the country's agrarian sector and its individual regions belongs to him.

Steadfastly following the intended course, our party in the years following the March Central Committee Plenum solved many large-scale problems. This period is distinguished by the profound changes which encompassed all spheres of life in the countryside--production, social, and spiritual.

Agriculture has travelled a long path of development, has become more highly productive, has received more monetary and energy resources, and has now risen to a qualitatively new level. The nature of agricultural production has changed and its material and technical potential has greatly risen. Agriculture's fixed production capital at the beginning of 1980 exceeded 220 billion rubles or increased in comparison with 1965 by a factor of 2.9; power capacities rose by a factor of 2.5.

In process during these years was development of the sectors supporting the technical reequipping of agriculture. New tractor and agricultural machine-building plants were built and more than half of the enterprises in these sectors were renovated. This made it possible to almost completely upgrade the machine and tractor inventory on kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The share of powerful, modern, more highly productive machinery in this inventory increased. In essence, production of machines and equipment for animal husbandry and feed production was organized anew. A combined feed and microbiological industry and a construction industry were created in the countryside.

Expansion of agriculture's chemicalization allowed kolkhozes and sovkhoses to introduce relatively high doses of mineral fertilizers when planting cotton plants, sugar beets, and other technical crops and when planting vegetables, potatoes, gardens, and vineyards. The capability is now there with each passing year to provide even more fertilizer for grain and food crops.

Accomplishment of the land reclamation program has enormous significance in development of agriculture's productive forces. Large engineer irrigation systems have been set up in the republics of Central Asia. Irrigation is deploying on a broad front in the arid regions of the North Caucasus, Volga area, southern Ukraine, and other zones. The area of irrigated and reclaimed land is now 30 million hectares, making it possible to considerably increase the proportion of guaranteed products obtained.

Measures to strengthen the material and technical base required a significant increase in capital investments in agricultural production and in other sectors connected with it. It also required broader use of the country's economic potential to aid in accelerated development of the agrarian sector. The party and state have done this. In the last three five-year plans approximately 400 billion rubles have been directed towards development of agriculture. Intensification was the chief factor in the increase of production scales on kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

Production of the product will increase with an increase in expenditures for agricultural development. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, as compared to the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the average annual volume of gross output of agriculture increased by a factor of 1.5. Primarily, the production of grain increased materially. If during the Seventh

Five-Year Plan (1961-1965) the country on the average received 130 million tons of grain, it received 79 million tons more during the 10th Five-Year Plan. The virgin lands of Kazakhstan and the RSFSR provided a significant share of the grain in this increase. Material growth was achieved in the production of cotton and other farm products. Positive processes are underway in animal husbandry development. The average annual production of meat increased by 5.5 million tons (by a factor of 1.6), milk by 28.4 million tons (1.4), and eggs by 33 billion units, or by a factor of 2.2.

At present the growth in agricultural production in the main is being achieved due to intensive factors. The average yield of grain crops of 10.2 quintals per hectare during the Seventh Five-Year Plan rose to 16.3 quintals during the 10th. Labor productivity in comparison with the level during the Seventh Five-Year Plan increased by a factor of 1.8 on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Life shows that our agriculture will become more stable, it can now with less outlays overcome the capriciousness of the weather. This is an indubitable indicator of the strength and might of socialist agriculture.

A vital result of the work done by the party is that the growth in agricultural production permitted an increase in the level of consumption of food products. From 1965 through 1979 per capita consumption rose: of meat by 41 percent, milk 27, eggs 88, fruits and berries 36, and vegetables and melons by 32 percent. Consumption of fish rose 32 percent. The overall food calorie content now has reached 3,200 calories on the average per person per day, which is at the level of the world's developed countries. Moreover, it should be noted that our retail prices for basic food products are stable, and this given the steady rise in the salaries of workers and employees and payments for the labor of kolkhoz workers--a vital factor in raising the standard of living of the workers.

It goes without saying that these shifts did not come about by themselves. They are the result of the constant attention of the Central Committee and its Politburo, of the entire party, to agriculture, of the great organizational and political work of the Central Committee of the Communist Parties of the union republics, of the party kraykoms and obkoms, of the intense labor of workers on the sovkhozes and kolkhozes, of the great assistance rendered to the countryside by the workers in the cities and industrial centers.

Results achieved and experience accumulated convincingly affirm the scientific basis and vital force of the CPSU contemporary agrarian policy. It has opened up broad perspectives for creative activities by rural workers and facilitates further improvement of the well-being of all the Soviet people.

Demands placed on agriculture are growing at the contemporary stage of communist construction, when our party places emphasis on solution of problems involving fuller satisfaction of workers' growing requirements for food products and consumer goods. There is the necessity to significantly increase the production of farm and animal husbandry products. And, this is understandable. A significant portion of the national income--28.4 percent of the total (taking into account the turnover tax as a portion of the pure income realized in the prices of industrial products)--is now being created in agriculture. Products from agriculture and goods produced from agricultural raw materials comprise more than two-thirds of the retail sales of state and cooperative trade.

The CPSU steadfastly accomplishes a course towards conversion of agriculture into a highly-developed sector of the economy. The July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum opened a new stage in the struggle to solve this problem. It became an important event in the life of the party and of the people and answered fundamental questions of further development of agricultural production and social progress in the countryside. Stemming from the profound scientific understanding of agriculture's role in communist construction, the July Plenum pointed out that the party, as in the past, is consistently implementing the approach of systematically increasing capital investments in this sector so that their proportion in the overall volume of resources allocated to develop the national economy in the 11th Five-Year Plan will be no less than the level that has been achieved. This guideline has significance in principle for elaboration of the new five-year plan for the country's economic and social development.

Also, the party attaches special significance to improvement in the return on the resources invested in agriculture. Now, when with each passing year the production-economic and scientific-technical potential in the countryside becomes more and more powerful, the problem of improving the use of material, monetary, and labor resources on kolkhozes and sovkhoses and increasing the efficiency of agricultural production is coming to be the forefront.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev notes that "in the 1970's we initiated the turn of our economy in the direction of intensive development, increased efficiency and quality, and stressing the final results of economic activities. In the 1980's we must continue and complete this vital cause, which is the linchpin of the party's economic strategy."

The move to improve efficiency is not a short-term campaign, but a strategic trend which determines all our work. The June (1980) Central Committee Plenum again underscored that improving production efficiency and work quality must continually be under our cognizance. Reserves to do this are available everywhere.

Problems of agricultural development now are being examined primarily in the light of these very requirements. A growth in grain production and improvement in farming stability remain the central problem here. This is the shock sector of work in the countryside. The average annual gross grain yield during the 11th Five-Year Plan must as a minimum be brought up to 238-243 million tons.

Practice shows that we have in all zones capabilities to farm with stability. In the country already thousands of kolkhozes and sovkhoses maintain their production at a high level and they creatively use achievements in agricultural sciences and selection. This lets them battle the caprices of the weather and obtain high yields. Even in very unfavorable 1979 almost 8,000 kolkhozes and sovkhoses obtained grain crop yields of 25 or more quintals, with 1,620 farms getting more than 40 quintals per hectare.

However, one still encounters great fluctuations in grain yield and production in many important agricultural regions. Naturally, we must farm under difficult soil and climatic conditions and three-quarters of the area planted to grain and pulse seed crops in the country are located in a zone of insufficient and unstable moisture. In many regions the frost-free period is very short. But, these are our normal natural conditions. Taking them into account as well, we must build a scientific system of farm operation which responds to local conditions so that we obtain good yields any year and we reliably meet the country's foodstuffs requirements.

The soil-conservation system of farming developed by scientific institutions is an effective trend towards solution of the stability problem for many regions of the country. It is being more and more widely disseminated. In this case there is an additional grain yield of 2-3 quintals per hectare. Introduction of crop rotation with clean fallows in arid zones is of great significance in insuring grain farming stability.

Concerning grain production, we must keep in mind that the country needs not simply grain, but all of its forms--wheat, rye, rice, barley, oats, peas, corn, millet, polygonum, and other food and feed grains as a minimum in those volumes established by the plan. However, there are significant shortcomings in the production of some crops, especially goat, pulse, and grain corn. Their yields and purchases are growing slowly and, in a number of places, polygonum and millet are underrated. This is an incorrect, localized approach to overall interests. No one can remain on the sidelines where solving the problem of increasing grain yields is concerned. Each farm, each rayon, oblast, kray, and republic has been called upon in 1980 to make a maximum contribution to increasing the country's grain resources, to fulfilling the state plan for grain purchases, and to making up for shortages from previous years.

Much also must be done in the farming sphere to increase production of sugar beets, sunflowers, seed cotton, especially the thin-fiber grades,

flax fiber, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, tea, and other products. The main thing here, just as in grain farming, is to raise yields and introduce highly productive strains and hybrids. Under present conditions the struggle to increase farm crops is senseless without strict technological discipline in all efforts and operations--from planting to harvesting, from harvesting to planting,--without implementation of progressive technology of raising each crop.

Chemicalization, the skillful use of organic and mineral fertilizers, ways to protect vegetation, and use of growth stimulators, acquires ever greater significance in increasing farming productiveness and stability. The All-Union Production-Scientific Association for Agrochemical Support to Agriculture (Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya) created by a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decision is an important instrument here. A great deal of work now has begun in republics, krais, and oblasts to insure that this specialized service unites the efforts of science and practice. This service has established close ties with kolkhozes and sovkhoses, it has expanded and reinforced the base for storing and using fertilizers, liming acidic soils, and it has accepted full responsibility for rational and correct use of chemicals. Henceforth, the growth in yield and productivity on the kolkhozes and sovkhoses that Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya serves will be the main indicator of the quality of its work.

Land reclamation has become a powerful lever to improve the stability of farming and reduce the dependence of agricultural production on weather conditions. There are many remarkable examples from many regions of the country where one hectare of irrigated land does the work of 3-4 hectares of boghara [unirrigated land]. In addition, one must not overlook the fact that land reclamation's enormous possibilities still are not being used in full measure and the return on the irrigated hectare is insufficient. There are cases of gaps between the rates of introduction of new areas and their economic arrangement. Irrigated land often is used in the form of small sections rather than a large block. In this situation attention to irrigated farming naturally wanes. Experience in Uzbekistan, Belorussia, the Kuban', and the Crimea shows that irrigated lands are used effectively in those instances when special farms or large kolkhoz and sovkhos subunits growing crops well-suited to irrigated farming are set up on these irrigated lands. This is the route that should be followed everywhere.

More complete satisfaction of consumer demands for meat and milk is a vital problem right now. The party and the people have done an enormous amount of work to develop public animal husbandry on kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Public animal husbandry now provides 90 percent of the commodity production of this sector. However, despite the significant increase in production of meat, milk, and other animal husbandry products the achieved level does not meet the ever-increasing requirements of the

country. Therefore, it is completely logical that the July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum placed animal husbandry problems, and meat production primarily, in the forefront.

The Plenum established comprehensive intensification as the main trend in sector development for successful accomplishment of the intended program for further increasing the production of animal husbandry products. There is a necessity everywhere to convert to intensive fattening of livestock, raise the weight conditions, and insure a higher percentage of meat per head of cattle. A concomitant task is to increase the milking of cows to 3,000 kilograms, and to 4,000-5,000 kilograms in areas where dairy farming is developed. There are considerable reserves for increasing product output on animal husbandry complexes, large mechanized farms, and poultry factories, many of which have not yet achieved planned indicators.

The livestock population on kolkhozes and sovkhoses, taking into consideration its further growth and the genetic potential of the strains raised in this country, provides the prerequisites for achievement of a higher level of animal husbandry product output. However, these capabilities still are far from being fully realized.

Further development of animal husbandry primarily and to a decisive degree depends upon an increase in production of feeds, moreover varied and high-quality feeds. A great deal is being done in this regard and there are examples of a thoughtful and profound approach to solution of feed production problems. Feed production in Kiyevskaya Oblast, for example, is underway at a high rate: the livestock population here during the Ninth and 10th Five-Year Plans rose by a factor of 1.5 and feed production increased by a factor of 1.8. Agricultural workers in the Kiev area are fulfilling the five-year animal husbandry plan ahead of time.

At the same time, one can list many rayons and oblasts where the supply of feed is only 25-28 quintals of feed units per head of large-horned cattle as opposed to the required 35-40 quintals. Under these conditions the shortage of feeds to a significant degree is compensated for using concentrates from state reserves. This is an incorrect practice. Of course, one cannot get along without grain forage and its production needs to be increased. But, on the other hand, we must produce more bulk and succulent feeds and use concentrates more efficiently.

Capabilities exist to increase the production of feeds and improve their quality on every farm and in every rayon and oblast. It is very important not to lose any time this year, to place maximum attention on growing silage corn, to gather grasses without losses, to prepare more hay and silage, to store for the winter the requisite amount of root crops and other feeds, strictly observing in so doing preservation technology and storage conditions. Experience shows that this problem is solved more successfully when feed production is made an independent sector.

Increasing animal husbandry productivity now in many ways is linked with an increase in the production of protein, primarily vegetable protein, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In one place this can be peas, vetch, and lupine, in another it may be alfalfa, sunflowers, rape--in a third it might be soya and other crops rich in protein. Deserving of full support is the know-how of those farms where they have shifted from talking about protein to specific deeds, to developing special programs to increase the production of vegetable protein. Nowadays, every agricultural enterprise should have such a program.

Increased production of protein and feed additives in industry allows one to improve the quality of combined feeds and more fully satisfy animal husbandry needs. Our goal is to insure that all grain used to feed livestock and poultry is used in a processed and balanced manner. And, this requires accelerated development of the combined feeds industry--both the state industry and the production of combined feeds on sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and interfarm enterprises. The intent of party and governmental decisions is to almost double the production of combined feeds as compared to today's level by the end of 1985. Construction of combined feeds industry enterprises must continually be within the cognizance of the applicable central and local organs.

Strengthening animal husbandry's feed base now is an indispensable criterion for evaluating work in agriculture and should be taken into account when summing up socialist competition and determining ways to encourage farm directors and specialists. Such is the position of the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Kolkhozes and sovkhozes were and remain the basic suppliers of animal husbandry and farming products, especially commodities. At the same time, our party attaches important significance in supplementing resources of agricultural products to the personal plots of kolkhoz farmers, workers, and employees. In this connection, recently measures have been taken to provide broader assistance to the population in raising livestock and poultry.

Private plots, being economically closely linked with kolkhozes and sovkhozes and receiving from them necessary help in the form of feeds and young stock, in the sale of products, and in other services, supplement public production. They create conditions for fuller use of labor resources and of food and gardening by-products. Positive know-how in using the capabilities of the population's private plots to increase the production of meat and other products based upon closer ties with public production is being acquired in Odesskaya and Volynskaya oblasts and in some rayons in the Georgian and Latvian SSR. Created here is the kind of social climate in which kolkhoz farmers, workers, and employees sense that, raising livestock and poultry, they are helping a useful state cause.

Insuring the planned and dynamic development of agriculture and improving its effectiveness are inseparably linked with broad industrialization of farming and agriculture, with integrated mechanization of all production processes.

Questions of fundamental improvement in the use of extant technical resources on farms and in the level of engineering services in the countryside are acquiring great urgency due to the growth in technical equipment on kolхозes and sovkhozes. The machinery, equipment, and vehicles make up a considerable proportion in the overall structure of agriculture's fixed production capital—more than 20 percent. And, this equates to 43 billion rubles. Consequently, great reserves for labor productivity growth are to be found in the level of equipment usage.

Major changes underway in production and in the machine and tractor inventory structure require further improvement in how mechanized resources employed in agriculture are organized. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev places special attention on this. Experience in cooperative use of the technical resources on kolхозes, sovkhozes, and Sel'khoztekhnika enterprises has been accumulated in several areas of the country. Combining basic resources for mechanization, repair enterprises, and the engineering service, as experience shows, makes it possible to more productively use extant technical potential, to better maneuver equipment and personal resources, and to properly interest engineering and technical personnel and machine operators in labor's end results.

The problem of rational use of capital investments should be especially highlighted as we battle to improve the effectiveness of farming, animal husbandry, and all other sectors of agricultural production. This is the July (1978) Central Committee Plenum's most important requirement. It has fundamental significance for our cadres' practical work. In this connection, it is pertinent to point out extant instances of an insufficiently considered approach to selection of capital investment trends. Here, the very production sectors upon which to a decisive degree end results depend often suffer.

Many workers forget that the main means of production in agriculture is the land and that there is a necessity to direct investments primarily towards improving soil fertility, to create a modern material base for seed growing and chemicalization, for machinery maintenance, and for better use of irrigated and reclaimed land.

The needs of production linked to improving the quality of the product and getting it in good condition to the consumer are a very important consideration when distributing capital investments and physical resources. Recently, the Central Committee approved the work done by party organizations in Krasnodarskiy Kray and Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast to improve the quality of agricultural products. Widely implemented here are the achievements of science and leading know-how, an integrated quality control system is being established, and agriculture has set up close

ties with industrial sectors. And, this produces results. For instance, in Krasnodarskiy Kray in 5 years of the five-year plan, the overall effect of improving the quality of agricultural products translates into almost 500 million rubles.

Science has been assigned new responsible tasks, especially where more viable and effective forms of its ties with production are concerned, due to partly accomplishment of the program to further improve agriculture. Soviet scientists and specialists actively participate in the study and development of basic and applied problems of agricultural production and its conversion to a modern industrial base. It is very important that the scientists concentrate on such urgent problems as insuring greater stability and dynamism in farming and animal husbandry development, improvement in work on selection, and more profound study of economic problems and questions of interfarm cooperation and control. Scientists from all branches of knowledge have been called upon to continually enrich practice with new discoveries and scientific recommendations, comprehensively through their research to facilitate the improvement of production efficiency and the acceleration of social progress in the countryside.

I

Characteristic of contemporary agricultural production are its expanding and deepening ties with other sectors of the economy. Use of production resources of industrial origin on kolkhozes and sovkhoses is growing and ever increasing masses of agricultural products undergo industrial processing. Given these conditions, it is extraordinarily important to insure economically substantiated, organized production ties among the various sectors and equivalency of interbranch exchange, i.e., proper functioning and development of the country's entire agroindustrial complex.

A leading role in solving the problem of converting agriculture to an industrial base falls to tractor and agricultural machine building. As already mentioned, during the period following the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, significant work was done in this sector, which made it possible to increase product output by a factor of 3.4. More than 300 different items of new agricultural machinery and mechanisms have been assimilated. Production of machine-building products for animal husbandry and feed production grew by a factor of 1.7 over the past 5 years alone.

As a result, our agriculture has taken a large step forward in its technical equipping. However, the capital-labor and power-labor ratios in this branch still do not meet modern demands. They still significantly lag behind industry. There are many "gaps" in kolkhoz and sovkhos production mechanization.

Lenin considered creation "of a new system of machinery tied together into one production mechanism" ("Complete Works," Vol 5, p 137) as the main condition for agriculture's achievement of the level of large machine industry. At present, of the 2,980 varied technical resource items included in the machinery system, more than 1,800 types are in series production, more than 200 have been recommended for production, and many are undergoing development.

Decisions of the July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum call for construction of new plants and reconstruction of a number of operating enterprises. Special stress is placed on a significant increase in supply to kolkhozes and sovkhozes of modern, high-powered, fast tractors with a full selection of wide-cut towed and mounted vehicles, specialized trucks, and highly-productive combines for agricultural operations in the best agrotechnical periods and of machinery and equipment for feed production and animal husbandry. Great efforts by machine builders are required for successful solution of problems involving acceleration of mechanization rates in the countryside.

Growing scales of agricultural production place ever greater demands on the chemical industry. Rural workers expect from chemical workers further increases in the supply of mineral fertilizers, improvement in their structure, and acceleration of the rates of growth in phosphate production, since the shortage of phosphates in many parts of the country limits the yield level and reduces the effectiveness of nitric mineral fertilizers and agricultural product quality. The chemical industry has been asked to insure that the supply of complex fertilizers to the countryside increases and that the available number of fertilizer types expands in accordance with soil chemistry conditions and the biological features of the agricultural crops. Liquid integrated fertilizers and various types of microfertilizers must find wider usage on the country's fields. The pertinent problem is to improve production and supply to kolkhozes and sovkhozes of machinery to apply fertilizers and chemicals.

In June 1979 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed the special decree "On Measures to Develop and Improve the Use of Chemicals to Protect Vegetation and to Step Up Scientific Research in this Area." Accomplishment of the intended measures will permit wider use of herbicides in farming, more rapid introduction of industrial technology, and increased crop yield and reduced labor expenditures. In 1979, for instance, corn planted using the new technology in Moldavia resulted in an addition to the harvest of 13.2 quintals per hectare and labor expenditures per hectare dropped 30 percent.

The measure of success now is not only the gathered harvest, but primarily that which reaches the consumer--the stores, the market, the table. Preservation of the collected product, its processing, and its sale to the population in good, quality condition are the most important conditions for achievement of high end results in agricultural production. Much

depends here on the careful, coordinated work of buyers, tradesmen, transportation organizations, processing enterprises, everyone through whose hands the countryside's product passes.

Recently the production capacities of the processing industry and the material base of procurement and trade organizations have grown considerably. Between 1966-1980, 53 billion rubles of state capital investments have been directed into the light, food, meat and milk, and fishing industries, which made it possible to increase the fixed production capital of these sectors by a factor of 2.7. Much was done in this regard during the 10th Five-Year Plan. New elevators, sugar plants, dairies, meat combines, and other installations came on line.

However, overall the material and technical base for product storage and processing still lags behind the growth in product output and the problem remains acute. One reason is that plans for introduction of new capacities in this sphere in a number of places are not being fulfilled satisfactorily, installations are being turned over late for operation and with large amounts of uncompleted work. Serious lagging has been permitted in canning industry development. This situation lessens the effectiveness of using the finished product, reduces its quality, and leads to great losses. This is especially true of potatoes and vegetables. There is a need, as was underscored at the November (1979) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, to steadfastly achieve the uninterrupted, coordinated work of all links in the chain that joins the field and farm to consumers.

The role here of agroindustrial enterprises and associations is growing. Integrated complexes in the Moldavian SSR, in Moskovskaya, Rostovskaya, Voronezhskaya, and other oblasts and krays in the RSFSR successfully are solving many important problems linked to growing agricultural crops, processing raw materials, and selling the products. The Checheno-Ingush Agroindustrial-Trade Association, which includes sovkhozes, canning plants, stores, potato, vegetable, and fruit storehouses, and a motor pool, will serve as an example in this regard. In a short time here, vegetable production doubled and product losses were reduced by a factor of 1.5.

Development of direct ties of enterprises in the processing industry and procurement and trade organizations with kolkhozes and sovkhozes is acquiring ever greater significance in improving procurement of agricultural products and preservation of their quality. In Leningradskaya Oblast, for example, more than 300 stores in the oblast center receive vegetables directly from sovkhozes. This makes it possible to rhythmically organize their transportation to the trade network and reduce losses and shipping costs. Recently, the consumer cooperative is expanding the acceptance of the products right on the farms. However, these ties are still not sufficiently being developed. Only one-fifth of the milk purchased for industrial processing is accepted directly at the farms, and the share for livestock is less.

Often our party has pointed up the necessity properly to establish all links of the mechanism tying agriculture in with consumers, to guarantee diligent coordination of the entire agroindustrial complex. Today this becomes a vital prerequisite for improving product quality and reducing its production cost and for increasing agricultural production output.

4

As the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses are implemented, great know-how has been accumulated in party leadership of agriculture, the level of party committee organizational work has risen, and their ability to mobilize the efforts of rural workers for accomplishment of assigned tasks has grown. The activities of party organizations in Azerbaijan provide a convincing example. Annual fulfillment and over-fulfillment of socialist pledges on production and sale to the state of agricultural products have become the rule here. This made fulfillment of the five-year plans for grain, vegetables, and fruits in 4 years possible.

The growing scales and complexity of the problems solved dictate a necessity also to further improve party work. A higher level of party guidance of all sectors of economic and cultural construction in the countryside also must correspond to the new stage in the struggle to elevate agriculture.

Special emphasis during the July (1978) Central Committee Plenum was placed on the fact that not only production, but also relations between people, their everyday life, culture, psychology, and consciousness are objects of the party's constant attention. Production successes are impossible now without simultaneous solution of pressing social problems. A great deal is being done in this area in many republics, krais, and oblasts. And, as is characteristic, in areas where these problems are solved energetically as a complex, there are no shortages of specialist and machine operator cadres. Higher indicators in the work of kolkhozes and sovkhoses are achieved in these same areas, as a rule. But, there are many deficiencies in this important matter.

The interests of elevating agriculture make it necessary to bring about a sharper turn towards construction in the countryside and improvement in cultural and domestic conditions here. This problem is of primary significance for regions of the non-chernozem zone of the RSFSR. We are talking about farm directors, party committees, Soviet and trade union organs, ministries, and departments being no less concerned about satisfying housing and domestic needs and the growing cultural demands of rural workers than they are about production development. This is a principled party position.

Our agriculture is at the stage of full mechanization and introduction of progressive technologies. This fundamentally changes the content of

agricultural production itself, it requires further improvement in the level of knowledge of specialists, professional training of all workers, and new forms of labor organization. These problems are being successfully solved through more profound specialization, concentration and interfarm cooperation, and introduction of the shop control structure. Therefore, a more systematic and goal-oriented approach is necessary in work to further develop integration processes and improve organizational forms of control. This will facilitate a rise in agricultural production efficiency and an acceleration of social development.

It is now especially important that our party and Soviet leadership cadres rely in their organizational work on the broad party and production aktiv, skillfully employ economic levers, accomplish a creative search, and put to use everything new and progressive. Now, every measure--intra-farm, interfarm, agrotechnical, zootechnical, and engineering--requires careful economic calculation and in-depth economic analysis. Do everything necessary in a substantiated, reasoned way, depend on science, see every manifestation in its entirety, in the entire aggregate of inter-related factors, and, on this basis, seek optimal solutions to the problems that arise.

Problems of rational use of work time, of financial and material resources, especially land, equipment, and fertilizers, and of acceleration of return on expenditures have never been more urgent for party committees. Organizational and political work should also be conducted primarily around these indicators and socialist competition initiated. They should form the foundation for material and moral encouragement of worker collectives and of individual workers.

Achievements in scientific and technological progress, leading know-how, as well as foreign practices merit the most detailed study and introduction. Broadly disseminated in our country are the patriotic appeals of rural workers in the Kuban' to grow larger harvests; of farmers in Ipatovskiy Rayon, Stavropol'skiy Kray for integrated equipment use; of sugar beet growers and workers from a sugar plant in Yampol'skiy Rayon, Vinnitskaya Oblast to obtain 50 quintals of sugar from each hectare planted to beets; of the L'vovskaya Oblast party organization to introduce the assembly line-shop structure in dairy farming, and a number of other appeals approved by the party Central Committee. To actively introduce everything new and progressive, to place all production reserves in motion means to move in step with life, to accelerate the country's socio-economic progress.

Improvement in production efficiency is inmutably linked with improvement of economic relations in agriculture. Their development and consolidation following the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum created conditions more favorable for agricultural production growth and an increase in rural workers' economic incentive in their work. However, there are specific deficiencies here. Production profitability dropped and financial losses increased on several kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This

requires improvement in the economic mechanism--in planning, stimulation, cost-accounting relations, and agriculture's economic ties with other production sectors. The July (1978) Central Committee Plenum identified a number of important measures directed towards further strengthening of kolkhoz and sovkhos economics. There is still much to be done in this area.

Among the primary tasks are activation and improving the viability of economic work on kolkhozes and sovkhoses. It now often takes on a passive character. Often it all boils down to summing up and determining results. Lacking is an analysis of progress in completing certain economic tasks or accomplishing target programs, pertinent measures are not taken to eliminate deficiencies at the level of plan realization. Practically speaking, all kolkhozes and sovkhoses now have a bureau and economic analysis groups, economic councils, balance commissions, but in a number of instances they operate as a formality. Therefore, they are ineffective in their role of improving economic work. One is not even always able to get clear answers from specialists and directors on the return on expenditures, on the effect of a quintal of fertilizer, a cubic meter of water, an hour of work time. Apparently, some workers still lack the requisite taste for economic questions.

We know the great significance Lenin attached to this question. "More economics," he wrote. "But, economics not in the sense of 'general' discussions... We need economics in the sense of gathering, /careful checking,/ [printed in italics] and study of the facts of the actual construction of a new life" ("Complete Works," Vol 37, p 90). The urgency of this Leninist teaching is difficult to overstate.

One leading link in organizational work is strengthening party, state, and labor discipline, consolidation of demandingness, and increasing the responsibility of cadres for the assigned task. "...Discipline and order always are necessary," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November (1979) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "Right now, when the economic scope has grown gigantically, when the network of economic interrelationships is becoming more and more complex, dense, and bifurcated, they are especially necessary." In agriculture this primarily refers to procurement. It is abnormal when, even given favorable weather conditions, a significant number of farms do not fulfill the plans for sale of this or that product. Special attention needs to be paid to this aspect of the work.

A large role in practical accomplishment of measures for further agricultural development belongs to directors and to kolkhoz and sovkhos primary party organizations, to rural party raykoms, and to the rayon aktiv. All measures must be taken to strengthen organizational and party work directly in production collectives. This is a powerful lever for successful accomplishment of our plans and of a new elevation of the countryside's productive forces.

Practical accomplishment of the Leninist agrarian policy is a national cause, an overall concern. Implementing the developed course, the party directs the efforts of all the Soviet people toward successful solution of both long-range and current problems.

Organizing the gathering of the harvest during this, the final year of the five-year plan, is of prime significance. The main thing now is, under compressed suspense and without losses, to bring in the harvest, fulfill and overfulfill the assignments for sale to the state of grain, meat, vegetables, and all forms of farming and animal husbandry products, fully supply feeds for animal husbandry, and create a good margin for 1981. There are capabilities everywhere to do this.

In response to the decisions of the June (1980) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, communists, Komsomol members, all rural workers strive to mark the final year of the five year plan, the year of the Lenin jubilee, with new labor successes, to suitably, with shock work, greet the 26th Congress of our Communist Party.

CSO: 1802

LISTENING TO THE VOICE OF THE MASSES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 50-61

[Article by I. Strelkov, Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The Leninist Party considers as the purpose of its activities the further enhancement of the prosperity and culture of the Soviet people and the creation of conditions for the comprehensive and harmonious development of every Soviet citizen. Formulating its major and minor decisions, the Communist Party attentively studies the vital needs of the population, takes into consideration the suggestions, wishes, and critical remarks of the working people, and thus strengthens its unbreakable ties with the masses.

It is exceptionally important for the party organizations and committees always to be familiar with the feelings and requirements of the working people and to be clearly aware of the nature of today's mandate of the people. One of the methods for maintaining live ties between the party and the masses, repeatedly pointed out by V. I. Lenin, is work with letters and oral statements. The way he personally reacted to the letters of workers, peasants, and soldiers, and the appeals of "couriers" is our unfading example. Lenin considered letters the most valuable source of information on "the latest news," and on the needs of the people. He considered that such information had to be summed up and implemented through political decisions.

That is why the consideration of the letters and oral statements which have become a widespread method for the constitutional right of the Soviet citizens to submit to the state organs and public organizations suggestions on improving their activities or to criticize shortcomings in their work plays a considerable role in the activities of the CC CPSU and of all party organs and organizations.

Our party is expanding the Leninist traditions of considering the written and oral addresses of the working people. These traditions were creatively developed in the materials of the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, a number of CC CPSU decrees, and addresses by party and state leaders. One of the documents most fully expressing the party requirements in this area is the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Work With the

Letters of Working People in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress." However, again and again the Central Committee has considered this important problem. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" reemphasizes the need for a most attentive attitude toward the views and suggestions of the working people. Last November, the Central Committee again drew attention to such matters in its decree "On the Work of the Udmurtskaya Oblast CPSU Committee on the Selection, Placement, and Education of Leading Cadres." On 4 March 1980 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium redrafted the ukase "On the Procedure for Considering the Suggestions, Petitions, and Complaints of the Citizens."

Assessing the amendments and supplements to the ukase, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, noted that "they will serve the further strengthening of socialist legality and democracy. Every Soviet person must be confident that any substantiated suggestion, petition, or complaint will be attentively considered and that a just decision will be made." This is the party's principled line on such matters, a line of strengthening in the Soviet people the feeling that they are masters of the country and of increasing the democratic nature of our system.

Party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, the people's control organs, and the editors of newspapers, periodicals, the television and the radio in our republic receive large numbers of letters. In them the working people keenly respond to the most important party decisions and measures in the fields of domestic and foreign policy, warmly approving the activities of the CC CPSU and its Politburo and, personally, of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. A number of letters contain specific and businesslike suggestions, advice, and wishes aimed at improving the management of the economy, the culture, and the education of the people, upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, and eliminating existing shortcomings. The course of the November 1979 CC CPSU plenum, which upgraded individual responsibility, making specific individuals strictly accountable, insuring the further strengthening of the discipline in all work sectors, and sharply reacting to cases of irresponsibility and of violations of state plans and norms of socialist morality met with universal support in our republic as it did among all Soviet people.

The decrees of the June 1980 Central Committee Plenum on convening the 26th CPSU Congress and on the international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union were welcomed with tremendous enthusiasm. The profound and outstanding report submitted at the plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the stipulations and conclusions it contained are inspiring and mobilizing the Latvian working people for the successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan and for properly welcoming the 26th Leninist Party Congress.

The republic's party organizations have done a great deal to improve their work with letters and in organizing the reception of citizens by officials. In this area we were greatly helped by the CC CPSU which, twice in the period following the 25th Congress, studied the work of the republic party organization with the letters and petitions of the working people and the organization of reception by officials. In accordance with the CC CPSU recommendations specific measures were implemented to eliminate detected shortcomings in this area.

The system of handling letters and verbal addresses by the working people directly addressed to the apparatus of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee was improved. Its condition and the results of the study of the content of letters are regularly discussed at party meetings and production conferences of the departments and at sessions of the party committee of the Central Committee apparatus.

Action was taken on 64.7 percent of the letters received by the republic party committee this year, controlled by its departments; 32.7 percent of the letters were studied by the personnel of its apparatus on the spot. The absolute majority of the letters were considered within a month. Deadlines were violated in the case of only 19 letters (0.5 percent). It has become our practice to hear out heads of ministries and departments who report to the Central Committee departments on the practical solution of problems raised in letters. The Central Committee secretariat periodically discusses the nature and content of incoming correspondence.

The republic's party organization has developed a unified system for information-analytical work with letters. It includes a comprehensive and topical study of the mail and the submission of regular reports to the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee on such matters.

It is entirely obvious, however, that it is still too early to relax and that the effectiveness of this work must be upgraded further. The republic's party committee is adamantly and systematically seeing to it that such work is raised to the level of modern requirements at all levels of party, state, and economic management. Following the 25th CPSU Congress the condition of work with letters and complaints was checked at 20 city and rayon party committees, 5 city executive committees, 10 ministries and departments, and 29 establishments, organizations, and enterprises. Measures to improve work with suggestions, petitions, and complaints were discussed at 26 city and rayon party committee plenums. This was the topic of a serious and effective discussion at the plenums of the Ventspils, Kuldīga, Līvīpaya, Ludza, Ogrē, Preiļi, Rezekne, Rīga, Saldus, and Talsy city and rayon party committees, at meetings of the aktiv of the Balvskiy Rayon party organization, and the buros of most party committees.

The letters and suggestions and the results of their study were the basis for the adoption of a number of important sociopolitical decisions of both current and long-range nature.

Everyone is familiar with the role and significance of the labor collective in economic and sociopolitical life and in molding the new person. The party committees try to organize matters so that within each labor collective the administration and the party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations would be thoroughly aware of the feelings of the people, of individual concerns, and help needed. They must not only be aware but must do everything possible for the practical solution of arising problems. With the support of the party committees the people's control committees and trade union organs have energized their work with letters. The mail received by the mass information organs as well has begun to be used more effectively.

Today we could say that in the republic as a whole a system of work with the appeals of the citizens has developed which, as a rule, insures the objective consideration and timely adoption of necessary measures related to questions raised by the working people.

Nevertheless, many shortcomings remain in this area of work which was not organized everywhere as required by the decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the CC CPSU decrees. We come across facts proving that some managers consider work with letters and reception of citizens an unnecessary burden. Not all party organizations realize the importance of studying the views of the working people in order to improve organizational and mass-political work and as a means of upgrading work effectiveness and quality. Some officials violate deadlines for the consideration of letters and fail to draw the necessary practical conclusions based on this information source. Yet, letters and petitions make it possible to objectively determine what assignments are being successfully implemented and what is as yet missing.

What do the studies of written and oral addresses by the working people in the republic show? First of all they indicate problems requiring urgent attention. Secondly, they make it possible to look at such problems through the eyes of the masses and to better understand the needs and requirements of the people. Thirdly, they provide, essentially, an assessment of the activities of our cadres, characterizing their work style and indicating the means for the solution of topical problems and the elimination of shortcomings. It is understandable, therefore, why the party, soviet, economic, and social organs must resolve more energetically, in the course of their practical work, precisely the problems which affect the population and trigger complaints. On this basis, the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee resolved to make yet another comprehensive study of and discuss at its plenum practical work with letters and verbal addresses by the working people in the republic and to formulate and adopt measures for its further improvement.

The plenum, which was held last March, paid particular attention to problems dealing with the interests of the largest number of authors of letters and petitions. They included problems of communal and living requirements and improvement of housing conditions. Naturally,

possibilities to satisfy such steadily growing needs, particularly for comfortable housing, are not limitless, even though we are building a great deal. In the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the republic completed residential areas totaling over 4.2 million square meters, or quadruple the amount supplied in 20 years by bourgeois Latvia. Every year about 100,000 people in the republic are improving their housing conditions. This is a vivid confirmation of the systematic implementation of the extensive program drafted by the CPSU for the construction of housing for the working people, fully approved by the Soviet people.

For example, here is what Ausma Kosarva, a weaver at the Liyepaya Haberdashery Combine, wrote on this subject to the editors of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA: "Until quite recently our family of four lived in a small room in an old house in a suburb of Lye...a. Amenities were minimal. Recently, however, we were given a three-room apartment. Seeing it the first time, we were overjoyed. There were three rooms with all amenities: a bathtub, a spacious kitchen, and central heating. Such an apartment costs the state a great deal. Our entire working family greatly thanks our Soviet system for its concern for the common man." Many such letters are received.

However, as before, the housing problem remains one of the most complex and, as the plenum emphasized, its solution must be always in the center of attention of party, soviet, and trade union organizations, and the heads of ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations in the republic. Far from everything possible has been done to make full use of the possibilities for housing construction. For the republic as a whole the plan for housebuilding for the last 4 years has not been fulfilled. This is the reason for which the working people were short of 260,000 square meters of useful housing space. This means that over 4,000 families were unable to move into new premises. A particularly unfavorable situation has developed in Riga causing substantiated complaints by the working people addressed to party and soviet organs.

In December 1978 the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Buro made a thorough study of the letters of the working people related to housing problems and instructed the republic's Council of Ministers to draft specific measures to accelerate housing construction in the capital. The republic's government passed a special decree on this problem. Its implementation enabled the Riga city executive committee in 1979 to make full use of the funds appropriated for construction.

At the same time, the republic's Communist Party Central Committee Plenum noted that the republic's Gosplan, the Ministry of Construction, and the city executive committee had not as yet taken all possible measures to increase the volume of housing construction, as a result of which the rhythmical completion of housing continued to be violated. The Council of Ministers was asked to address itself to its decree and to hold accountable those guilty of violating it. A number of new

measures were earmarked and are being implemented to insure the completion of housing projects this year.

A number of letters contain complaints by the working people as to the quality of the construction, apartment finishing and layout, faulty heating and sanitary engineering systems, and others. Unfortunately, it frequently happens that immediately after delivering a house for use, the faults of the construction workers must be corrected. Naturally, this casts a shadow on the happiness of moving into a new apartment.

We assigned specialists to study all matters related to such complaints. It turned out, for example, that in Riga alone repairing such defects in new apartments costs over 300,000 rubles annually, taken out of funds allocated for capital and current repairs of old housing. Yet, 20 percent of the letters received by the Riga city executive committee housing administration raise questions related to apartment repairs. The people complain that repairs are being postponed for months and years. They complain of the excessively extended intervals between repairs and the low quality of the repair work itself.

For example, PRAVDA wrote quite justifiably that if all promises and formal replies received by the residents of the house at No 7 Blauman' Street dealing with repairs were to put side by side, they would reach all the way to the Kirovskiy Rayon executive committee and to the housing administration of the Riga city executive committee. An adequate supply of paper must have been available, for the correspondence lasted 13 years. The Riga city party committee buro put an end to this red tape and drew the attention of the executive committees of city and rayon soviets to the fact of nonfulfillment of promises made to the citizens.

The number of complaints dealing with shortcomings in the organization of the delivery and sales of fuel to the population and with inadequate heat supplies to some houses from centralized boiler premises rises in the autumn and winter. The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee studied the work of the communal services of the local soviets and of all departments. It was established that along with objective difficulties hindering their work, the work suffered from a number of shortcomings resulting from inoperative management and, occasionally, irresponsibility and confusion. This resulted in the suffering of the population and triggered complaints. However, not all of them were considered on time and no proper measures had been taken in a number of cases.

Naturally, we cannot tolerate this situation. The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee demanded of the heads of ministries and departments and of soviets, trade union, and economic organs to eliminate the hidden shortcomings in the work of communal services and implement measures which would make it possible to supply on time the republic's population with fuel and with electric and thermal energy, particularly

in the autumn and winter. The city and rayon party committees were asked to organize strict control over the implementation of such requirements. Already now, as was noted at the plenum, it could be said that the work that was done has yielded positive results. The number of letters whose authors report shortcomings in the work of communal service enterprises has declined. Nevertheless, improvements are slow and we are taking additional measures.

The republican, city, and rayon party committees and the editors of newspapers, periodicals, the television, and the radio continue to receive a number of complaints related to improper allocation of housing and various violations of the procedure governing the allocation of apartments to the citizens. The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee has repeatedly drawn the attention of the heads of party, soviet, and economic organs to this fact. Yet, despite the clear stipulations issued on this matter, not all managers have drawn proper conclusions. Occasionally the excessive claims of individuals are satisfied while the fully justified requests of others are ignored. We also come across cases of formalism and callousness and of inattention and, occasionally, an indifferent attitude toward petitions submitted by veterans of the Great Patriotic War or the families of the war dead.

The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee has asked the heads of party committees and of soviet executive committees to assume personal control over all letters and petitions submitted by veterans. It called for taking strictly to task individuals who allow formalism in the consideration of their complaints and wishes. This is precisely the way the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers formulated the problem in the recently passed decree "On Additional Measures to Improve the Material-Living Conditions of Great Patriotic War Veterans."

In our republic great attention is paid to the development of the network of children's preschool institutions. Since the beginning of the five-year plan new kindergartens and nurseries for 20,000 children have been built. Over 110,000 children are attending preschool establishments. However, a large number of petitions submitted by parents show that the problem remains grave. In this connection we studied the way all departments were implementing their plans for the building of preschool institutions. The resulting picture was variegated. A number of departments, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses are successfully implementing their programs along this line of social development. Some labor collectives have already fully met their requirements for preschool institutions. Nevertheless, for the republic at large, the plan for the construction of kindergartens and nurseries is not being fulfilled and, strange though this might seem, it is not being implemented by departments and enterprises which are experiencing the greatest shortage of places in children's institutions. Their managers frequently shift construction workers from social to industrial construction. The shortcomings exposed by the working people were comprehensively discussed by a Communist Party

of Latvia Central Committee Plenum which demanded that city and rayon party committees, city and rayon soviets, the republic's Council of Ministers, and the republic's trade union's council organize special control over the development of a network of children's preschool institutions and insure the annual completion of all planned projects.

It is likely that every one of us has had the occasion, even though once in a lifetime, to write a petition or a letter or, perhaps, even a complaint, addressed to an organization and it is likely that the answer would be remembered for a lifetime. A positive answer would bring happiness while a substantiated refusal would trigger sadness. However, a great deal of anger and hurt develops if a formal bureaucratic answer has been received or if no answer has been received in general. Indignation and exasperation enter the family and the labor collective and, naturally, do not help in the least in maintaining a good microclimate or desire to work. Neglect of the needs and the requests of the working people causes spiritual traumas, alienates the people, and hinders common projects.

To a certain extent, the complaints of the working people and appeals to superior organs are a yardstick of our shortcomings or successes. A concerned attitude toward the people on the part of managers of collectives and public organizations, daily interested attention paid to their suggestions and remarks, and prompt reaction to letters and verbal appeals have a favorable influence on end production results.

In this connection the party organizations pay great attention to the verbal appeals of the working people as an important means for strengthening relations with the masses and involving them in the management of the affairs of the collective, the society, and the state. Implementing the party's decrees, the majority of party, soviet, and economic organs have properly resolved organizational problems related to citizens' visits to officials: Reception days and hours have been established, special premises have been allocated, and duty tours by senior workers have been organized. Single reception days have been assigned in Riga and a number of other cities and rayons in the republic.

The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and the local party committees use meetings with the working people to improve the activities of enterprises, establishments, and organizations, and to intensify the struggle against violations of norms governing party life and of Soviet laws. A number of party committees may be named in which such work has been organized entirely satisfactorily: the city party committees of Daugavpils, Līvepaya, and Rezekne, Balvakiy and Ventspilskiy rayon party committees, and some others. A number of managers deem personal contacts with the people their primary duty. These include A. E. Chikste, chairman of the Sakotne Kolkhos in Yelgavskiy Rayon, R. V. Kavinskiy, chairman of the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Kolkhos in Preyl'skiy Rayon, V. A. Nizhnik, director of the Līvepaya Haberdashery Combine, and many others.

Despite a heavy work load O. K. Lenev, general director of the VEF Production Association, finds time to meet with the workers, to attentively consider letters, and receive visitors and, on their request, issue the necessary instructions and personally control the implementation of promises they have been given.

For the fourth year running the condition of the work with letters, complaints, and petitions is regularly studied and analyzed by a commission set up by the association's party committee. Its recommendations and suggestions are submitted to the party committee. Based on the results of their consideration by the party committee, the general director has issued four orders aimed at eliminating shortcomings in the organization of the work, strengthening the discipline, and further improving work with letters, complaints and petitions. The association has established a uniform strict procedure for recording, answerability, and control over the timely consideration of letters and complaints and a general procedure for receiving citizens submitting personal problems, as well as standard forms for recording the petitions, requests, and suggestions of visitors.

In April 1979 a commission set up by the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee studied the procedure for the consideration of verbal addresses and the organization of reception by officials of the association. It noted in its conclusions that the enterprise's system has been properly developed and no cases of inattentive attitude toward the visitors or of a formal and superficial consideration of their appeals existed.

Let us point out that the number of complaints and petitions submitted to economic managers and heads of the public organizations in the association has been reduced. Nearly two-thirds of all petitions filed are wishes based on the increased prosperity of the Soviet people, expressing requests for better living conditions, places in children's preschool institutions and Pioneer camps, and cards for rest homes and sanatoriums, as well as problems related to the exercise of the labor rights of the citizens.

However, we must bear in mind that the said petitions could easily turn into complaints when the working people are not given a thorough and substantiated answer, and if possibilities for resolving questions have not been outlined.

The association's collective is kept widely informed on the production process and on the solution of social problems through meetings, the radio, and the plant newspaper. This enables the party organization to mobilize the association workers for the solution of economic and social problems.

Practical experience indicates how right Lenin was when he constantly reminded that the head of the establishment must be personally responsible

for organizing the reception of visitors and working with complaints and letters. Indeed, in collectives where the highest managers themselves are engaged in educational work and personally deal with letters and receive working people the situation is good and virtually no complaints are received from this quarter by city and republic organizations.

Letters come mainly from lagging enterprises. As a rule, they describe the poor organization of the work, misuses, and neglect of the needs of the people. We draw the attention of the people's control organs, the control-auditing administration of the Ministry of Finance, and the various social organizations to the investigation of such reports. A number of examples could be cited of the making of important economic decisions by the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Bureau and the city and rayon party committees, and of strict punishments imposed on guilty party members, based on such materials. For example, a letter on the uncontrolled sales of spare parts and of withdrawing from operation motor vehicles by Automotive Transportation Enterprise No 5 was checked by the Latvian People's Control Committee. The results of the investigation were grounds for the study of this matter at other enterprises of the republic and Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways. It turned out that the spare parts and vehicles withdrawn from commercial operations were essentially marketed according to the whim of the director of the automotive transport enterprise and, frequently, far from advantageously in terms of the national economy. In 1979 alone the organization sold vehicles and spare parts worth nearly 500,000 rubles. The investigation materials were considered by the People's Control Committee and by E. E. Siede, minister of motor transport and highways, and measures are being taken to bring order in this matter.

We are paying ever greater attention to the study of the reasons for critical remarks and complaints received from the individual cities and rayons in the republic. At one point, for example, a considerable number of complaints had been received from Daugavpils on problems related to shortcomings in the work of general educational schools and children's preschool institutions. The science and schools department, together with the Central Committee General Affairs Department, studied on the spot the reasons for the complaints. It was established that the city executive committee and its public education department had neglected a number of vital problems whose solution was assumed by the city party committee. However, the attempt to carry out functions alien to the party organs only delayed the solution of the problems. This triggered the legitimate concern of the parents. The city party committee realized its errors and corrected the situation. Today there are virtually no letters on this topic coming out of Daugavpils.

The republican Communist Party Central Committee is trying to create and maintain within the party organization a spirit of creative attitudes not only toward the consideration of suggestions, requests, and complaints

of the working people but the forms of the work as well. We must point out that in recent years they have become more varied and effective and that some of them have become quite popular.

For example, an interesting initiative was originated in that same Daugavpils in the course of a recent electoral campaign. A meeting on "Open Letter Hour" was held at the residential microrayon of the Chemical Fibers Plant imeni Leninskiy Komsomol. The members of the public council for work with the population at the places of residence had collected in advance letters addressed to the executive committee. On the appointed day the members of the executive committee and the heads of its departments met with the population of the microrayon, answered their questions, and spoke on the course of the implementation of the program for improving the communal, residential, and trade services. The outcome of the meeting was positive and the bureau of the Daugavpils city party committee approved the initiative and recommended to the primary party organizations and economic managers using this work method with a view to improving the information supplied the population on the development of the urban economy, the microrayons, and the labor collectives.

In Riga's Oktyabr'skiy Rayon the leading party, soviet, and economic workers regularly hear out workers and employees directly at enterprises and organizations and meet the microrayon population of each residential district.

The reception of citizens by the heads of the republic's Ministry of Health met with a positive response among the labor collectives, together with meetings with the population locally. The results of such meetings are analyzed, summed up, and used in resolving current and long-term problems. The stream of letters addressed to the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers on the work of the health organs has declined substantially.

V. Ya. Birkenfel'd, minister of woodworking industry, meets workers to discuss personal matters directly at the enterprises of the Riga Furniture Production Association. All matters raised by the working people at such meetings are immediately considered. It is entirely natural, therefore, that as a rule, no second petitions are filed in this collective. In recent years the association's workers and employees have not felt the need to turn to higher party or soviet organs.

Systematic meetings are being held between the collective of the Furniture Production Association and the secretaries of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, the Riga city and Oktyabr'skiy Rayon party committees, the minister and deputy minister of the sector, and leading personnel of the main administration and the city and rayon executive committees.

Basically, a number of new methods for contacts between leading cadres and working people, the study of their opinions, needs, and requests, and the information of the population on a broad range of political and socio-economic problems is being established in the republic.

However, this is not the case everywhere. Statements are being received by superior party and state organs to the effect that some managers find it very difficult to see people. Such cases were brought to light, in particular, when the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers considered, last January, the question "On Organizing the Reception of Citizens by the Executive Committee of the Riga City Soviet of People's Deputies and its Subordinate Organizations." The executive committee had not assigned a special premise for visitors. There was no official in charge of organizing the reception of citizens and reception days and hours had not been set. Some senior workers have repeatedly postponed scheduled appointments with visitors.

Need we say that such an attitude toward the work is totally unjustified? Whatever the reason for which people are waiting at the door of the office--a practical suggestion, concern for a comrade, or a complaint that a petition has been refused--they must be heard out with attention and sympathy. Their petitions must be studied and, if possible, satisfied. In any case, the visitor should leave fully convinced that his request or complaint has been considered or will be considered objectively and that the resulting decision will be just.

Analyzing the acquired experience, the republic's party committee reached the conclusion that good results are achieved by setting a single day for receiving the citizens in a city or rayon. On that day none of the local party and soviet organs may hold any conferences, meetings, or similar activities. The republic departments are also informed of this. This enables the officials, without being distracted in other matters, to receive citizens throughout the entire time assigned for such purposes.

We know that the investigation of information supplied by the working people demands a great deal of effort, attention, and party objectivity on the part of the personnel of the party and soviet apparatus. A proper decision can be made only on the basis of the profound and thorough study of the facts and the interpretation of the questions raised. Yet, some officials adopt a formal attitude toward the investigation of petitions submitted by the working people. Here is an example: On 15 February the newspaper TSINYA published a letter describing the superficial approach displayed by the republic's Ministry of Construction while investigating a collective letter sent by the Tsesis General Construction Trust. It listed cases of violations of the general order in the allocation of housing. In his answer, A. I. Samoylov, deputy minister, claimed that the facts had not been confirmed. Yet, having studied on the spot the complaint of the working people, the Tsesisskiy Rayon party

committee acknowledged its justification, called the trust managers to party account, and demanded that they prevent such violations in the future.

Unfortunately, formal answers to complaints are still frequent. They trigger repeated complaints. Failing to obtain a just decision on substantiated requests, some citizens in the republic are forced to turn to the CC CPSU, the editors of central publications, and various departments on problems within the direct range of competence of republic and local organs. As a result, an ever wider circle of various organs and personnel become involved in investigating the facts while the investigation itself takes considerably longer than needed. That is why the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee is imposing ever stricter penalties on individuals who allow a bureaucratic attitude in handling the verbal and written complaints of the working people. Special decrees have been passed by republic, city, and rayon party committees on a number of such specific facts. This work sector is kept under constant party control.

A study has indicated that the percentage of complaints on labor arguments remains high. Many such complaints have proved to be substantiated, confirming that officials are violating the labor rights of citizens. Naturally, the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and the entire republic party organization cannot tolerate this. The reasons for violations of labor legislation are found, mainly, in two factors: first, the insufficient legal competence of a number of officials and, secondly, the desire of some of them to circumvent the laws protecting the rights of the working people with a view to resolving specific economic problems (closing down individual production units, reducing the personnel or changing cadre skill ratings, and so on). Yet, there are still cases, even though they have been declining in the republic to an ever greater extent in recent years, of officials violating the rights of workers on the basis of strictly personal self-seeking interests. In daily life frequently such actions are identified with the actions of the state. They cast aspersions not only on the official and the organization he represents, but on our democracy as a whole, undermining faith in justice and weakening the activeness of the working people.

We must admit that not all cases of labor law violations are properly assessed on time by the local party and trade union organs and people's control committees which must control administrative activities and protect the rights of the working people.

Our principal line is to take strictly to task the violators of socialist law, including their removal from leading positions and expulsion from the party. In 1979, on the basis of the results of an investigation of letters by the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Buro, the city and rayon party committee buros considered individual cases related

to violations of state discipline and misuse of official position. The culprits were taken to task by the party.

The punishment for such actions should be unavoidable. However, it is no less important to promote the creation in labor collectives of conditions and, within party organizations, of the type of atmosphere of reciprocal strictness and principle-mindedness in which violations of labor legislation would become practically impossible. Working in this direction, we are relying on the primary party organizations, enhancing the level of their control functions over administrative activities and upgrading the exactingness toward party members working in trade union committees and people's control organizations.

We must also considerably enhance the role of mass propaganda and information media in such matters. We demand that newspapers, periodicals, television, and radio regularly publish letters to the editors and information on the results based on critical remarks by the working people and systematically cover positive experience in the work with the letters and verbal addresses of the citizens.

The timely consideration and resolution of questions raised by workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia means struggling for the satisfaction of the most vital political, social, material, and spiritual interests of the Soviet people; an attentive attitude toward advice, suggestions, and critical reports means relying on their collective experience, using reserves found by the working people for the acceleration of economic, social, and cultural construction, and the promotion in the Soviet person of the feeling that he is the master of his country. This is precisely the purpose of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the November 1979 and June 1980 CC CPSU plenums, and the instructions issued by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The extensive and strict discussion of the state of the work with letters and verbal addresses conducted at the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Plenum last March and the measures it drafted provide a major impetus for the elimination of shortcomings, the use of acquired positive experience, and the further advancement of the work with suggestions, petitions, and complaints. The implementation of these decisions is an important component of the work of the republic's party organization aimed at implementing the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress and mobilizing the working people to meet worthily the 26th Leninist Party Congress.

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BIOLOGICAL INHERITANCE AND SOCIAL INHERITANCE

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[Article by Academician N. Dubinin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General Genetics]

[Text] What is man? A number of people remain excited by this question. It triggers discussions but some authors do not consider that its solution calls for singling out the most essential, the most typical features of its comprehensive content: raising judgements on man to the level of a philosophical understanding.

The understanding that in the course of social-labor activity man has acquired a social nature and that, in the words of K. Marx, "He is the totality of all social relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 3) remains the basic, the most essential fact in the study of man and of his place on earth and in the eternal stream of cosmogenesis.

However, for almost a century attempts have been made to revise the Marxist doctrine of the true nature of man by defending the thesis that man has two natures--biological and social. That is why we find so many views on the "biosocial" nature of man in which the assessment of the share of the biological and the social aspects depends on the conceptual and class positions of their authors. A number of them, emphasizing the significance of the biological aspects, claim that man is some kind of special animal whose behavior and spiritual life are dictated by genes. This approach was the basis for social Darwinism, the racial theory, and eugenics. In the theory of militant fascism, in the 1930's-1940's, such pseudotheories were considered the "scientific" base for the practice of genocide, thus exposing the entire immorality of the biological approach to man and triggering legitimate disgust in most scientists.

Once again today the methodological aspect of the problem of man has drawn attention to itself.

In the last quarter of a century the extent and depth of knowledge of the nature of life phenomena have increased incredibly. Genetics has established

the existence of a most profound biological unity between man and the rest of the organic world. Experimental manipulation of the genetic code on the molecular-cellular level, and experiments with modifying the processes of animal development have nurtured fantastic designs of remaking the natural foundations of man. At the same time medicine, psychology, pedagogy, and criminology have turned to genetics, hoping to resolve with its help a number of vital problems. Here again attempts to biologically interpret the nature of man have been revived. To this effect the latest scientific data on the interaction between heredity and environment in the processes of the development of organisms began to be used. Mention was made of a "universal law" according to which neither animals nor humans have a single feature whose development could not be subjected to the mandatory influence of both genes and environmental conditions. Attempts were undertaken to "scientifically" substantiate the two natures of man--the biological (effect of heredity) and the social (effect of the environment) using the "two factor theory." Such an interpretation of man may be found today in a number of books and articles published abroad under the banner of the "new" science--sociobiology.

Acknowledging the primacy of the biological factor, the sociobiologists are trying to make the Marxist theory of the single social nature of man void, formulating the thesis that, allegedly, the genetic program controls human social behavior.

Unfortunately, this has affected some of our authors as well. From their viewpoint the interaction between heredity and environment "pertains to all conceivable characteristics and features--morphological, physiological, qualitative, quantitative...--including most complex features such as the characteristics of higher nervous activities and behavior of animals and, in particular, the human mind. Subject to this law are also integrative characteristics such as instincts, temperament, excitability, mind and memory, inclination to engage in a specific type of activity, capabilities, talents, general character features such as goodness, cheerfulness, sullenness and malice, and emotional reactions such as love, compassion, hatred and rage, and the instinct of self-preservation and of self-sacrifice, or egotism and altruism. Such "spiritual" and, occasionally, purely human characteristics could not be considered an exception in terms of their dependence on heredity and environment, or be pitted against "body" characteristics (B. L. Astaurov, "Problemy Obshchey Biologii i Genetiki" [Problems of General Biology and Genetics], Nauka, Moscow, 1979, p 211).

We find in a pamphlet on biology that the law of interaction between heredity and environment "also controls complex characteristics such as those of the higher nervous activity, the mind, and human inclinations and capabilities. No environmental conditions. . . could create an outstanding painter, singer, mathematician, or athlete out of a child lacking the corresponding hereditary instincts. . . . The mentioned basic law of the genetics of development no longer requires more proof today. . .

Such arguments are vestiges of long gone tempests and attempts to revise the irrefutably proved basic law of development" (Ye. T. Lil'in and P. B. Gofman-Kadoshnikov. "Bliznetsy, Nasledstvennost', Sreda" [Twins, Heredity, Environment], Znaniye, Moscow, 1975, p 31). As the saying goes, this is final.

It is strange to read in works written even by noted specialists things such as, "People are indeed different at birth in terms of all their morpho-physiological and mental qualities" (PRIBEDA, No 6, 1976, p 28).

Yet, is this really the case? A careful study of successes achieved in the field of genetics would provide us with data of an entirely different nature.

The prehistory of man is found in the animal world and in the entire set of unconditioned reactions and instincts which have developed in the course of a lengthy biological evolution and have been inherited by man. Such are, for example, muscular reactions to r n, breast feeding, and so on. A number of characteristics may be found in the biological systems of animals and man, so firmly programmed by the genotypes, that they are retained whatever changes may occur in the environment and within the range allowing the development of the species. This applies, for example, to the genes which code the blood antigens. No external conditions could change the blood group of a person. The tremendous variety of proteins, whose differences are the result of mutations, remains practically unchanged throughout man's life.

On the other hand, however, even in the case of animals the set of conditioned reflexes developed as a result of environmental signals is not qualitatively included in the genetic program. Turning to man, this becomes even more complex, for man is in the realm of the social form of matter dynamics. In this case the "two factor theory," eclectically combining the biological and the social in human nature, faces insurmountable difficulties. Mechanically applying to man the laws of animal genetics, it is unable to provide a scientific interpretation of human phenomena. Yet, it is precisely the question of the ties between the spiritual world of man and the biological foundations, in the light of qualitative differences between man and the animal world, that is the root of the entire problem.

Naturally, medical-biological aspects play a substantial role in human life. However, the truly human life cannot be reduced to them. Even a number of purely physiological functions (such as eating) operate in a converted form consistent with culturally acquired requirements.

The uniqueness, the exclusive qualitative characteristics of man are obvious. Attempts to teach monkeys to think and speak have failed. Animals, including primates, do not separate themselves from nature. In terms of behavior and activities they are "within" it.

Quite important in understanding the problem of man is the fact that if after birth a child is deprived of participation in sociopractical activities, it would acquire neither awareness nor speech.

Information exists on several hundred such cases. Some of them have been well documented. Such were the cases of Kaspar Hauser, in Germany (1828), who, as a child, was locked for unknown reasons in a cellar where he spent 16 years; of two girls--Amala and Kamala--found in India in 1920 in a wolf's lair; and of the girl Anna, discovered on a farm in Pennsylvania in 1938, and entirely undeveloped socially. In the 16th century, in order to determine whether or not children could acquire the possibility to speak without communicating with people, Indian Emperor Akbar isolated a group of children after birth. He saw that, even though they were normal at birth and had a good physical development, left to themselves these children did not gain an awareness.

The outstanding works of I. A. Sokolyanskiy, A. I. Meshcheryakov, and their colleagues, on the training of children who were blind and deaf at birth, proved that the development of a full mind is possible only through contact with people. Left to themselves, such children do not rise above the level of animal existence. It is special training, using the method of combined and separate activity, involving them in establishing contacts with people and in sociohistorical practice, which develops in them an awareness, speech, and creativity (see E. Il'yenkov, "Development of the Personality: On the Results of a Scientific Experiment," *KOMMUNIST*, No 2, 1977). Such facts have clearly proved that it is only after birth that man acquires suprabiological qualities. Genes do not include the human mind in the genetic programming of all human biological characteristics, including the existence of a normal brain.

In the history of the origin of man sensible work is considered the source of an entire set of gradually developing social institutions such as families, clans, elements of science, religion, ethical norms, esthetics, and so on. It is on this basis that the mind as well develops. Through specific forms of reflection everything social--truly human--has been transmitted from one generation to another not through genes but through the adoption by each generation of the entire spiritual and material cultural wealth acquired previously. It is such passing of the suprabiological baton in man that has been described as social inheritance.

The acquisition of culture through instruction and training of each generation is an obvious fact. This has been well understood and as early as the 19th century was discussed by noted scientists such as E. Tylor (1871), L. Morgan (1877), and I. Mechnikov (1889). More recently the role of cultural heredity has been discussed by L. White, (V.) Child, J. Steward, M. Salus, E. Service, D. Shimkin, and others. Let us note, however, that the theory of social inheritance and of social programs is substantially different from previous concepts. Its

main feature is that the social aspect has not merely developed through the history of man as a cultural tradition but molded the human individual. To modern man the social program is not the external influence of the environment but an inner condition for the development of his personality. Man does not receive at birth a ready social program. It is developed within him through social practice, in the course of his individual development. The very essential forces of man cannot be developed without a social program. The fact is that the social program based on the essential forces of man developed historically, when man separated himself from the animal world and became part of the processes of material production and social development. "Man becomes an individual only as a result of the historical process" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." Vol 46, Part 1, p 486). The social program determines the uniqueness of the human mind and its individual manifestations. The principle governing the work of the human brain is such that the character in accordance with which man acts is developed creatively. The models and systems of purposeful activities are shaped by the brain on the basis of the active reflection and codification within the individual mind of the sociohistorical experience acquired by mankind throughout history. The development of human characteristics in the establishment of the personality and all conscious behavioral activity are based on a social program and are under its control. It is in the course of this development that the biological aspect is transformed and humanized.

Human behavior is a complex category. It includes, in addition to target setting and motivational reasons for activities, willpower, creativity, and emotions. In this connection, the biological characteristics of man as a foundation of neurodynamic mechanisms of motor reactions, temperament, type of thinking processes, and so on, assume a specific significance in terms of the individual specific nature of behavioral reactions. Let us note, however, that in man's individual development all biological mechanisms of normal and even of pathological processes related to the manifestation of basic behavioral reactions, are affected by social conditions through multichannel relations with the environment and the interaction between the sensory area and sociohistorical experience and in the course of the molding of the conceptual foundations of the individual. Therefore, behavior and its intelligent direction are entirely determined by the content of the social program.

The social inheritance is a factor which concentrates in the mind the results of the development of production forces and spiritual culture, thus becoming part of the mechanism in the process of the sociohistorical development of mankind. It is the most important category in understanding the qualitative features of human existence and progress.

This viewpoint is adamantly opposed by the biologizers of man. They pretend that it contains nothing new. Others reject it aggressively. This is entirely understandable, for the concept of social inheritance, without belittling the achievements of the natural sciences, including medical genetics, is the only one consistent with the Marxist-Leninist theory of man as the product of history and as part of nature.

The complete understanding of the qualitative distinction between man and animal may be reached only through the awareness of the basic motive forces in human history and of the distance covered by his predecessors until *Homo sapiens* appeared.

Marxism convincingly proved that man is shaped by labor and social needs. This is the key to understanding the greatest leap in the history of life on our planet: the social being of man replaced the biological nature of the animal.

The mystery of this leap has confused a number of researchers. On the one hand, the extreme view is that man is simply an intelligent animal displaying, allegedly, nothing new, for all his characteristics, including his spiritual world would, it is claimed, obey the laws of the genetic program; on the other extreme is the view that the human soul is non-material, an immortal substance which is introduced into the new body from the outside. P. Teilhard de Chardin believed that an unbridgeable gap exists between man and animal. J. Eccles, one of the biggest modern physiologists of the brain--claims that, being independent and immortal, the soul has an autonomous existence. He believes that the mind remains after the death of a person (see John C. Eccles, "Facing Reality," New York, Springer-Verlag, 1970, p 174).

The evolution of man's predecessors led to the fact that in the course of the single transformation process their biological characteristics changed and speech, awareness, intellect, and other abilities which made human sociolabor activities possible, developed. Yet, could we agree with the opinion that all this was the consequence of a biological evolution molded by nothing but the influence of the natural factors governing selectivity?

We know the great importance which Darwin's efforts to understand the origin of man have to science and outlook. Thanks to his works it became unquestionable that man is the highest level of development of animal life on earth. However, neither Darwin himself nor his followers took into consideration the fact that the appearance of socioproduction relations created qualitatively new conditions for the course of the biological evolution. Labor marked the beginning of sociopractical activities. It created a humanized world, radically changing the form of human adaptability to environmental conditions. Purposeful activities made it possible to change nature to meet the needs of the thinking being. Labor tools, fire, shelter, and others, appeared. As a result of subsequent historical developments, the social inheritance became determining in the overall growth of man. This followed the channel of a harmonizing evolution, a concept into which we invest the thought that man's predecessors did not experience a conventional biological evolution but a development influenced by the dialectics of an interaction between the material and the ideal on the basis of the progress of conscious transforming activities.

For quite some time the development of labor conflicted with the fact that the level reached by then of the biological characteristics of the brain, hands, and activities, the anatomy of the larynx, and so on, was insufficient. However, the problem of the social factor rose acutely. This required biological progress as well, in order to insure the necessary coordination between the organism and the acquired functional (labor) activities. The size of the brain increased and its structure became more complex through genetic evolution. Anatomical-physiological foundations for the human hand were created. The anatomy of the skeleton and the muscles was reorganized, and so on. Everything organic in man and in his anatomical-physiological system was transformed along with the growth of his material and spiritual culture. This was the first time in the history of the organic world that such a form of biological evolution appeared. Its development insured the trend of morphological and physiological progress in the hominids. The resolution of the contradiction between the social and the biological factors was expressed in the development of a type of body entirely consistent with the development of human production activities and mind.

In the light of the concept of harmonizing evolution the facts and laws ascertained by modern genetics and anthropology become understandable. This also proves and develops the Marxist theory of the origin of man.

Therefore, the existence of man is nothing but the production and reproduction of his material and spiritual life. Everything belonging to history, awareness, human relations, and social and spiritual human life, is the result of the objective need to produce. From the very onset of human history man's biological existence has been dependent on production. The latter has become the base for the molding of all human characteristics affecting the structure of the body, the requirements, mentality, and overall personality.

The biological needs of man have changed in the course of history. New needs arise related to the progress of social production and the shaping of the mentality, social consciousness, and culture in the broad meaning of the term. As Marx pointed out, the fact that the production of means for human existence led to the creation of new needs is "the first historical act" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." Vol. 3, p. 26). The means to satisfy them in the course of material life became dependent on the production method and were determined by the socioeconomic system. The content of requirements at each stage of the development of mankind is the product of the specific level of production forces and production relations.

Requirements arising in the course of human history and related to the productive development process are as natural to man as his initial biological requirements. Changes in their nature would confirm changes in the nature of the living being. Man became man from the point when his requirements turned from biological into human. "... Man is not only

a natural being but a human natural being. . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." Vol 47, p 164).

The means of existence of the human body are subjected to radical changes compared with the means through which the animal body exists. Human biology has changed in such a way as to become subordinate to man's factual (social) being. Human awareness, as a function of the brain, under the conditions of labor activities, could arise only with a certain change in the biology of the main organ of the central nervous system and with the appearance in man's predecessor of new qualities in the organization of the brain not found in animals.

F. Engels proved that the origin of man is related to a suprabiological evolution which could begin only in connection with the development of public material production in answer to the objective need for acquiring means of existence. The existence of the hand and man's erect posture were helped by labor which improved and transformed the functional purpose of the human hand and triggered changes in other parts of the body and in the entire human organism. The need for communicating in the course of joint labor led to a proper development of the larynx and the appearance of speech. The brain developed. "Labor initially and, subsequently, with it, articulate speech were the two main stimuli under whose influence the brain of the monkey gradually became the human brain. . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." Vol 20, p 490).

Naturally, Engels relied on the level of knowledge of the specific mechanisms of evolution reached by science in his time. He provided a general description of the influence of labor on the evolution of man's predecessors. However, even this was adequate in providing an accurate orientation for further research.

Presently we can study the biological nature of events occurring under the influence of labor. This is the result of processes occurring on the genetic level but under the new conditions of the appearance of life under the influence of social inheritance factors. Human suprabiological evolution takes place only on the basis of social inheritance, unlike the biological evolution of living beings, which is based on genetic heredity carried by the genes. The bearers of the social inheritance are material and spiritual culture, social production, and the sum total of social relations and forms of social awareness based thereon.

Genetic heredity obeys specific biological laws. Are there laws governing social inheritance? Unquestionably, yes. They are described in the theory of historical materialism. Their essence is the existence of objective, common, stable, and necessary relations of transmission from generation to generation of positive experience acquired by society in the course of historical creativity--of all material and spiritual culture inherited by man as a species. The genetic stock of Homo sapiens has been preserved over the past millennia and will be retained in the future. Such progress has acquired a social nature as a result of which

the evolution of man on the biological, the species level, has come to a virtual stop. As a phenomenon, modern man has become exceptional, a product of history while retaining, naturally, all required biological prerequisites for the development of the mind.

The high level organization of the brain is the most important element in human biology, created in the course of the harmonizing evolution. Its most essential feature is its nonspecialized nature. This insures the development of the brain as a morphological-functional system throughout the entire life of a person, so that even in terms of size, five-sixths of the brain continues to grow and develop after birth. The ideal (i.e., social) content which is acquired by the mind in the course of the development of the individual is not part of man's genetic code. The brain has infinite possibilities for the perception of the various aspects of the social program. It insures universal readiness on the part of the newly born to become part of the social form of movement of matter. The task of the education process is to properly develop this potential of tremendous significance.

The absence of rigid genetic programming creates a certain indeterminate nature of the functioning of the brain. At the same time, however, it opens tremendous opportunities for individual development, insuring plasticity and lability in a variable social environment. These are necessary prerequisites for shaping the social program of the individual. Entering life, he enters a realm in which the experience of mankind has been crystallized, a realm of social consciousness and humanized phenomena and objects. All this involves the child in the system of previously developed various social relations, properly guiding the shaping and further behavior of the child. Naturally, a mass of factors, including individual characteristics (not only social but biological as well) introduce specific features in this process. There are no genes governing the spiritual content of man. The features of the human mind are added with the help of human sociopractical activity. An understanding of this fact opens tremendous possibilities for the teaching and shaping of the new man. Here a great deal remains unused, particularly in terms of the development of the individual at an early age (until the age of two).

The theory of the social nature of man does not ignore the reality of the biological differences within the *Homo sapiens* species, as shown in the human phenotype, ethnic groups, and races. However, these differences do not affect the typological features of man inherent in all physiologically normal people. The human in man is provided by history and social culture. In practical terms all normal people can undergo unlimited spiritual development. The prerequisites for this are the universal nature of the possibilities of the brain and the biology of the human body.

At the time of birth the human brain has almost completed its basic growth both in folds of gyri and sulci, convolutions, and cortex. Throughout the entire life of the human being, however, neurons develop. Following the birth of the child, in the postnatal period, extremely major changes occur in the structure and volume of the brain. The following figures provide an interesting picture of the average weight of the brain: whereas in the newly born the weight of the brain is 360 grams, 6 months later it is 750; 1 year later it is 970; 2 years later it is 1,150; 9 years later it is 1,300; and 20 years later it is 1,400 grams.

Numerous proofs exist to the effect that the further development of the brain as a morpho-physiological system occurs under the control of the factors of the social program. A child does not begin to speak unless he is exposed to contacts and hears the words of those around him.

At the beginning, the child simply repeats words and sounds dealing with specific objects which are part of his material activity. After becoming accustomed to sounds, words begin to be visually related to objects. This is followed by a period of inner speech, when the child issues instructions to himself and implements them. It is thus that the possibility for spontaneous action develops with speech which passes through the material world, i.e., through the social aspect with the corresponding development of the biological aspect.

Thus, using the biological mechanism, the social factor leads to shaping new biological functions.

The concept of social inheritance proved the need to review a number of popular ideas. This applies, above all, to the "genetics" of higher mental functions (in other words, to the "genetics" of the strictly spiritual world of man). Considering a human feature such as intellect, it is believed by some that since the structure of the brain is as variable as any other structure, by analogy intelligent and stupid people should have different genes the way they are different in terms of the shape of their nose, color of the eyes, and so on.

That the physical differences among people are determined by genetic changes, that has been confirmed and is unquestionable. A number of examples have been made to prove that intellectual variations as well are genetically based. Such proof has been provided only in cases of spontaneously brain-damaged. A number of mental diseases have been studied by clinical genetics, for in such cases, it is true that the loss of the genetic program violates the structure of the brain.

However, finding no such differences within the brain norms, the picture changes drastically. Attempts made throughout this century to prove that differences among normal people in terms of intellect are based on "intelligence genes" have failed entirely.

Attempts to study the "mind genetics" with the help of psychological tests gained particular popularity. Particularly known among the latter is the so-called intelligence coefficient or "IQ," with the help of which attention, ability to engage in analogies, memory, vocabulary, and so on began to be assessed abroad.

However, such coefficients contribute little to the assessment of the mind as a whole, not to mention their subjective interpretation which does not take into consideration the nature of the environment influencing the development of the child. It is not astounding that according to such tests the IQ of children of the poorer classes proved to be below that of well-to-do families; the same results were achieved in terms of American blacks compared with whites.

The common view that the level of intelligence is transmitted from parents to children is beyond the range of scientific proof. The matter of heredity in disease in which brain disturbances could lead to the disturbances of the brain function is a different matter.

The problem of genetic change triggering arrested mental development has acquired particularly important social significance today. This applies to the so-called genetic load, i.e., to infants who are born with physical or mental defects.

Gerard L. S. Brastner's report to the 25th CPSU Congress discussed the need to formulate an effective demographic policy, noting that this is "an important task for an entire set of natural and social sciences." Its solution is related to improving the structure of the population as a whole and reducing its pathological cases.

According to the United Nations World Health Organization mental backwardness (oligophrenia) is a major problem. Three percent of the world's children are born mentally retarded. As many as 10 percent of the children suffer from side effects of intellectual insufficiency. This problem affects all countries.

The appearance of oligophrenia as a manifestation of a damaged genetic program indicates that the proper functioning of the brain requires normal neurodynamic processes. It is only under such circumstances that the type characteristics of the human brain offer the universal possibilities for the implementation of historically based social programs.

All human people are biologically different, as is perfectly natural. However, each normal child could learn anything included in his social program. The need to take into consideration congenital human features does not mean in the least that all spiritual interests, abilities, will-power, and feelings of beauty may be found in his genes which are the combination of those of his father and mother occurring in the process of fertilization of the egg representing the beginning of a separate life. Such ideas of the predetermination of the personality in the genes are widespread in foreign publications.

From the viewpoint of the biological determination of the suprabiological in man the conclusion is drawn that this is the reason for which "superior" classes are superior, possessing a higher quality gene "capital," and that a genetic base exists for differences between "superior" and "inferior" races, and thus the biological differences among people require a selective-elitist approach to education and giving priority to the multiplication of individuals and groups possessing "valuable" genes. From such viewpoints the future of mankind is represented as planned multiplication regulated on a global scale by a genetic plan.

A number of noted biologists today are once again conjuring the ghost of eugenics. E. Mayr regrets that the time is past when individual leaders--leaders with "valuable" genes--left abundant progeny (see E. Mayr. "Man As a Biological Species," PRIRODA, No 2, 1974).

On the basis of the same idea, G. Meller called for the artificial insemination of women with the sperm of "outstanding" men. L. Pauling has called for branding the faces of individuals carrying "harmful" genes. K. Crick states that an infant could be considered human only after an investigation of its genes. Should the newborn infant fail the test it should lose its right to life. . . . Citing such examples, Ch. Frankel, professor at Columbia University (New York), writes that "The naivete. . . of supporters of eugenics planning is striking. . . ." "Apart from the Nazis, such people are usually noted for their humane statements. Apparently, however, they are not listening to themselves" (DIALOGUE-USA, No 1, 1974, p 181).

Be that as it may, what matters is precisely that they are heard by others who listen to them and use their ideas in the ideological struggle against the molding of the new man under new social conditions and against racial and class equality, who are trying to promote the false idea of the biological inequality among social groups, and so on. In their time such statements were properly heard by the Nazis who proclaimed the mystery of the blood which should insure the existence of a single superior Aryan race.

Despite all this, some authors today have mentioned the alleged possibility to develop a "gentle human form" of eugenics and even the possibility for a "highly humane socialist eugenics." The neoeugenicists believe that with the help of such voluntary approaches and gradual changes in the genetic stock of mankind, a new man could be developed through the biological restructuring of populations.

In our popular literature an open animal-husbandry approach to man has been taken by V. Polovin who stated that "The idea of using the methods of selection in improving man as the offspring of nature" arose long before our time. He explains the following: "If the science of genetics knew how to turn the frail grain heavy, in turn the peasant's drill into an economical unit for the processing of fodder into meat and milk,

and it claims that grass, cattle, and man multiply, develop, and physically advance on the basis of the same laws, why would genetics not be able to give the people some intelligent advice?" (V. Polynin, "Mama, Papa i Ya" [Mommy, Daddy and I], Moscow, 1969, p 282). According to this viewpoint, why not undertake the "genetic ennoblement" of man? The author calls for recognizing the "autocratic power of His Majesty the Gene" (ibid, p 286) and, for the sake of the genetic mutation of the people, is even ready to sterilize anyone "unsuitable or second-rate." He favors something long rejected as immoral and scientifically senseless from the viewpoint of population genetics. "We who have experienced fascism," he writes, "find the simple mention of this barbaric word terrible. However, the idea of sterilization does not become more compromised by our fear to mention it" (ibid, pp 287-288).

How to conduct the human selection process? V. Polynin writes that in this case one cannot "select. . . on the basis of physical qualities at the expense of intellectual ones" (ibid, p 292). What could be expected, in such a case, from such selection? What would be the ideal future man created through genetic methods? Agreeing with J. B. Haldane, in his chapter "Attention, Genes!," V. Polynin offers the view that future man "will have a big head and grow less tall than we. . . . He will become more sensible and less dominated by his instincts. . . and many people will possess. . . abilities which we describe as brilliant. Man will have a huge head and tiny face, toothless mouth, and flabby muscles" (ibid, p 316).

Such is the image of the man of the future palmed off by the author. We can easily see the contrast between him and that splendid, free aspect of the new man, filled with creativity and spiritual and physical beauty and energy, hammered out through the entire course of the building of socialism and communism.

Perhaps we should ignore the writings of this popularizer. However, the book contains a preface by a well-known scientist who, hallowing it with his prestige, claims that "Actually, the content of this book is quite serious. It is a question of the deepest roots on which our basic biological concepts are based and which largely form our overall outlook" (ibid, p 10).

Doubtfully, if it is indeed a question of outlook. However, the book shows a reactionary current in modern eugenics whose target is pointed at the Marxist-Leninist theory of man, not to mention its obvious anti-communist nature. The same preface states that, "Hereditiy is a particular area with its insurmountable laws. . . . here nothing could be achieved by exercising and training the body" (ibid, p 7).

However, in the light of the theory of the social nature of man, it is obvious that any attempt to substantiate a viewpoint on the possibility

for the genetic creation of a new man through selection is, to say the least, incorrect both on the natural-scientific level and in the light of historical experience.

If the true nature of man is not understood--a lack of understanding of the fact that his social qualities are not controlled by genes--it might appear that all it would take would be to eliminate from eugenics anything obviously criminal, thus converting it into a "good" science, useful to mankind, and that there is nothing faulty in the term "eugenics" (eu--good and genesis--origin, birth) or in its ideas on improving human nature biologically (see, for example, G. Berdyshev and I. Krivoruchko, "Genetika (Cheloveka)" [Human Genetics], Vishcha Shkola, Kiev, 1979, p. 98).⁶ However, combining biological with social aspects within eugenics, the classification of human nature into good and bad is fraught with far-reaching consequences. When higher mental functions are the basis for such classification, the immediate result is an anti-science which we must oppose.

Let us not forget that in assessing one or another quality of the personality, capabilities, talent, or brilliance, we do not use absolute extracurricularly and biological but historical measures and criteria, bearing in mind the now existing types of human activities and occupations such as, for example, mathematics, music, chess, and so on. Could we guarantee that the features of a mathematical gift, in the 20th century sense, would mandatorily coincide with the requirements of 21st century mathematics? Would the appearance of new types of creative activity force us to review some current concepts as to lack or possession of talent? This is exemplified by the obvious changes in the approach to the evaluation of works of music, painting, and sculpture which have taken place in the 19th and 20th centuries. Therefore, what should be the basis for selecting the talents of the future? Marxism-Leninism speaks of the unlimited development of man. The idea of genetic selection limits this development.

If we are concerned with the nature of the human body in the sense of its health, the conventional biological science--medical genetics--would suffice. Including the latter within eugenics would be entirely wrong. A number of foreign scientists as well are aware of the danger to society from the dissemination of such views. Thus, addressing the 13th International Genetics Congress (1973) Washington University Prof. G. Allen noted two outbreaks of the eugenic movement in this century: the first from 1900 to 1930; the second, as of 1970. He drew attention to the social underpinning of these events and proved the connection between the ideas of eugenics and racism. The founders of this current, F. Galton in

⁶ The title page of this publication reads as follows: "Accepted by the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education as a school aid for students of biology in higher educational institutions"--Editor.

Britain, and Dr. Davenport in the United States, were selection workers and racists. Both shared the concept, widespread among Anglo-Saxons, of the existence of superior and inferior races in which, naturally, the whites were at the top. According to Allen the attempt to prove inherited intellectual capabilities through the IQ coefficient is not scientifically based and is reminiscent of the eugenic movement at the turn of the century. It is important for the scientists to understand the hidden reasons through whose help genetics could be used to achieve large scale political objectives, reasons which they could not fail to know or to disapprove.

The biological approach to man has no understanding of the qualitative specifics of man as a social being. The universal and creative nature of the development of each thinking being are consistent with the universal nature of needs and capabilities which are ever expanding with the progress of social life.

All this indicates that the true understanding of the nature of man and of the development of his mentality consists of acknowledging the laws of historical materialism as basic to the scientific formulation of the problem. It is only with the help of such laws that a materialistic interpretation may be provided to manifestations of the suprabiological nonmaterial realm, the realm of the human soul. The vulgar biologizing interpretation of mental functions as genetically determined characteristics represents idealism in understanding the problem of man. In this case idealism acts together with pseudomaterialism. The authors who directly relate human mentality to genes, ascribing to the mental features of a person the material foundation of genetic heredity, DNA, or the physiological functions of brain neurons consider themselves materialists of the highest order. Yet, the human mentality is not found in the functions of genes or neurons for the simple reason that its level goes beyond biology. Seeking an interpretation of mental phenomena in biological functions, whatever their kind, would be the equivalent of ascribing spiritual characteristics to matter. Such confusion leads to methodological helplessness in science and, in the final account, to conceptual quirks. The same could be said of explaining the spiritual world of man with the "twin factor theory" according to which the mind is nothing but the result of the "development" of genetically determined "gifts" of the higher mental functions depending on environmental factors. In this case social conditions turn out to be external in terms of already existing genetically determined human qualities. Scientific projects carried out on such "theoretical" foundations claim as proof of the role of the genotype "the variability of verbal intellectual functions such as the ability to acquire knowledge, ability to apply knowledge in specific situations, ability to single out the most essential characteristics of objects or phenomena, and short and operative memory; included in the nonverbal functions are the ability to synthesize on the objective level and ability to relax attention." It is not astounding that as a result of such a scientifically and methodologically false approach to the study of the mind the far-reaching

conclusion is drawn that. . . "As the educational level of the parents rises so does the share of the genotype in the variety of intellectual parameters, i.e., the implementation of hereditary gifts of mental capabilities." Such is the stupid result of the development of a thought which takes off from the "twin factor theory" and tries to give a biological aspect to the nature of man.

Methodological culture should protect the scientists from such "scientific" faults. In this connection, strange, to say the least, is the philosophizing of some authors who aspire to the role of masters on such matters.

" . . . The unraveling of the neurodynamic code of mental phenomena," writes Prof. D. I. Dubrovskiy, "will gradually, in the course of time, lead to raising the level of 'openness' of the subjective world of the individual" (VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 6, 1975, p 98). Why does the author consider this necessary? Here is why: "In many cases the personality tries adequately to 'open' its subjective experiences (thoughts, intentions, objectives, and so on), for it is vitally interested in this (this could include strictly personal, group, or class interests). At the same time, however, contacts far from always presume sincerity. . . . Without undertaking the study of phenomena such as 'honesty,' 'secret,' 'half-truths,' 'lies based on good intentions,' 'hypocrisy,' or 'deception,' let us note that they too are a manifestation of the autonomy of the personality" (ibid, p 97). According to the author, the "extent of 'openness'" is an essential factor in interpersonality relations and, consequently, in the information processes taking place in human society, through which not only communicative but control functions as well are accomplished (ibid, p 98). Thus, sentence after sentence, in the course of his sophisticated considerations, starting with the biologization of the social factor, the author slides to the level of problems whose aspect is no longer natural-scientific in the least but sociopolitical, suggesting a penetration into the spiritual world of man through the interpretation of the neurodynamic code (in itself the formulation of this task is questionable) in order to influence "the system of social self-organization as a whole," thus changing the nature of interpersonality relations and developing a "qualitatively new type of contact," and a "new type of integral human society" (ibid). These are no longer idle speculations consistent with the naive views of American neurophysiologist Grey Walter (see his "Zhivoy Mozg" [The Living Brain], Moscow, 1966, p 278). What we have here is an attempt to make recommendations on the basis of scientific and ideological positions totally alien to us. This fact cannot be concealed by the external presentation of articles with scientific-sounding attributes, the quoting of Marxist classics, or the editorial classification of the material in the section "Debates and Discussions."

Is there a reason for such discussions when it is a question of the basic truths of historical materialism? There is not.

Such judgments are not accidental in the case of this author. We read in his monograph "Psikhicheskiye Yavleniya i Mozg" [Mental Phenomena and the Brain] (Nauka, Moscow, 1971) that "As to the frequently voiced argument that the phenomenon of intelligence is inherent only in a social subject, it is not decisive, for artificial human offspring given the phenomenon of the mind will be the product of the social system and its components" (p 314). This is a clear revision of the Marxist-Leninist view of the nature of the mind. Obviously claiming a new interpretation of this phenomenon, and presenting his view on it from the positions of the "neurophysiological" and "informational" approaches, he, this philosopher, presents them as the methodological foundation for the "correlation and integration of the psychological, physiological, cybernetic, and linguistic research levels" (see PRIRODA, No 8, 1978, pp 91-99; FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, No 2, 1979, pp 93-98). "As a result," according to the author, "the possibility arises to interpret the category of the ideal on a general scientific level through the information concept, for the concept of subjective reality is 'pure' information given to the individual" (VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 11, 1976, p 54).

Finally, is it not a similar "philosophy" that "nurtures" the concepts of some other authors who explain the reasons for delinquencies through genetic factors (Yu. Kerkis, "Do Criminologists Need Genetics?" PRIRODA, No 8, 1976), and, particularly, moral awareness (V. Efroimson, "The Genealogy of Altruism (Ethics From the Position of Human Evolutionary Genetics)," NOVYY MIR, No 10, 1971)?

In an article ambiguously entitled "The Power of the Myth" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 4 June 1980), claiming the role of fighter against the 'warping of social consciousness," Aleksandr Gorbovskiy categorically states that creativity is found only in people endowed with "some rare genetic combination carried by the individual." And, "Since in the temple of creativity there are always fewer benches than there are people wishing to sit down, a sort of musical chairs game is always going on among those who are talented and those who are not." According to the author, it is the consequence of the fact that the "myth of the preference of creative toil does not lead into this area the bearers of exceptional hereditary combinations alone." Yet, why strive toward creativity if a "person still unborn has already been inscribed in the Union of Composers by his genetic code," in which case "is the merit of this person great?" "The talented person would feel uncomfortable thinking about this, particularly if such a thought occurs while he is signing the voucher for his fee."

One of the basic theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory of man is the comprehensive development of man's socially determined capabilities. It is on the basis of this concept that the CPSU formulates its policy in the fields of economics, culture, science, and education. The abilities of people are the gold stock of society. The efforts of educational institutions for children, the schools, the Komsomol, the vocational technical schools, and the cultural-educational, sports, and other organizations must be oriented toward the development of capabilities.

The complex nature of this problem is obvious. The development of mental capabilities, creative aspirations, emotional standards, physical possibilities, character, willpower, and an esthetic attitude toward reality is necessary. Naturally, this must be combined with the molding of the solid moral foundations of the individual, lofty civic feelings, a conceptual conviction and methodological knowledge. In all this we must take into consideration the following: 1) The normal (nonpathological) human genetic program is complete in terms of man's comprehensive development; 2) all human capabilities must be developed in molding an undamaged personality; 3) giftedness means the effective development of essential human qualities in the course of combining the normal genotype with favorable conditions for its development (i.e., mainly "acquirability"); 4) elitism is nothing but discrimination through the deliberate development of some people at the expense of others; the Marxist principle of social equality is the most consistent with the nature of man.

The faulty nature of neoeugenic ideas, concealed behind the screen of new discoveries in the natural sciences, molecular biology and genetics in particular, cannot be accurately evaluated without understanding the true scientific foundations of the problem of man. This problem is such that the criteria of truthfulness and the principle of party-mindedness coincide within it with particular clarity. It is not astounding that the bourgeois ideologues are actively trying to pit the Marxist science of man against the science of a kind of abstract phenomenon, a biological individual, all of whose essential characteristic spiritual forces are genetically determined before his birth. This suits only those who would like to perpetuate the social differentiation among people, specifically manifested through racial laws, genocide, and other forms of national, class, property, and spiritual inequality. Marxism-Leninism alone is the factual conceptual and methodological base for the proper solution of all scientific problems related to the problem of man. No new important achievement in biology or in any other area of the natural sciences could diminish the significance of the laws of historical materialism in understanding the nature of man. They will always remain fundamental and basic to the science of man.

Cooperation among the various sciences on the problem of man is increasing at the present level of knowledge. Unquestionably, the Marxist-Leninist concept of man will serve as the theoretical base of this cooperation.

5003
CSO: 1802

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PUBLICATION OF IL'ICH'S FIRST BOOKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 75-79

[Article by A. Boyko]

[Text] For many decades V. I. Lenin's immortal works have headed the lists of the most widely read books in the world. The size of the editions increases with every passing year. An ever larger number of people on different continents are exposed to Lenin's life-giving ideas.

The history of the creation and publication of Lenin's first works takes us back to the last years of the 19th century, when the young Vladimir Ul'yanov was an exile in Shushenskoye. By then the already widely known leader of the Association for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class had written a number of leaflets, articles, and pamphlets which had been published secretly, occasionally unsigned or under a pseudonym. Like-minded people agreed that no one could write for the workers better than Lenin.

At that time the Russian Marxists were urgently faced with the task of insuring the final ideological defeat of populism. It was particularly important to refute the populists' claims that, allegedly, there was no domestic market in the country, without which the development of capitalism would be impossible. At that time the question of markets triggered fierce disputes. It was not only of a theoretical but of a strictly practical nature, for the tactic of the revolutionary struggle depended on its formulation.

Lenin tackled this problem for the first time as early as October 1893 at a session of the Marxist circle of technology students in Petersburg. Soon afterwards he wrote the work "On the Subject of the So-Called Question of Markets." Based on his extensive knowledge of K. Marx' "Das Kapital," Lenin proved how, as a result of the growth of the social division of labor, the barter economy of petty producers gradually grows into commodity output which, in turn, develops into capitalist output, and such a division of labor inevitably leads to the class stratification of producers and the growth of a domestic market.

The work "Who Are the 'Friends of the People' and How Do They Fight the Social Democrats?" dealt a powerful blow to the populists. The first editions were printed in secrecy on a duplicating machine. In the spring of 1895, yet another article by Lenin appeared in the collection "Materials for the Description of Our Economic Development," written under the pseudonym K. Tulin, entitled "The Economic Content of Populism and Its Criticism in Mr. Struve's Book." However, full victory required a tremendous amount of additional work, complicated by the fact that the social democrats did not have as yet their own publications, and their struggle against populism was waged under unequal conditions.

Vladimir Il'ich began the writing of his new work while still in Petersburg, as the head of the Association for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. He actively collected data abroad as well--in Switzerland, France, and Germany--where he had gone in the spring and summer of 1895 to establish contacts with the "Liberation of Labor" group and to study the Western European labor movement. While serving time in Petersburg, on the way to Siberia, and in exile, he continually ordered publications through relatives for the gathering of the tremendous quantity of economic data needed in the study of the establishment of capitalist relations in Russia. Occasional requests for and information about books, journals, and pamphlets, shipped and received, are found in his correspondence with them.

On receiving his mail at the beginning of 1898, Vladimir Il'ich wrote A. I. Ul'yanova-Yelizarova the following: "I have now in my head all the plans for the publication of my articles in a separate book. Recently I received N. Vodovozov's "Ekonomicheskaya Etudy" [Economic Studies], which gave me this idea" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works] Vol 55, p 70).

Lenin knew the Vodovozov family well. In his childhood Volodya Ul'yanov had read the book by Ye. N. Vodovozova "Life of the European Peoples," the second volume of which ("The Population of the North") had been presented to him by the school board of the Simbirsk high school as an award for excellent grades, application, and good behavior, in May 1883. The Ul'yanov home library also contained the works of V. I. Vodovozov, her husband, a noted Russian educator and fellow worker and friend of K. D. Ushinskiy. Later on, in Petersburg and Samara, Vladimir Il'ich met the Vodovozov sons, Vasily and Nikolay. Nikolay was the author of a number of articles on the history of social thinking and the labor movement.

Initially, Lenin tried to publish the collection "Ekonomicheskkiye Etudy i Stat'i" [Economic Studies and Articles] with the help of P. B. Struve, the famous leader of the "legal Marxists." However, the latter was not persistent enough. The publishers feared trouble with censorship. Furthermore, in their view, the book would not be very profitable. Il'ich considered the collection "lost," when suddenly a big bundle of copies of his first book arrived in Shushenskoye.

"...that the arrival of 'Studies and Articles' has been the biggest event in our recent life," N. K. Stupakova wrote to A. I. Il'yankova-Vodovozova on 22 November 1898, "we waited for it a long time and then gave it up. On the eve of the mail delivery Volodya noted pessimistically that the mail could hardly contain anything special. Finally, one gray morning we saw a messenger from the village bringing a huge package (through the fence). This proved to be the interminable 'Studies,' in the village's bag. . . The mood changed quickly. . ." (V. I. Lenin, "Pain Sharp, Such.," vol 55, p 604).

We do not know how Anna Il'ichna, Lenin's sister, was able to reach an agreement with M. I. Vodovozova on the publication of the book. Since the fate of your sister's book by Lenin depended on the publisher, it would be of interest to describe her activities in greater detail.

It was no accident that Mariya Ivanovna Vodovozova undertook the publication of Lenin's works. Born in the distant Transcaucasian town of Kyakhta, she had been exposed since childhood to stories of the Decembrists, heroes who were well known to her parents in their youth. I. F. Tokmakov, Mariya Ivanovna's father, a big tea merchant, both read and distributed *SOVIETSKAYA* and *POLYARNAYA ZVEZDA*. In 1881 the Tokmakov family moved to the Crimea, where Fedor Ivanovich became one of the initiators of industrial wine making in Russia. The progressive views taken from the Decembrists and from Gertsen influenced his cultural activities. He contributed funds to the building in Simferopol of hospitals, schools, and a people's club with various interest circles, a library, and a choir. On the eve of 1902, one of the local writers was attended by Leo Tolstoy with his wife.

At different times Simferopol, the Tokmakov farmstead in Miskhura, had been visited by N. Cost'ky, A. Kuprin, L. Andreyev, N. Yermolova, S. Kakhnanimov, F. Shalygin, . . . It had been used as a hideout from the police by L. N. Krasin, the "Potomkin" people, and the Yalta social democrats. The entire atmosphere of the house contributed to the development of progressive views in Mariya, her brothers, and her sisters. What makes the history of the Tokmakov-Vodovozov family so very interesting is the fact that in the course of no more than two generations it took the step from support for the views of the Decembrists and of Gertsen to direct propaganda of Lenin's ideas.

Together with her husband, N. V. Vodovozov, Mariya Ivanovna decided to open a publishing house. Her parents provided the capital. She did not lose heart following the untimely death of her husband. It went on with the work. Yet, the road was hard since the publishing house, avoiding the publication of entertaining novels which might have been more profitable, published only works by economists, historians, or philosophers. They included S. Frank's "Marx' Theory of Value and its Significance," Ashley's "Economic History of England," D. Schloss' "Forms of Earnings," E. (Magayev's) "The Labor Unions," A. Bulgakov's "On Markets," N. Vodovozov's "Economic Studies." . . . The next two books written by Vladimir Il'ich brought the Vodovozov publishing house its greatest success and fame.

Lenin's first legally published book, "Ekonomicheskiye Ssyudy i Stat'i," was published in 1,000 copies under the pseudonym Vladimir Il'ich. It contained five works: "On the Nature of Economic Romanticism, Sismondi and our Domestic Sismondists," "The 1894/1895 Artisans' Census in Parnskaya uyezdsaya and General Problems in the 'Artisan' Industry," "Pearls of Populist Narc-Braided Schemos," "What Legacy Do We Reject?" and "On the Problem of Our Factory-Plant Statistic."

The mere enumeration of the headings plunges us into an atmosphere of intensive ideological struggle against petit bourgeois populist theories which rejected the possibility of Russia's capitalist development. Only one of these works had been published previously: "On the Nature of Economic Romanticism..." In it, Lenin proved that the basic populist thesis of the elimination of an internal market under capitalism had been borrowed from Sismondi, and that "the populist economic theory was merely the Russian variety of European romanticism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 2, p. 266).

The remaining works in the collection clearly proved the penetration of capitalism into the artisan industry and the consequent class stratification of the artisans; they criticized the utopian plan for production socialization on the basis of a patriarchal peasant community whereby, allegedly, Russia could avoid the capitalist way.

The article "What Legacy Do We Reject?" exposes the populists' claim that they alone are the continuators of the cause of the 1860s and that, criticizing the populists, the Marxists allegedly break with the best traditions of the peoples of Russia. Protecting the legacy, Lenin pointed out, does not mean being limited to the legacy alone; it is necessary to go farther and independently to determine the ways and means of revolutionary struggle.

The works published in the collection were, to a certain extent, preparatory. Lenin was to expand his views and concepts more profoundly and substantively in the major work that follows, and to which the studies and articles published in his first book were the approaches.

Rereading the letters of the Shushenskoye period, one admires the dedication with which the entire Ulyanov family helped Vladimir Il'ich in his gigantic project. It would be an exaggeration at all to say that the publication of Lenin's first books was the result of the family's joint efforts as well. Mariya Aleksandrovna, the mother, provided the money to cover the necessary costs. Discussions on the publication of the works were conducted by Anyuta (the endearing name by which Lenin called his elder sister) and her husband, M. T. Yelizarov; the manuscripts were proofed by Maryasha, the younger sister. All of them together sought materials in libraries and stores and ordered, purchased, and bought from private institutions a tremendous number of reference works.

After receiving his first book, Vladimir Il'ich requested that his family "...send me published reviews you or people you know come across, for here I can hardly follow the current press" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 55, p 116). One of the very first reviews of "Ekonomicheskiye Etudy (Stat'1)" appeared on 9 December 1896 in YENISEY, the Krasnoyarsk newspaper. It was written by M. A. Sil'yin, a member of the Association for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class, who had also been exiled to eastern Siberia. According to his testimony, Vladimir Il'ich liked the review.

Not did the secret police in Petersburg ignore the work. "A new work...by Vladimir Il'in has been published and is on sale at the Znaniiye Bookstore... Said author is better known under another pseudonym--"Tulin"... Few are familiar with his real name, for the social democrats are keeping it a deep secret, thus protecting in this author one of their leaders. In reality, it is Vladimir Il'in Vli'yanov, a political exile and brother of terrorist Aleksandr Vli'yanov, executed in 1867" (KRASNYY ARKHIV, No 1, 1934, pp 124-125).

Inspired by his success, and confident that now the publication of subsequent books on "Markets" would present no particular difficulty (the working title of "The Development of Capitalism in Russia"), Lenin plunged into his writing. "Volodya has now firmly and definitively gotten into his 'Markets' and has become extremely greedy for time"... N. K. Krupskaya wrote. "Last night he said something in his sleep about Mr. N-n (a reference to N. Danivel'son, the writer-economist, and one of the ideologues of liberal populism--the author) and the barter economy..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 55, p 404).

In the knowledge that he now had a reliable publisher, Vladimir Il'ich wrote his elder sister: "The fact that Vodovozova undertook the publication has its good side: matters, at least, have been settled. Her estimates on the "Studies" is, obviously, quite accurate, and the small fee is fully explained by the small number of copies... I intend to take up Vodovozova's suggestion (when you see her, naturally, pass on my many thanks) about publishing my 'Markets'..." (ibid, p 111).

The young family of revolutionaries was going through an exceptionally bright period in their life. Intensive work was interspersed with hunting, skating ("Volodya skates very well...like a most seasoned skater"), and training for a chess competition: "We shall gather in the city for Christmas and Volodya is making a chess set for the occasion, intending to fight Lepeshinskiy to the death. Volodya is making chess pieces out of bark, working usually in the evenings, when he is entirely 'written out'" (ibid, pp 404-405). They celebrated the new year of 1899 in Nizhinsk with revolutionary friends. "...From dawn to dusk Volodya played chess and... naturally, beat everyone; we skated...sang, and even took a ride on a troyka!" (ibid, p 406).

We know how exacting and critical Lenin was of himself. For this reason, on completing his new book, he was eager to find out the views of friends and relatives. The manuscript was read by G. M. Krahishanovskiy, Il'ich's sisters, and M. T. Yelizarov. "I read your remarks on 'Markets' with great interest. Let us see what impression the work will make in general--what the critics, like-minded people in particular, will say," Lenin wrote to Yelizarov ("Poln. Soch.," Vol 55, p 144).

Lacking no time, Lenin sent the manuscripts of individual chapters of his book to Podol'sk, where the Ul'yanov family was living at that time. In turn, the Ul'yanovs sent the manuscripts to M. I. Vodovozova. The work went very fast thanks to Nadezhda Konstantinovna's help. She read and transcribed the manuscript. "I consider myself an 'unclear reader' and must judge the clarity of the presentation of the 'Markets.' I try to be as 'unclear' as possible, but I am unable to object to anything particularly," she wrote to M. A. Ul'yanova (ibid, p 401).

On 17 March 1899 the galleys of the second and third chapters arrived in Shushenskaya. "All in all," wrote Vladimir Il'ich to Anna Il'inichna, "I am quite pleased--the work is clean, the tables are clear and without misprints, and the number of side tables is very small" (ibid, p 149). At the end of April, Il'ich had already received three copies of the book "Razvitiye Kapitalizma v Rossii. Protsess Obrazovaniya Vnutrennego Rynka dlya Krupnoy Promyshlennosti" [Development of Capitalism in Russia. The Process of Formation of A Domestic Market for Large-Scale Industry], still smelling of printer's ink.

On 1 May 1899 Il'ich informed his mother of the receipt of three copies of the new book. To Anna Il'inichna he wrote: "I am quite pleased with the book's appearance. The edition is splendid, thanks to your great proofing efforts... I am entirely satisfied with the book's title..."

The edition of the second book was double that of the first--2,400 copies. On 15 April the newspaper *RUSSKIYE VEDOMOSTI* printed an announcement of its publication.

"The success of some of my latest editions is simply amazing--I refer to Il'in's book 'The Development of Capitalism in Russia,'" M. I. Vodovozova wrote to her friend, Voronezh writer A. I. Fritel' on 13 July 1899. "I published it in the spring and despite the summer and the departure of young people from the capital before Easter, the book has been selling at incredible speed... In addition to brilliant literary and scientific data, Il'in's success is also and essentially explained by the fact that he discusses the formation of a domestic market in connection with the agrarian problem in Russia and the breakdown of the peasantry... The book is of captivating interest" (D. Lashunskiy. "Vlast' Knigi" [The Power of Books], Voronezh, 1946, p 117).

The first reference in the press to this outstanding work appeared on 25 July in KVALI, a Georgian newspaper. I. Lusin, a Russian social democrat living in the Caucasus, noted in particular the antipopulist orientation of this major work. The reviewer wrote that "strictly scientific objective study makes Vl. Il'in's book noteworthy."

In August 1899 a letter mailed in Moscow was intercepted by the police. It read: "I am totally enthusiastic about Il'in's book. I could not put it down and regret that I was unable to reread it. I am impatient to go back to it." ("Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, Biografiya" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, a Biography], Fifth Edition, Politizdat, Moscow, 1972, p 85).

Lenin's book triggered universal interest, for it discussed the fate of Russia, and its future direction. On the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the country's economic situation, Lenin was able to substantiate the leading role of the working class and the need for its alliance with the peasantry in a future revolution. This made possible the definitive ideological defeat of the populists and the "legal Marxists."

Lenin's ideological enemies answered with a stormy counterattack. NOVOSTI I BIRZHEVAYA GAZETA published a satirical article by M. Engel'gardt directed against Lenin's new book. The journal NAUCHNOYE OBOZRENIYE carried a review by P. Skvortsov in which the author reached the conclusion that Lenin's work was allegedly in conflict with Marx' economic theory. Vladimir Il'ich did not leave this sally unanswered. In his article "Uncritical Criticism," he clearly proved the scientific groundlessness of the assertions made by the representative of "legal Marxism," and subjected his literary methods and dogmatism to devastating criticism. No malicious attacks were any longer able to prevent the dissemination of Lenin's ideas in Russia.

Such is, briefly, the history of the publication of Lenin's first books. In three years of exile he wrote over 30 works. In the final months he was formulating in his mind the beginning of passionate further addresses against the revisionists and a plan for the creation of a Marxist party of a new type. ISKRA was about to arise from the haze of the departing 19th century. "And from the spark would come the flame!"...

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FORTY YEARS OF LIFE IN THE USSR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 80-92

[Article by V. Ruben, chairman, Council of Nationalities, USSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] This summer the peoples of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics are solemnly celebrating the 40th anniversary of the restoration of the Soviet system, and their entry into the USSR. This is an event of tremendous historical significance. It is most closely related to the Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked the beginning of the revolutionary renovation of the world, inaugurated a new age in universal history, the age of the downfall of capitalism, and made a historical turn toward socialism.

The greatest accomplishment of the October Revolution, achieved under the leadership of Lenin and the Communist Party, is the solution of the national problem--one of the most complex problems in the history of human society. From the moment of its appearance, the Bolshevik Party itself was the prototype of the future brotherhood and cooperation among peoples. It was created as a party not only of the Russian workers but of the proletariat throughout Russia, as an all-Russian party. The Bolsheviks defended the principle of proletarian internationalism in the party's structure in the struggle against various hues of bourgeois nationalism. "Supporting the combat alliance among working people of all nations and nationalities, the party and V. I. Lenin," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "always supported the right of nations to self-determination and their total and unconditional equality. The victory of the October Revolution was also a victory in the struggle for national liberation. The peoples of the former Tsarist Russia acquired an opportunity, for the first time, to make a historical choice, the right to determine their own fate."

Long-standing historical ties link Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia with the Russian and other peoples inhabiting Russia. The unification with Russia in the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries was of progressive and vitally important significance to the historical destinies of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian peoples. Previously, this area was part of several

states and the arena for constant wars. The aggressive appetite of the German feudal lords was particularly greedy and predatory. Pursuing their expansionistic "Drang nach Osten" course over several centuries, they launched numerous predatory raids on the Baltic lands, seized the most important and desirable areas for long periods of time, and strengthened the Junker landowning positions in adjacent countries. On becoming a part of the Russian state, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were saved from the invasions of foreign aggressors for over a century, until World War I. For the Baltic area this period was a time of economic and cultural growth helped by the strengthening of relations among the three Baltic peoples and between them and the other peoples of Russia, the Russians above all.

The most significant consequence of the annexation of the area by the Russian state was the fact that here the proletarian movement developed as a structural component of the labor movement in Russia, which had become the center of the world's revolutionary movement by the beginning of the 20th century.

The CPSU program states that "Russia was the weakest link in the imperialist system and the center of all its contradictions. At the same time, it also had the conditions necessary for the victory of socialism. The working class in Russia was distinguished by the highest level of revolutionism and organization in the world and had extensive experience in the class struggle. It was headed by a Marxist-Leninist party armed with a progressive revolutionary theory and tempered in class battles."

The friendship among the workers in the different industrial areas of Russia strengthened and was tempered in the course of the joint revolutionary struggle against autocracy and capitalism. This friendship developed and was strengthened on the basis of effective proletarian internationalism.

As we know, the tsarist state pursued a policy of cruel oppression of the non-Russian peoples in the country. In particular, it obstructed the development of national statehood, erected barriers to the education and literacy of such nations and nationalities in their native languages, and maintained the lack of culture and ignorance among the masses. The peoples of the Baltic states were subjected to double national oppression: the oppression of the Russian autocracy and of the Baltic-German nobility and bourgeoisie.

Speaking out against all forms of national oppression from the positions of proletarian internationalism and defending the right of nations to self-determination, the Bolshevik Party always emphasized that, regardless of their nationality, the working people of Russia shared common basic interests in the struggle for socialism, and that relations among peoples must be built on equality and mutual respect.

Inspired by the ideas of the Leninist party, the working class and working people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, shoulder to shoulder with all the peoples of Russia, waged a dedicated struggle against autocracy and oppression by the bourgeoisie and the landowners. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's activities played a tremendous role in the development of the revolutionary movement and the establishment of bolshevism in the Baltic states. In September 1895 he visited Vil'no (Vil'nyus). On 2 April 1900 he visited Riga. In the course of these trips Lenin met and talked with the local social democrats, whose activities he valued highly. These contacts continued to strengthen subsequently, when Vladimir Il'ich was in exile abroad. Lenin's IBERA was widely distributed in the Baltic industrial centers. Lenin's fellow workers, noted Bolshevik Party personalities such as N. I. Kalinin and P. E. Dzerzhinskiy, worked in Revel' (Tallin), Vil'no and other cities in the area.

Together with the Russian proletariat, the working people of the Baltic states covered the heroic path of the three revolutions. Here cadres of revolutionary-Leninists were raised and strengthened in the flames of class battles. A galaxy of talented leaders of the toiling masses was formed. The great fighters for the victory of the October Revolution included outstanding representatives of the Baltic peoples. These were the Latvian communists Ya. Bernin, Ya. Ruzutak, P. Struchka, and R. Eykhe; the Estonian communists Ya. Anvel't, V. Kingisepp, R. Vakman, and O. Ryastas; the Lithuanian communists Z. Angaretis (Aleksa), I. Vareykis, V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas, K. Pozhela, and many others.

In the unforgettable days of the Great October Revolution the working people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, Northern Front soldiers, and Baltic Fleet seamen became one of the combat detachments of the revolution. They blocked the sending of counterrevolutionary forces from the front to the capital. Refugees from parts of the Baltic states occupied by the German imperialists and workers evacuated from enterprises deep within Russia from Riga and other industrial centers actively participated in the October battles in Petrograd and Moscow and in the establishment of a Soviet system in a number of Russian cities.

The victory of the armed uprising in Petrograd laid the foundations for the triumphant march of the Soviet system, which was established in the Baltic states, with the exception of Lithuania and part of Latvia, which had been seized by the Kaiser's army.

On the subject of the soviets, V. I. Lenin said: "...The new form of political system was ready and all that was left for us was to pass a few decrees to convert the soviet system from the embryonic state in which it was in the first months of the revolution into a legally acknowledged form..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 6).

The laws characteristic of the country at large were manifested also in the establishment of the Soviet system in the Baltic states. Thus, on

the instructions of the Petrograd VVK (Military-Revolutionary Committee), on the evening of 23 October (5 November) 1917, the Estonian Military-Revolutionary Committee assumed control over all strategic points in Tallin. Immediately following the victory of the October armed uprising the soviets seized power in Estonia.

On 8-9 (21-22) November, the Latvian Soviet of Workers, Soldiers, and Landless Deputies, meeting in Valka, approved a decision transferring all power to the soviets, thus expressing the will of the toiling population.

In February 1918, violating the armistice and treacherously breaking off the Brest-Litvsk talks, German forces invaded Soviet Russia, completed the occupation of the entire Baltic area, and restored bourgeois power in the area.

However, as a result of the selfless struggle of the working people, at the end of 1918 and beginning of 1919, a soviet system was established on the entire territory of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

An era of new fraternal relations among the peoples of the former tsarist Russia began with the victory of the Great October Revolution. The foundations of the national policy of the Soviet system were proclaimed in the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," adopted on 2 (15) November 1917. The inviolable principles of this policy were the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, including secession and the establishment of independent states; the elimination of all and any national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; and the free development of national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting Russian territory.

This declaration was of the greatest possible historical significance. It was this precisely which laid the foundations for the creation of a multinational socialist state.

In January 1918, addressing the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, Lenin expressed the firm conviction that "the various individual federations of free nations will rally in ever larger numbers around revolutionary Russia. This federation will grow on an entirely voluntary basis, without falsehood or coercion, and it will be invincible." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 288).

The Lithuanian Soviet Republic, the Soviet Republic of Latvia, and the Estlandian Labor Commune were founded in 1918-1919. This became a noteworthy event in the history of the peoples of our country. The independence of the new republics was recognized by decrees signed by Lenin.

The sovereignty of the republics and their independence could be secured only on the basis of a close alliance with Soviet Russia and the other fraternal republics. The working people of the Soviet Baltic states were

well aware of this. The strengthening of political, military, economic, and cultural relations among the Baltic republics, the RSFSR and the other Soviet republics was legitimate, predetermined by all previous and social developments, the true international nature of the Soviet system, and the need to unify the victorious working people of all nationalities in the face of world imperialism and the internal counterrevolution. The close alliance among the peoples of former tsarist Russia was an important prerequisite for the successful building of socialism.

The federal relations among Soviet republics developed and expanded as early as the first half of 1919. Their unity in the various areas of state, economic, and cultural life strengthened. This was legislatively codified in the 1 June 1919 VTsIK Decree "On the Unification of the Soviet Republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and Belorussia for the Struggle Against Global Imperialism."

At the time, the building of the Soviet state and work on the socialist reorganization of society were taking place under exceptionally difficult circumstances, in a struggle against the counterrevolution and the intervention. This was the case throughout the country and in the Soviet Baltic states.

The power of the workers and peasants in the Baltic Soviet republics could not consolidate its positions in the incredibly complex circumstances prevailing at that time. The foreign and domestic counterrevolutionary forces were able to overthrow the Soviet governments of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and to separate them from the RSFSR and the other fraternal Soviet republics. The British and French imperialists and the German military played the main role in suppressing the people's power. Subsequently, this was cynically admitted by the leaders of the bourgeois cliques themselves. Thus, discussing the participation of German interventionists in these events, A. Niyedra, one of the former prime ministers of bourgeois Latvia, said in 1928 that "Had Germany not supported the Baltic Germans and the Latvian and Russian Landeswehr units, organized the Iron Division, and assigned its Sixth Reserve Corps to help us, Petr Stuchka would have still been in Riga. I think that, ten years later, the time has come openly to acknowledge and state this fact."

The working people of the Baltic states did not resign themselves to the loss of their system and struggled adamantly against the restored capitalist system. The communist parties of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia headed the clandestine work and mass actions. Meanwhile, away from their homes, Latvian riflemen and Lithuanian and Estonian units and subunits continued to fight for a soviet system on the civil war fronts. The worthy sons of the Baltic peoples, I. Vatsutis, Ya. Fabritsius, A. Kork, V. Putna, J. Uborevich, and others rose as major Red Army military commanders.

In a 20-year period of bourgeois rule, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were economically and politically dependent on the imperialist countries

and became their agrarian-raw material appendages. The governments of the three Baltic countries were tools in the anti-Soviet policy of world capital and international reaction. It is worth recalling in this respect what the British newspaper DAILY HERALD wrote in this connection in November 1919: "We hold the Baltic provinces, Poland, and Finland in our fist," it emphasized. "All these countries are bankrupt. All of them expect from us credits, subsidies, recognition, and economic and diplomatic support... Their independence is relative. No one of these countries could do anything without our agreement."

The antinational policy of the bourgeois governments and their foreign masters undermined the historically developed economic ties between the area and Russia. This, as well as the dominance of foreign capital, led to a decline in the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian national economies. Fear and uncertainty about the future, repression, political oppression, rightlessness and unemployment became permanent disasters afflicting the working people. Viktor Kingisepp, the leader of the Estonian communists, wrote that the Estonian bourgeoisie "terrorized the people even more harshly than the Baltic dukedom." However, neither executions nor jail nor the atrocities inflicted by the executioners and fascist roughnecks were able to uproot from the minds of the working people Lenin's great ideas and the profound faith that the Soviet system would be restored and the workers and peasants would regain their freedom. The 1 December 1924 Tallin uprising, the wave of strikes by workers and farmhands in Lithuania in 1928-1929, the big meetings and demonstrations of the Latvian working people, the October 1929 political strike which involved almost 80 percent of the Latvian industrial workers, and many other actions, fiercely suppressed by the authorities, reflected the resolve of the people to fight the bourgeoisie.

The situation of the Baltic working people became particularly intolerable following the establishment of fascist regimes in the area. In the second half of the 1930s there was increasing pressure on Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia from Hitlerite Germany, which was concocting plans for the seizure of these territories. The treacherous and capitulationist policy of the ruling fascist cliques which, in fact, pandered to Hitler's annexationist appetites, triggered the anger and indignation of the people's masses and the patriotic intelligentsia.

A revolutionary situation was ripening in the Baltic states in 1939-1940, as a manifestation of the sharp conflict between the people's masses, unwilling to continue to live as of old, and the ruling circle which had shown its obvious inability to manage governmental and social affairs. The inevitable break between the production forces and the old production relations, deadlocked economic development, threatening a total economic breakdown, the drastic lowering of the living standard of the working people, and the headlong growth of unemployment which had risen considerably above the prewar level, were the economic foundations for this situation. Under those circumstances, the class struggle of the working people was developing rapidly, above all that of the proletariat against

the bourgeoisie which had become politically bankrupt and had discredited itself thanks to its ties with Hitlerite Germany.

Despite intensified repression and terror, the fascist systems in the Baltic area were no longer able to suppress the revolutionary movement of the people's masses. The struggle of the working people against the bourgeoisie and fascism was concluded in 1940 with the victory of the socialist revolutions and the restoration of the Soviet system in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. At the demand of the toiling masses, headed by the communists, people's governments were established in the area.

In accordance with the will of the people elections were held for the highest representative organs--the Lithuanian and Latvian sejms, and the Estonian State Assembly. The elections were based on universal, equal, and direct secret voting.

By the end of July 1940 the new representative organs held their first sessions. They received their plenary power from the people who had elected them and had the right to resolve all of the most important problems affecting the lives of their compatriots.

Implementing the will of the people, expressed in assignments formulated at thousands-strong gatherings, demonstrations, and meetings of the working people, the Lithuanian and Latvian sejms and the Estonian State Assembly unanimously adopted declarations on the state system.

The 21 July 1940 Latvian Sejm declaration stated: "Expressing the will of the entire free toiling people of Latvia, the sejm solemnly proclaims the establishment of the Soviet system throughout Latvian territory. Latvia is proclaimed a Soviet Socialist Republic. Henceforth, all power in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic will belong to the working people of town and country as represented by soviets of deputies of the working people."

On the basis of historically developed political, economic and cultural relations between the peoples of the Baltic and the USSR, the great traditions in the joint struggle against the exploiters and the common social ideals, the working people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia declared the need for the Baltic republics to join the USSR.

The Lithuanian and Latvian sejms and the Estonian State Assembly turned to the USSR Supreme Soviet with the request that the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics be accepted within the USSR under the conditions for the affiliation of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and other union republics. Soon afterwards, on the basis of free self-determination, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia voluntarily joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

To this day the bourgeois propagandists, political experts, and jurists continue to ignore these irrefutable historical facts. Some capitalist countries still "do not recognize" the fact that a soviet system has long since been restored in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and that the Baltic republics are full members of the USSR. Such a policy has no juridical base. It contradicts the international practice of governmental recognition and is nothing but one more "imperialist whim," for it ignores the will of the peoples of the Baltic republics. Essentially, it represents interference in the domestic affairs of another country.

The joining of the USSR by Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia was objectively based on their previous social and economic development. The Baltic working people have not forgotten their combat friendship with the Soviet people. Thus, the 21 July 1940 declaration on Lithuania's joining of the USSR stated that "...The Lithuanian people have always seen their better future in a close rapprochement with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

In their declarations, the supreme representative power organs of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia emphasized that nothing but the joining of the USSR by these republics, once separated from Soviet Russia in opposition to the will of the toiling people, would insure their true sovereignty, industrial and agricultural development, the blossoming of national culture, and the upsurge of the people's prosperity.

The seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, first convocation, opened in Moscow on 1 August 1940. It discussed the question of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics joining the USSR. After examining the statements of the plenipotentiaries of the Latvian and Lithuanian sejms and the Estonian State Assembly, the USSR Supreme Soviet passed the laws accepting these republics into the USSR.

This event was of vital importance to the future destinies of the peoples of the Soviet Baltic states. Favorable conditions for the successful development of the national economy and culture and for building a socialist society were created. Voluntary incorporation into the USSR put an end to Baltic economic and political dependence on German, British, and United States imperialists.

The Great Patriotic War was a stern test for all Soviet people and a comprehensive verification of their loyalty to the cause of socialism and their unbreakable patriotic feelings and convictions. This fully applies to the people of the Soviet Baltic states.

The working people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia displayed firmness and heroism in defending the land of their fathers and their socialist gains. Thus, the Latvian city of Līvāpija entered into the history of the war. Here, between 23 and 29 July 1941 detachments made up of workers from local plants, Komsomol members, and party and soviet workers heroically fought the enemy together with Red Army men and seamen. In the period of

defensive battles, 27 Estonian voluntary fighter battalions and workers' regiments and detachments defended Estonian soil shoulder to shoulder with regular Red Army units.

The black night of fascist occupation brought incalculable disasters to the Baltic states. The outstanding Lithuanian poet Antanas Ventslova wrote with pain and suffering about his native land, recently liberated from fascist occupation:

Forgive our blasphemous blindness,
But recognizing you was unbearable!
The land forever known as Lithuania
Lay before us like a tombstone...

In the captured territories the fascist monsters pursued a monstrous policy of organized mass annihilation of civilians. In Lithuania alone the Hitlerites killed about 700,000 people.

The material damage caused by the fascist aggressors to the national economy of Estonia alone exceeded 16 billion rubles. In occupied Lithuania, the most valuable farmland was taken over by about 30,000 German colonists.

The peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were subjected to unheard of national degradation. They were simply deprived of any state autonomy whatsoever. Their territories were included in the so-called "Eastern Region" ("Ostland") of the fascist reich. The invaders tried to insure that the very names of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia would be forgotten, and mentioning them was forbidden.

Then of thousands of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians fought on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War, both in various large and small units of the Red Army and in national formations. In 1942 the Eight Estonian Rifle Corps (Guards Rifle Corps as of 1945) was established in the Soviet rear. It participated in the battle for Velikiye Luki and in the liberation of its native land. In the course of the war a Latvian rifle corps and anti-aircraft and aviation regiments were organized. They too participated in important battle operations and subsequently, in the liberation of Latvia. The 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division participated in the battles for the liberation of Belorussia, Latvia, and its native land. Partisans and clandestine fighters in the Baltic area wrote glorious pages in the history of the Patriotic War.

Following the expulsion of the Hitlerite hordes from the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian territories, the working people of these republics had to dedicate tremendous efforts to the healing of the wounds of the war and the elimination of the consequences of fascist occupation.

Following the restoration of peace, the Communist Party mobilized the people not only for the rebuilding of the national economy and a cultural

maintainable, but for the further development of the building of socialism. Thanks to the joint efforts and practical aid provided by all the peoples of the USSR, the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian people surmounted the difficulties and, within a short time, not only rebuilt what had been destroyed but undertook to lay the material foundations for socialism. In the very first postwar five-year plan, the industrialization of the Baltic republics was undertaken. In the course of the agrarian reorganization, the prerequisites were created for the conversion of the peasants to a kolkhoz system. The transition was completed at the beginning of the 1950s. By then decisive successes had been achieved in the cultural revolution as well. The foundations for socialism had been laid in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

To the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian USSRs, the Soviet period was one of rapid economic and cultural development. In his 21 December 1972 report "On the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev assigned high value to their successes. Describing the achievements of the Baltic republics, he said: "As we know, at the time they joined the union, they could not be considered backward national outlying areas. Yet, taking the path of socialism, they achieved the highest rates of development in the union."

The following are figures which clearly support these words and confirm the tremendous progress made by the peoples of the Baltic states. Compared with 1940, today's Lithuanian industrial output is higher by a factor of 56; compared with that same year, Estonian industrial output is higher by a factor of 46, and that of Latvia by a factor of 43.

The industrial shape of the Baltic republics today was determined essentially by production sectors created under the Soviet system. They include modern machine building, instrument manufacturing, electrical engineering, and a chemical industry. Light and food industries have been further developed. New sectors, such as a nuclear power industry and petroleum refining, are being created.

Socialist reorganization of agriculture has forever rescued the Baltic toiling peasantry from oppression and exploitation, enabling it to resolve age-old social problems. Big highly mechanized and specialized agricultural enterprises made it possible to raise labor productivity considerably, to change the conditions and nature of labor, and to reduce the socioeconomic disparities between town and country. Farming and animal husbandry have become more intensive. Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian agriculture has become a modern and highly productive public production sector whose material and technical base has been strengthened. Systematic specialization and concentration of agricultural output are taking place.

Implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, subsequent CC CPSU plenums and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions, the working people of the Baltic states within the united family of Soviet peoples have achieved new successes in all areas of economic and social development during the 10th Five-Year Plan. All the necessary prerequisites for a further upsurge

in the material and spiritual forces of the socialist nations have been established in the republics, where the economy has become a structural part of the USSR national economic complex.

The Soviet people gave an inspired welcome to the news that, having heard the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the CC CPSU June Plenum had decided to convene the regular 26th Party Congress on 23 February 1981. This date will be a most important guideline in the life of the entire country and in the activities of all Soviet people. "Each congress has opened up new horizons for party and country," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated at the plenum. "I am confident that such will also be the case with the forthcoming congress, which will define the strategy and tactics of the struggle in the forthcoming stage of the building of communism."

Preparations for the 26th Party Congress have already become nationwide. They are characterized by the growing creative initiative and energy of the masses, and new scope in socialist competition. Throughout the country, meetings of the working people and gatherings of the party aktiv are taking place and making decisions on what must be accomplished by each collective in honor of the congress. Maximum energy is being applied to successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan and for insuring the stable work of the national economy in 1981, the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The creative surges of millions of people and the personal interest of the workers, kolkhoz members and specialists in the fastest possible realization of our possibilities are being manifested with particular emphasis in the pre-congress socialist competition. The working people of the Soviet Baltic area too are making their contribution to the development of the competition. The powerful upsurge of the labor and political activeness of the Soviet people in the course of the preparations for the new party congress is a guarantee for the successful implementation of the tasks set by the June CC CPSU Plenum and the plans for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Developing as a structural component of the single national economic complex, industry in the Baltic republics is making its substantial contribution to the all-union output. For example, Lithuania is fourth among the union republics in the production of some items (metal-cutting machine tools, rubber shoes, and hosiery). The Latvian SSR is a leader in the production of radio sets and radio gramophones and telephone sets. The republic's enterprises account for about one-half of all the mopeds manufactured in the country. In 1979 the Latvian plants accounted for one out of every three mainline passenger coaches, one out of four streetcars and radio receivers, and one out of six buses or washing machines produced in the USSR. Estonian industry is represented by instrument manufacturing and the production of road construction machinery. The republic has a major shale gas industry. Compared with 1975, the extraction of this valuable fuel and chemical raw material was up nine percent in 1979,

accounting for 83.5 percent of the all-union output. Estonian plants are producing equipment for petroleum and gas refineries and the food industry.

The living standard of the workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia is steadily rising in the Soviet Baltic republics. The implementation of important social measures insured a further increase in the real income of the working people and benefits and payments received from public consumption funds. Compared with 1975, the average monthly wage of workers and employees in these republics was 18 rubles higher in 1979, averaging 160 rubles in Lithuania, 164 rubles in Latvia, and 180 rubles in Estonia. Kolkhoz members' wages are rising as well. Under the Soviet system, a great deal was accomplished in the Baltic republics in resolving the housing problem. The current rate of construction of apartment units per ten thousand population is higher than in capitalist countries such as Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland and Sweden.

A broad network of training and prophylactic institutions has been created to protect the health of the working people. A developed social insurance system is helping to upgrade the living standard of the population.

A socialist cultural revolution was effected in the Baltic states over a relatively short period of time and the spiritual appearance of the peoples changed radically. Currently, as throughout the rest of the country, a conversion to universal secondary education has been completed here. The republics have skilled cadres of workers and specialists in all national economic matters.

Major successes have been achieved in the area of the spiritual culture of the Baltic people. Significant works have been created in literature, music, and the graphic and applied arts. The following fact is indicative: in 1975 the 450th anniversary of book printing in Estonia was celebrated. Within that time over 85,000 book titles, published in about 350 million volumes, were published in Estonia. Over one-half of them first saw the light during the Soviet era.

The size of the editions of artistic literary works has increased many fold in all Soviet Baltic republics. Theater attendance is rising steadily. The names of cultural personalities in the Soviet Baltic states, such as A. Upli, Ya. Sudrabkain, V. Latsis, E. Mezheleytis, B. Dvarionas, V. Noreyka, G. Ernesaks, E. Rapp, L. Prosst, G. Ots, V. Artmane and others, are known both in our country and abroad.

The successes of the Baltic republics, like those of the other fraternal Union republics, are a vivid confirmation of the victory of the ideas of socialist internationalism, and of the forces of friendship among the peoples.

The main results of the 40 years of development in the Baltic republics are the creation of a mature socialist society, the establishment of a Soviet way of life, and the molding of the new man, the builder of communism.

The Order of the October Revolution, recently awarded to the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR, is a vivid confirmation of appreciation by the homeland of the achievements of the fraternal Baltic republics.

The most important characteristic of the socialist system is the increased social need for unification and alliance among the working people. This enhances the role of the collective strength and overall power of the society. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin predicted that the establishment of new human communities under the conditions of a multinational country and the achievement of international unity of its populations are inseparably related processes. Even before the victory of the October Revolution he wrote that the socialist movement creates new and higher forms of human community in which the legitimate needs of progressive aspirations of the toiling masses of all nationalities will be satisfied, for the first time, in a state of international unity and with the elimination of existing national barriers (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 40). This has been vividly confirmed by the appearance of a new historical community--the Soviet people--in the USSR.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has noted that the appearance of this community is our great accomplishment, "a kind of summarized result of the economic and sociopolitical changes which have taken place in our country over half a century."

The 25th CPSU Congress made a substantial contribution to bringing the social nature of the Soviet people to light. "We continue to take as our basis the fact," the Central Committee Accountability Report to the Congress emphasized, "that a new historical community--the Soviet people--has developed in our country, based on the unbreakable alliance among the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, with the leading role of the working class, and the friendship of all nations and nationalities in the country."

A number of features of the Soviet people as a new historical community have developed in the course of the building of socialism and communism. Chief among them are a common economic life, sociocultural unity, common spiritual life, international unification of all nations and nationalities, a common Soviet way of life, and a single language for international communications shared by the entire historical comity--the Russian language.

International unity is of essential significance in the characterization of the Soviet people and their historical role. Today it is the main indicator of the level of development of socialist national relations and their consistency with the mature socialist stage.

The new USSR constitution, and the constitutions of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, have proclaimed a course of further development for Soviet statehood and the expansion and advancement of socialist democracy. They have codified the foundations of the social governmental structures, the legal status of the individual, and the organization and activities of state organs. They reflect the main features of the developed socialist society.

Taking into consideration the features of their national characteristics, the constitutions of the Baltic republics are based on juridical equality among union republics, as defined in the USSR Fundamental Law. All republics have equal rights regardless of territorial or population size. The Leninist principle to the effect that a federation is an alliance of equal— an alliance requiring consensus, has been fully implemented in the land of the soviets. All republics identically rely on the political, economic, and military power of the country. They participate on an equal footing in the formulation and implementation of USSR domestic and foreign policy and in the structuring of the USSR's supreme state organs.

Equality among union republics is not only legally codified but factually established in life. Without it, the successes achieved by the Soviet Baltic republics in all areas of governmental and social life would have been inconceivable.

As in the other union republics, the main direction followed in the development of the Soviet political system in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia is the further broadening of socialist democracy, the ever more extensive participation of the citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs, the perfecting of the state apparatus, the upgrading of activity of social organizations, the intensification of people's control, the strengthening of the legal foundations for state and public life, the broadening of publicity, and the constant consideration of public opinion.

The role of the soviets has grown immeasurably and their rights have been expanded in the Baltic republics under the conditions of the state of the whole people.

In the 63 years which have passed since the October Revolution, the soviets, regarded by Lenin even before the revolution as the offshoots of the new people's system, have become a tremendous force and the mass organizations through which true democracy is exercised.

"It is precisely the masses, excluded from participation in political life and prevented from exercising democratic rights and freedoms through thousands of means and traps, even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, and although equal in the eyes of the law," Lenin wrote, "which are now being drawn into continuing and mandatory decisive participation in the democratic administration of the state" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 500).

The soviets are doing tremendous work in the political, economic, and sociocultural areas. In recent years their activities have become particularly energetic in the field of economics. Following the adoption of the CC CPSU decree: "On Further Improving the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs," even greater attention has been paid to the economic work of the soviets in the republics. A set of measures on the implementation of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the tasks of the soviets of people's deputies, based on the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," and on the tasks of the soviets of people's deputies related to the further strengthening of state and labor discipline and improving the utilization of labor resources, is being successfully implemented in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In particular, problems related to upgrading the role of the soviets in the political, labor, and moral upbringing of the citizens, strengthening state and labor discipline, and implementing the plans for social and economic development will be considered locally and discussed at sessions of executive committees of local soviets and permanent commissions.

The solution of these problems calls for steady improvement in the activities of the soviets and for the implementation of Leninist norms and operational principles. Our party is steadfastly following a line of upgrading the role of the soviets of people's deputies. The party's leadership of the soviets is their source of strength and most important guarantee of effective activity. Important measures have been implemented in our country in accordance with the decisions of party congresses and CC CPSU decrees to energize and improve the activities of higher and local representative organs. The results of the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th convocation, held in June, are yet another vivid confirmation of the attention which the party and the Soviet state are devoting to the activities of the soviets. The USSR Law "On Basic Plenary Powers of Kray and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies, and of Soviets of People's Deputies of Autonomous Oblasts and Autonomous Okrugs" was passed at that session. The law clearly defined the basic directions to be followed in perfecting soviet activities further. The Supreme Soviet session also adapted important legislative acts on environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources: The USSR Law "On the Protection of the Air" and the USSR Law "On the Protection and Utilization of the Animal World." The importance of these laws is obvious: The atmospheric air and the animal world are among the basic components of the environment. The laws reflect the party's systematically implemented course of comprehensively upgrading the role of the state organs, public organizations and citizens in resolving these important problems.

The leading role of the Communist Party is the main prerequisite for the successful development of all units within the Soviet governmental system. In guiding the soviets, the party directs their efforts toward the steadfast implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the requirements of the USSR Constitution and of the constitutions of the union republics, and the strict observance of the principles of socialist democracy.

The results of the development of the Soviet Baltic republics over a period of four decades confirmed yet once again the conclusion of the CPSU Program to the effect that "each Soviet republic can continue to blossom and strengthen only within the great family of fraternal socialist nations of the USSR."

The peoples of the Baltic states have achieved their happiness within a single powerful socialist state. They have confidence in their children's future and, in inspired fashion, are building the most just society on earth--communism--toward whose peaks they are being led by the great Leninist party.

5003

CSO: 1802

A COMMUNIST AND FATHER OF A COMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 93-100

[Article by V. Sedykh]

[Text] The days dragged on slowly and monotonously, resembling each other like twins. Every morning, after the first breakfast, the physician would come into the ward. He would examine, palpate, and listen to the patient for a long time and on leaving, would invariably say: "Not bad, Monsieur Barel. You are clearly on the mend. We will be celebrating the marriage of your great-grandchildren yet!"

...Several months ago Virgile Barel had had major surgery and was now being treated at the Requebillere Clinic on the Riviera.

Never before had Barel had so much leisure time. He was still very weak and almost unable to move. However, his mind was as clear and active as in his youth.

It was precisely at that time that he received a letter from Yvonne Plot, a Paris acquaintance of his and a veteran member of the France-USSR Society. She had visited Moscow and brought back a note from a Soviet journalist, once a frequent guest of the Barel couple in Nice. Unaware of Virgile's illness, the journalist was asking him to share his recollections and, if possible, to send his photograph.

Barel was soon to turn 90;...This, as we know, is an honorable age which inspires memoirs. In his time, Virgile Barel had published a book of recollections. He had virtually completed a second before the operation, and now, bedridden, he was mentally returning to old and not so old events....

He remembered Drappe, his native village, huddled in the Paillon valley, eight kilometers from Nice. Modest little houses covered with greenery, tiled roofs and a small, old church. Hospitable and hard-working people: peasants, workers, artisans, and small shopkeepers, with the entire village numbering barely 500 people.

Virgile's father was a good saddler and the Barel house was not one of the poorest. At that time virtually everyone needed a saddler, as many people today need an automobile mechanic.

True, not all customers by any means settled their accounts immediately and in cash. Many preferred to have such bills charged to their accounts or brought in payment whatever they could: a sack of chestnuts, a bottle of olive oil, or a cheese.

Virgile alone of the four brothers in the family was able to acquire "an education." After attending grammar school at home in Drappe, he continued his studies in Nice.

It took him two hours to commute. Yet, what a charge of health and good spirits the boy acquired while riding his squeaky old second-hand bicycle! Fragrant gardens and beautiful proud palm trees lined the narrow road, alternating gaily with powerful chestnut trees. This went on all the way to Nice, where, all of a sudden, the blinding blue of the sea became visible.

It was in this blessed corner of the earth that his love of his homeland began. Love for the fatherland became part of Virgile Barel's flesh and blood, illuminating his soul throughout his life with a vivifying fire which kept him warm even in the darkest times.

At the age of 20 Virgile graduated from the école normale (something similar to a pedagogical institute). He became a teacher in the town of Brel, also near Nice. He taught for a while and then was drafted or, as was then the expression, was summoned to serve the flag.

He was demobilized 2 years later. He returned home and soon afterward married dark-eyed Francoise Scrivano. A son was born to the couple in 1913.

Max.... It seemed as though Virgile Barel had poured all the warmth of his heart into the boy who was to remain forever the focus of his infinite happiness and **immeasurable sorrow**.

His domestic happiness was brief. A war which changed the destinies of millions of people broke out one year after the birth of his son. Francoise used to say that "Virgile went to war the very same day that Max took a few steps unassisted."

It was true that father and son each went to meet his destiny and their common fate.

The surgeon who had operated on Virgile Barel frequently admired the staying power of his patient. "This is simply amazing," he told his

colleagues. "At the age of 90, to be able to undergo such complex surgery so staunchly! And after such upheavals at that!"

Barel was not daunted by fate. The war had barely broken out when a German bullet sliced through the skin of his head like a razor, filling his cap with sticky blood. Fortunately, however, it merely grazed his skull. Later on, in the Vosges, he was hit in the leg by an enemy sniper. Several months after leaving the hospital the brave officer once again found himself under fierce artillery fire. One shell fragment struck Barel in the knee and a second in the chest. This was followed, once again, by the long nightmare of hospitals and, once again, the front.

A military cross was pinned to the chest of the brave man. In his soul, however, a hatred for the senseless war was rising. "I thought a great deal about war and peace and the reasons for the conflict," Barel remembered. The novel "The Fire," written in blood by Henri Barbusse, helped him to realize more clearly that the soldiers in the trenches were merely cannon fodder being sacrificed to the capitalist idol. "The war has turned me against war," Virgile Barel said.

It is no wonder that the thunderous news of the 1917 Russian revolution, which proclaimed peace among nations, triggered such a live response in the hearts of frontline soldiers yearning for their homes and a peaceful life.

Bedridden at the Roquebillere Clinic, Barel would resurrect in his memory, again and again, events of 60 years previous. There he was, recently demobilized, joining the French Socialist Party. Once again he became a teacher. Together with the revolutionary socialists, he struggled to effect a turn in the communist movement. How happily he greeted the decision of the majority of the French Socialist Congress to join the Komintern! The event occurred in December 1920, in the ancient city of Tours. The socialist federation of his Alpes Maritimes Department voted with the majority. It was thus that Virgile Barel was a communist from the day the French Communist Party was born. Throughout his life he would remember the fiery words of the Tours congress manifesto, written by one of the party founders, the writer, painter and poet Paul Vaillant-Couturier: "May our party be great!... May it be worthy of its past, worthy of Babeuf, worthy of the veterans of the June 1848 revolution, worthy of the Paris Commune, worthy of Jaures, worthy of the great future opening up for us!"

Like thousands of his compatriots, Barel enthusiastically chose this hard and yet worthy path. Now, six decades later, with his life behind him, the veteran could look at the past calmly, with the feeling of a duty honestly fulfilled.

...The fascist plague was spreading over Europe. The Barel couple--by then Virgile had remarried and had a second son, Yves--were teaching school in Menton, on the Italian border, where Mussolini's roughnecks were already throwing their weight about. Then the fascists seized power in Germany. The monstrous epidemic threatened to spread to France.

Action, decisive action, was needed. In February 1934 mass antifascist demonstrations took place in which Barel participated. He was a member of the national committee for unity between communists and socialists. In 1936 he was elected to parliament by the Popular Front.

Those were unforgettable days! A photograph in the family album shows the arrival of a group of workers at the Nice railway station, enjoying a paid vacation for the first time in their lives. This was a real achievement of the Popular Front. Virgile Barel, a deputy representing the Alpes Maritimes Department is in the center of the group. We read from the photograph inscribed in his hand: "The Popular Front abolished the privilege of reserving the Riviera only for the rich."

Another photograph shows an already elderly, graying Virgile Barel sitting in the place of honor with Gabriel Perry, an outstanding journalist writing for L'HUMANITE. Several years later Perry, the fearless patriot and internationalist, and one of the heroes of the French Resistance, was to be executed by the Hitlerite invaders.

However, a number of dramatic events were to take place before Gabriel was executed and before the fascist occupation of France. Civil war was to break out in Spain and, instructed by his party, Barel was to visit that bleeding country to organize contacts with the international brigades and, subsequently, to help the republicans cross the border and find shelter in France.

The shameful Munich accord, which gave a green light to Hitler's aggression in Europe, defiled the course of history. Together with his party, Barel would also fight against this treason committed by the rich and against the threat of war.

However, even before the Hitlerite forces poured into France, the authorities banned the French Communist Party and forced it underground. Together with his like-minded friends, Virgile Barel took the thorny and glorious "Road of Honor."

"The Road of Honor." Such was the amazingly apt and accurate title which Floriment Bont gave to a book on his friend Barel and on other French communists, written after the war, hot on the trail of events....

What marked the beginning of this "way of the cross"? Virgile Barel never forgot one Sunday morning in October 1939 when he was taken under police

effort for interrogation by one Mathieu. Parliamentary immunity? In a capitalist state this becomes meaningless when it applies to the true representatives of the working people!

The world war unleashed by Hitlerite Germany was in its second month. France was threatened with mortal danger. Yet instead of urgently beginning to organize a rebuff of the enemy, the then rulers in Paris struck at the French communists--the most loyal and tested patriots--and at other democrats. The Communist Party was declared outside the law and its representatives were handed over to a military tribunal for punishment. As was the case during the Paris Commune, the stupidity of the priests of capitalism, blinded by class hatred, was laced with national treason.

It was no accident that after the liberation of France from the invaders the executioner Mathieu, into whose hands Virgile Barel had once fallen, was sentenced to death.

At the beginning of the war, however, people like Mathieu were masters of the situation. To the end of his days Barel would recall with disgust and pain his endless tribulations: transit prisons, concentration camps, debasing interrogations, threats, degrading bribes, and exhortations. "You must abandon your party," he was urged. "With the type of electoral support you have, you could remain a deputy for life.... Break with the Soviets and we will release you immediately!"

This was followed by a shameful fabricated trial of communist deputies. How many times, subsequently, would Virgile Barel reread the transcript of the trial, going through his testimony again and again. Now, nearly 40 years later, it would not change what he told the executioners to their faces by one iota. At that time Barel said that the communists would not only defend themselves but make charges as well. He stated that the communist deputies were the representatives of the people, for which reason they could not be traitors. The people cannot betray their country and the people are France. By betraying France he would betray himself. He would betray the country to the exploiting class, the class which fears the loss of its privileges.

The trial became a trial of its organizers, of the real traitors of France. This was a moral victory for the communist deputies even though they were sentenced to hard labor and stripped of all civil and political rights.

After long tribulations they found themselves in the Maison Carree hard labor prison in Algiers. At that time it contained 1,200 inmates wasting away. Every month an average of 90 prisoners died. Barel knew that some inmates were unable to withstand such hardships. They became despondent, went berserk or committed suicide. This, however, did not apply to the communists. The 27 communists imprisoned in Maison Carree were united

and firm: They tried sensibly to organize their lives, practiced physical culture, and even organized exchanges of lessons. Barel taught Italian to his comrades; Berlioz taught political economy; Waldek Roche, who later became secretary general of the French Communist Party, taught other subjects.

True, all were not able to withstand the hard labor regime physically. Waldek Roche was losing weight and was visibly wasting away. Lucien Midol and Henri Martel were severely ill. Some of the comrades did not live long after the liberation, as their jail privations had exhausted their strength excessively.

Thanks to his excellent health, Barel felt better than the others. He read a great deal, studied and taught his comrades, drew (a number of his drawings of this period remain) and wrote poetry. One of his poems was addressed to his younger son Yves: "Do not grieve, thinking of your father!"

While in prison Barel did not know what had happened to the people he cherished most: his little Yves, his wife Elo, and Max. Where were they? How were they? Were they alive? The last time he had seen his older son was in the crowd in front of the prison: smiling, Max had pointed to his baby daughter, as though to cheer her father and grandfather and to give him strength and hope.

Barel would remember this almost symbolic image forever.

Yes, the aging father would retain the memory of his son for years on end, like an unhealed wound. In 1943, after the crushing defeat of the fascist hordes at Stalingrad, when the outcome of the war became clear, the French authorities in Algiers were forced to release the communist deputies. Immediately Virgile Barel began to seek news of Max and the rest of his family. No one knew anything definite. During the period of the liberation of France, in August 1944, Barel returned to the homeland. There was a happy reunion with his wife and with Yves. However, there was also the terrible news of Max's death....

This is how it happened: Following the capitulation of Pétain's government, Max Barel, the communist, a most talented engineer and artillery officer, joined the resistance movement. He organized sabotage activities at several war plants, made explosives for the partisans, and formulated a daring plan for the destruction of the transformers at large enterprises. Fascist bloodhounds were able to track and capture him. For five days and nights the patriot was savagely tortured in the Gestapo prison in Lyons. At that time the Lyons Gestapo was headed by Klaus Barbi, a dyed-in-the-wool Nazi. Max died during the torture, having revealed nothing to his executioners and having betrayed no secrets. Yet, he could have revealed a great deal.

After the war Max Barel was posthumously awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honor. Streets, squares, schools, and residential districts were named after him. Several books, translated into foreign languages, were written about him.

Pablo Picasso's reaction to the memory of Max was particularly touching. The great painter was asked to paint a portrait of the hero. Virgile Barel wanted to take photographs and other documents pertaining to his dead son to the master. "No need," Picasso said. "I shall come to your place." He went to Barel's apartment, looked long at the photographs, asked questions, and thought.... After a while the drawing was finished. To this day it hangs on the wall of Barel's apartment. A young, open face, tender yet energetic, as was Max!

It is said that time heals all wounds. Why was it, then, that even though decades had passed the awareness of Max's absence was so bitterly felt? Why was it that this wound had become more painful over the years? Why was it that even then, when his own days were numbered, he, this very old man, grieved endlessly for his dead boy?

Love? Naturally! Virgile Barel loved his older son to distraction. He was proud of him and had tremendous hopes for him. But could it be that Virgile's sorrow was so persistent also because he had seen in his son the prototype of the generation which was fated to accomplish that which his generation had been unable to? Had this dynamic, daring and dedicated generation, called upon to reorganize the world on a new, just basis, not been particularly affected by the world war triggered by the capitalist system? Twenty million of the best sons and daughters of the Soviet people had sacrificed their lives for freedom and socialism! Millions of people had died in other countries! The hydra-headed monster, swollen with profits, wars and obscurantism and sinking into senility, was trying to turn everything living to ashes and to destroy the harbingers and builders of the future or, in any case, to undermine their strength and energy.

That is what Virgile Barel was thinking. It was not without reason that he struggled so passionately against reaction and militarism, nor that this veteran communist adamantly demanded that Klaus Barbi, the Nazi criminal, hiding to escape retribution in faraway Bolivia, be tried. No, Barel did not thirst for personal revenge. To him Barbi, the Nazi, was the sinister embodiment of the forces of reaction and war, and Barel's entire being was dedicated to the struggle against these sinister forces.

The veteran spent the last months of his life completing his new book "Our Struggle Goes On." In this book he particularly emphasized the fact that the question of surrendering Klaus Barbi was unrelated to any thought of personal revenge and that the only important thing was the struggle against the restoration of Nazism. "I beg the readers to understand the

politic) meaning of my position," the author repeated insistently. "It is determined by the feelings of a father who, while mourning the death of his son, wants to serve his people. I share the sorrow of other unfortunate parents." He added: "I curse those who have supported the criminal concept of bloody fascism. Scoundrels! I curse those who are engaged in deliberate maneuvers to defend the interests of capital."

Following the liberation of Nice from the invaders, Virgile Barel was elected chairman of the "Special Delegation" or, in simple words, mayor of his beloved city. It was while holding this high position, in the sunny April days of 1945, that he welcomed General deGaulle, the head of the provisional government of the French republic, at the city hall. In his welcoming speech the mayor said that the people of Nice would rebuild their native city which would play its role in the renovation of the homeland. The general's solemn answer to this was "The future opens wide for Nice."

However, one had to fight for this future. In the postwar years Virgile Barel was repeatedly elected by the Nice population as its representative in the Bourbon Palace. Initially, he was a deputy in the two constituent assemblies and then the National Assembly. For five years he held the honorary position of doyen of the French National Assembly.

Whenever he inaugurated a parliamentary session, the communist doyen invariably spoke out in defense of the real interests of the working people and in support of a policy of peace and international security. He served his people and his electorate faithfully and truthfully. The working people of Nice reciprocated with the deepest respect and love.

Staring at the transparent blue of the southern sky through the open window of the hospital ward, Barel often thought of his city. What great efforts the communists and other democrats had devoted to improving the life of the working people, the betterment of Nice and the prosperity of the entire Riviera! One part of Virgile Barel's soul would remain forever part of this work. He was not only a National Assembly deputy representing Nice but, for a while, president of the general council of the Alpes Maritimes and, for 22 long years, political director of the French Communist Party newspaper LE PATRIOTE NICOIS.

He thoroughly knew and loved his city and took pleasure in showing it to foreign guests. Nice and Yalta are sister cities and Virgile Barel frequently welcomed Soviet delegations. Occasionally he accompanied them to the high hill where the old castle stood, cemetery at its foot. It contained Gorkov's grave, with a bronze monument to the outstanding Russian revolutionary.

Barel frequently described his trips to the homeland of the Great October Revolution. His first trip to the Soviet Union was in 1928 at the

beginning of the first Soviet five-year plan. He saw the difficulties in the country which had not as yet been entirely surmounted, the severe consequences of the domination of fascism and the imperialist and civil wars. However, the French communist also saw the creative energy of the people, the first people in history to become the masters of their destiny, enthusiastically building a new society. After his trip, Barel wrote a book entitled "To Moscow!" This was the direct and bold answer to the anti-Soviet hoaxists at the public speeches by this communist, who interrupted him by shouting "To Moscow! To Moscow!" Henri Barbusse was the author of the preface of the book. Reality proved that the communists were right. It was precisely the country on which the French reactionaries heaped filth which subsequently helped France to free itself from the Hitlerite invaders.

Barel visited the land of the Soviets 30 years later and saw with his own eyes the tremendous achievements of real socialism. He subsequently wrote the following profound statement about this trip: "Deeply imprinted in my mind is the feeling of constant excitement which I felt on finding myself in the midst of the Soviet people, on seeing the clear possibility of putting an end to capitalism. Everywhere I saw the tremendous scope of construction and restoration (I paid a long visit to Stalingrad). Once again I swore to go on, to continue with the struggle for a socialist France, in my modest activity, describing what I knew about the USSR."

As a noted parliamentarian, he was justifiably proud of making his contribution to the noble cause of cooperation and friendship between the French and Soviet peoples. Was this not consistent with the national interests of his homeland and with universal peace?

Barel's autobiography contains the following statement: "I have read a great deal about communism, communist morality, and the lives of the great comrades, Marx, Engels, and Lenin.... I have always asked myself whether or not my actions were consistent with their doctrine. Some may consider this naive. But I am not afraid to admit that in the course of my work I have frequently asked myself what Lenin would do in my place. What would Lenin think on seeing me?"

To the end of his days the veteran was always guided by this truest compass which had helped him and his entire party in the most difficult period of history, when France and the world were shaken by the tempests of war, and when not only individuals but political parties and even entire countries had lost their true direction and were being shipwrecked.

Does this mean that he never erred? Of course it does not! In the course of the difficult and complex struggle waged by his party over many decades occasional errors were inevitable. Yet, was this what mattered most? What mattered most was to recognize them promptly, to correct them, and to go on following the right path. To a political leader, is there

nothing more important than loyalty to the ideals of freedom and social justice, loyalty to the homeland, and to the international solidarity of the working people? Was this not the inflexible loyalty to homeland and great ideals which illuminated the lives and activities of Virgile Barel's outstanding comrades--Naurice Thorez, Marcel Cachin, Paul Vaillant-Couturier and Jacques Duclos? Did the selfless struggle waged by his party in war and peace not bring invaluable benefits to France and the falling masses, and was it not aimed at the good of the entire nation?

These were Virgile Barel's thoughts as he wrote the book "Our Struggle Goes On." In the final chapter he writes: "Will I have heart enough here, at the end of my book, to sum up the results of an entire life? He gives me the hope that I will soon be able to resume political activities. Will I be able once again to be useful, to continue to live among my own, my comrades, the people of Nice? Will I be able gratefully to express to them the feelings they inspire in me?"

"Politically, everything within me is connected with my affiliation with the French Communist Party. I have always tried to make all my actions consistent with its policy. I have learned a great deal from the party's publications. It is precisely thanks to the party and to my comrades that I began to ascribe particular importance to the great concept of honesty, in all its meanings, whether in political or human actions. Under all circumstances be honest, my comrades, be honest within your family, with the people around you, at work. Each of your public actions must be worthy of our party.

Along with this chapter, Virgile Barel sent to Moscow the following staggering statement: "For 35 years I have been mourning my son Max Barel, an engineer and graduate of the Polytechnical School, who was tortured and killed by the Nazis. Together with our party and its parliamentary group, together with our friends and comrades, we are struggling to force the Bolivian authorities to surrender Klaus Barbi, the leader of the executioners. I think of Max night and day.

Virgile Barel, Nice, 17 December 1979."

For some reason the author put the date of his 90th birthday on this letter. He died 40 days short of that date.

On a gloomy day in November, tens of thousands of residents of Nice accompanied their noted fellow citizen, their "defender," as the simple working people called Barel, on his last trip. Never before in its entire history had this city seen such an impressive and sad procession.

But could death outweigh the memory of a person such as Virgile Barel?

1001

CSO: 1802

DANGEROUS PARTNERSHIP

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 101-109

[Text] In the assessment of the contemporary international situation, the June CC CPSU Plenum noted in particular the increased closeness between aggressive Western circles, the United States above all, and the Chinese leadership. In its decree the plenum emphasized that "the partnership between imperialism and Beijing hegemonism is a dangerous new phenomenon in world politics, dangerous to all mankind, including the American and Chinese peoples."

The negative influence of Chinese policy on the international situation is increasing. A new stage is becoming apparent in this policy, characterized by the following basic features:

First, Beijing's proimperialist line, initially manifested in the stipulation of the struggle against the "two superpowers," has now led it to a close alliance with imperialism, no longer manifested in statements, but in joint or parallel actions. Both sides consider this a long-term policy, essentially presuming military-political cooperation between China and the United States and other imperialist countries. Beijing is already participating in the implementation of the imperialist plans for struggle against socialism and the liberation movement of the peoples. Following its treacherous attack on socialist Vietnam, it has joined in the aggression against democratic Afghanistan.

Secondly, a material base is being laid down for Beijing's adventurist course, strengthened by internal measures and growing imperialist military-economic aid. The Chinese leadership is doing everything possible to impose upon its party and country a social-chauvinist platform. Naturally, the repudiation of the extremes of the "cultural revolution," the rehabilitation of Liu Shao Qi and other noted CPC personalities, who became the victims of Maoist arbitrary action, and the abandonment of the most absurd stipulations of Mao Zedong are all worthy of attention and sober analysis. However, one cannot fail to see the main thing: The new aspects of Beijing's policy do not affect the essence of its antisocialist, hegemonistic and aggressive course.

The Chinese rulers are not abandoning their previous Maoist concept of the inevitability of a world war. They preach that the new decade will be "even more stormy," and that the possibility of the "outbreak of a new world war will increase." Judging from their words, they are not averse to delaying a new world war. However, nevertheless, they hope to use this "breathing spell" for the purpose of increasing their military potential, which already now includes an intercontinental ballistic missile.

In turn, American, Japanese, West German, British, and other monopolies are showing their readiness to invest tens of billions of dollars in China. Naturally, in view of Beijing's policy, they will be channeled mainly into the militarization of the country.

Thirdly, Beijing is expanding the framework of an anti-Soviet "broadest possible international front," and trying to involve in it not only the capitalist and developing countries but individual communist parties as well.

Fourthly, while modifying Maoism, the Beijing leadership has preserved its antisocialist great-power essence. It is trying to make it more flexible and attractive both to the imperialists and to all types of opportunists.

Therefore, Beijing hegemonism and imperialism are taking new steps in their unification against the USSR, world socialism, and the revolutionary movement.

Emulation of Imperialism

Rapidly expanding and intensifying Sino-American relations are at the center of this process. This, in particular, is being used to coordinate positions and actions undertaken against world socialism and its allies.

The White House has openly stated that "We have expanded our new relations with the PRC to insure that, whenever our interests coincide, actions we may undertake independently one of the other will be complementary. To this end we are strengthening our relations on the level of consultations" (President Carter's State of the Union Message to the Congress in January). Many observers consider such actions as an indication of Washington's abandonment of the old principle of balanced development of relations with China and the Soviet Union.

Here Washington is relying above all on the "strategic nature" of its relations with Beijing. The United States and China, Secretary of Defense Brown has noted, "share a viewpoint on the global strategic situation... American-Chinese strategic relations will be expanded and intensified." He has said that it is of exceptional importance to the United States for China to attract toward itself as many Soviet troops as possible.

Informing the Japanese leaders of the results of his talks in Beijing, Brown noted that the Chinese leaders are showing "understanding" of American military construction and of Washington's "emergency measures" in the Middle East and the Pacific. They support the modernizing of NATO, the U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean, and other efforts "in the defense area."

In turn, the Beijing rulers have stated that they consider relations between China and the United States as an important strategic and political factor, operating above all against the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity. Last April, Deng Xiaoping emphasized that a rapprochement between the PRC and the United States "is not a measure dictated by circumstantial considerations, but a long-term strategic policy." This position is backed as always by false references to an imaginary "threat to China from the north."

Hua Guofeng's July trip to the Japanese capital and his meeting there with Carter, the Japanese leaders, and the leaders of some Southeast Asian countries was yet another step toward expanding the political partnership between Beijing, on the one hand, and Washington and Tokyo, on the other. Press reports indicate that problems of strategy with regard to the USSR were considered in the talks, and positions on Indochina and Afghanistan were coordinated. The Chinese prime minister and the U.S. president discussed problems of military cooperation and other aspects of bilateral relations. In a press interview Carter emphasized the "exciting" progress achieved in the development of American-Chinese relations. "We consider this," he stated, "one of the means through which we could combine our long-term strategic interests..."

Beijing ascribes great importance to relations with Japan as a partner on whom the implementation of great-power plans largely depends. Japan's share of the foreign trade of the PRC is far superior to that of any other country. In 1979 trade between the two countries totaled about \$7 billion.

The Beijing leadership tries to use its contacts with Tokyo along governmental and other lines as a means of encouraging Japan to give its policy a clear anti-Soviet direction. It is encouraging that country toward a return to the fatal road of militarism. It is actively supporting the revanchist forces calling for a revision of the peace constitution.

Relations with Western Europe and its military and economic alliances are broadening as well. Here Beijing is relying mainly on strengthening the role of NATO as a counterbalance to the USSR and the other members of the Warsaw Pact. It is giving great encouragement to the supporters of a revision of the results of World War II and those favoring changes in the territorial status quo.

The alliance between Beijing and the West German revanchists could be particularly dangerous to the interests of the socialist comity. The Beijing leadership is supporting influential circles in the FRG on the problem of "German unification." It is boosting the hopes of the neofascists by telling them that they could achieve their desires providing that they somehow help the Chinese armed forces, nuclear forces included, rise to a modern level. Should the alliance with the militaristic forces in the FRG materialize, it would represent the achievement of a dream on the part of China's current rulers and their partners of making the USSR and its allies face the threat of having to fight on two fronts.

A further reorientation of China's economic relations is taking place toward the industrially developed capitalist countries, which currently account for over 60 percent of China's foreign trade. The big imperialist countries have granted the PRC loans and credit currently totaling approximately \$30 billion. The economic cooperation between China's social chauvinists and the international imperialists is becoming, to an ever greater extent, an indicator of their political interaction directed against the forces of peace and social progress.

Such interaction offers imperialism additional opportunities to organize new antisocialist provocations. The rapprochement between the PRC, on the one hand, and the United States, Japan, and the Western European members of NATO, on the other, is contributing toward the emergence of an even more complex political situation in the world. According to some Western politicians and Beijing strategists, it is precisely thus that the forces of world socialism could be weakened and the building of a new society by the members of the socialist comity hindered at the lowest possible cost.

Military Cooperation

Beijing is increasing not only its political and economic, but also its military relations with the imperialist countries.

A Chinese military delegation headed by Geng Biao, State Council vice premier and chief of the CPC Central Committee Military Council Secretariat, visited the United States at the end of May and the beginning of June. Geng Biao held talks with President Carter and other American leaders. According to Defense Secretary Brown, the visit was a "reflection of an important new stage in the development of relations between the armed forces" of the two countries.

As a result, the Pentagon announced the specific types of military hardware approved for sale to Beijing. Export licenses have already been approved for some weapons while talks will be held between Chinese representatives and American military-industrial corporations with regard to others. The list of equipment includes radar, military transport aircraft, helicopters, communications equipment, jet engine testing facilities and

computers. Unofficially the cost of possible Chinese purchases is estimated in the hundreds of millions of dollars. The possibilities of supplying China with other types of armaments and military equipment are being widely discussed in the United States.

Geng Biao's trip coincided in time with the visit paid by Premier Hua Guofeng to Japan. This is no accident, in view of the fact that Beijing has recently joined actively in the process of creating a triple alliance (United States-Japan-PRC) based on hostility toward the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, the progressive regimes in the developing countries and the cause of universal peace. Intensified cooperation within the framework of this "triangle" is triggering universal concern. It is universally remembered that the establishment of such alliances led to the outbreak of World War II, the bloodiest war in history.

While sharing this concern, we must bear in mind however that along with a trend toward the intensification of American-Chinese rapprochement (dominant at the present stage), there remain contradictions between the PRC and the United States based on the selfish hegemonistic aspirations inherent in their ruling circles and the difference in the political, economic, and military weight of the two countries. Rather substantial differences remain between Beijing and Washington on a number of international problems, in particular that of Taiwan. It is also characteristic that the recent tests of a Chinese intercontinental missile gave rise to a feeling of concern in the United States, the Western European countries and Japan. The frenzied anti-Soviet policy of the Beijing leaders, hostile to peace, is obviously at odds with the positions of circles, above all in Western European countries, which are unwilling to threaten the results of detente and uninclined to follow Washington unconditionally as it dangerously plays with fire.

As noted by Western observers, China's military weakness, economic backwardness, absence of domestic stability, sharp struggle for power within the Beijing leadership, with rather unpredictable end results, and the possibility of unforeseen twists in the line pursued by the PRC leadership remain the vulnerable spots from the viewpoint of Washington's intentions of playing the "Chinese trump." Aware of the circumstantial nature of Beijing's tactics, nevertheless, Washington is working from the premise that winning China, with its huge human potential and political weight, over to the side of imperialism, strengthens the positions of imperialism in its confrontation with global socialism.

While the U.S. ruling circles are trying to make use of China in their confrontation with the USSR, Beijing continues to pursue its objective, urging the United States on to nuclear war against the USSR, while remaining on the sidelines itself. Quite indicative in this respect is an article in the 16 July issue of RENMIN RIBAO which openly calls upon the West, the United States in particular, to wage a struggle against the

USSR with a "wedge against wedge." The article claims in provocative fashion that "peace can be secured" only "by not stopping at military action." Such statements prove once again that Beijing's inflammatory role is increasing to the extent to which the imperialists, the American "hawks" above all, share its adventuristic concepts to a growing extent. Symptomatically, such bellicose appeals have been voiced at the very period when the USSR has launched new initiatives aimed at reducing international tension.

Its hegemonistic ambitions notwithstanding, in the factual alliance which is currently developing between China and the imperialists, the Americans above all, Beijing is forced to act not as an equal partner but as an accomplice who must frequently be obliged to grant concessions at the expense of the national interests and the dignity of the Chinese people.

Intrigues in the Developing Countries

In terms of the developing countries, the Chinese leadership in pursuing a course dictated by hegemonistic aspirations pandering to the new colonialist plans. In this case it is oriented toward provoking conflict situations in various parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, cultivating hostility and mistrust among countries and peoples, undermining their security, and diverting their forces and resources from the solution of vital socioeconomic problems. Acting together or pursuing parallel courses with the imperialists, the Chinese leaders are trying to provoke a confrontation between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, on the one hand, and the other states in Southeast Asia, on the other, and to turn other countries not only in the Near and Middle East but in other areas as well against each other.

Such a policy, which plays into the hands of the new colonizers, is naturally encountering the opposition of the developing countries. It is only those among them which are ruled by the most reactionary regimes which are extensively cooperating with Beijing.

Self-seeking considerations can clearly be seen in Beijing's approach to the liberated countries.

From the political viewpoint, these countries have long been of interest to the Chinese leadership as one of the influential forces in the international arena which could help it in its pursuit of its chauvinistic course. Today Beijing bases relations with these countries to an even greater extent on its main foreign political task--alliance with imperialism on an antisocialist basis. The more this correlation becomes apparent, the more difficulty it has in representing itself as a "loyal friend."

The Chinese leaders are adamantly trying to promote hostility toward the USSR and the socialist comity in the developing countries. Beijing frequently bases its attitude toward one developing country or another on the status of its relations and the degree of its closeness to the members of the comity. It is making a particular effort to weaken the international positions of those with a socialist orientation. For example, it is pursuing an openly hostile course toward Ethiopia, Angola and South Yemen. It is openly encouraging internal reactionary forces so that, in the final account, it can force the progressive countries to seek a rapprochement with imperialism.

From the economic viewpoint, Beijing is attracted to the developing countries as sources for foreign currency income with which to settle its accounts with the West. Their value, in Beijing's eyes, is dictated not least of all by their rich deposits of raw materials and, above all, oil with which it could advantageously engage in a variety of types of speculation, political included.

The Chinese leadership itself is extremely miserly in granting economic aid and credit. Furthermore, by requesting large new loans from the West, it becomes a direct competitor of Asian, African, and Latin American countries on the capitalist money market. All this demonstrates once again that Beijing's attitude toward these countries is of a consumerist nature, for one way or another it is consistent with the interests of imperialism and new colonialism.

Asia plays a particular role in the Maoist hegemonistic policy.

The Beijing leadership is unable to energize its activities in all parts of Asia to the same extent. It is focusing its primary attention on the southeastern parts of the continent. This is because of the strategic and economic significance of this area, its geographic proximity to China, the fact that millions of Chinese emigres live there, the existence of pro-Beijing parties and groups, and a widespread network of Chinese agents. Furthermore, Beijing takes into consideration the fact that as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic develop, and with the stabilization of the circumstances in Kampuchea, the positions of socialism in Southeast Asia will strengthen considerably and will become an obstacle in the path of its hegemonistic aspirations difficult to surmount. Therefore, in an effort to implement its great-power plans in the area, it regards weakening the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic as much as possible, the kindling of military conflicts in Kampuchea, and the erection of barriers to the economic restoration and development of the countries on the Indo-chinese Peninsula as priority tasks.

Beijing is continuing to exert military, political, diplomatic, and propaganda pressure on other countries in the area, Thailand in particular,

with a view to the establishment of a new front of struggle against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. However, despite their anticommunist prejudices, the members of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which includes Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore) are beginning to see ever more clearly how far-reaching the expansionistic plans of the Chinese chauvinists are. Beijing was clearly disappointed by the restrained reaction of the heads of these countries to appeals for alliance with China against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Indochina. Beijing's hegemonistic actions are failing in the face of firm positions maintained by socialist Vietnam, People's Democratic Laos, and Kampuchea.

As to Afghanistan, Beijing is clearly trying to undermine the foundations of the democratic system here, to create chaos and, in the final analysis, to cancel out the results of the April revolution. It entirely supports imperialism in its assessment of Afghan events. Together with the United States, it is providing political and military support to the enemies of the Afghan revolution. Together with the imperialists and the Arab reactionaries, the rulers of China are suppressing the developing countries, urging them to oppose the legitimate Afghan government, and are comprehensively misrepresenting the purpose of the selfless aid which the Soviet government is giving Afghanistan in the defense of its revolutionary gains, its national rights, and its sovereignty. The declaration of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan pointed out that the termination and guaranteed nonresumption of armed invasions or any other course of interference in domestic Afghan affairs would eliminate the reasons which forced it to turn to the USSR with the request that a limited military contingent be dispatched.

As in the past, Beijing is relying mainly in this region on Pakistan. It is actively using that country not only to help the counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan, but to apply long-term pressure on India. The aspiration of the Pakistani military to obtain nuclear arms enjoys Beijing's support.

The attitude of the Chinese leadership toward Iran is two-faced. The Chinese are trying to direct the leadership of that country into an anti-Soviet channel and, at the same time, to block out the United States. Playing up to the American extremists, Beijing's propaganda claims that it was the Soviet Union which was allegedly to blame for the aggravation of the local situation. Following the failure of the U.S. military adventure against Iran, a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC equated the seizure of the American hostages and the "rescue operation." In order to avoid the weakening of its relations with Iran and the Islamic world, Beijing makes a bow from time to time in the direction of Tehran.

The latest Chinese diplomatic steps in this area prove that China is trying to use the Islamic countries as yet another tool in its hegemonistic strategy. Beijing has set itself the task of creating an entire system political, trade-economic and other (including military) relations between China and the Islamic countries and religious organizations in the next few years. It is trying to establish such contacts through the Chinese Moslems. On Beijing's initiative, agreement was reached on the exchange of "Islamic delegations" with 19 Arab countries in 1980.

Beijing's approach to the crisis which broke out in Southwest Asia indicates that, here again, the Chinese leaders are marching in step with the imperialists. They are acting as spokesmen for the unity of interests of the capitalist countries in this petroleum-rich area. They regret the breakdown of the alliance between the United States and the former regime of the shah, which was used to suppress the national-liberation movement in Islamic countries.

India is justifiably concerned with the growing activities of Beijing, Washington, and Islamabad in relation to the events in Afghanistan. The purpose of the Beijing-Washington axis is to weaken India's positions on the subcontinent, in Asia as a whole, and in the nonalignment movement. Local public opinion is not unaware of the Western-supported attempts of the Chinese leadership to promote the deterioration of relations between India and the socialist countries.

The Beijing leaders are doing everything possible to encourage India to engage in talks with a view to improving relations. Recently Deng Xiaoping offered a "package" alternative to solution of the border dispute, an alternative which, in the view of foreign observers, would require the exchange of certain Indian lands for other Indian lands seized by Beijing. At the same time, promises to refrain from anti-Indian propaganda to expand trade relations and to avoid open encouragement of separatist movements in the Indian north (while secretly continuing to support them) are being made. However, an understanding of the incompatibility between its peaceful policy and Beijing's hegemonistic aspirations in Asia is spreading among the broad Indian public, particularly since the right-wing forces linked with the United States are engaged in an adamant campaign in favor of rapprochement with China at the expense of deteriorating relations with the socialist countries.

Against the Socialist Countries

Beijing's objectives with regard to the socialist states remain the same: to undermine their unity and solidarity, to create friction among them, to pit them against the Soviet Union, to hinder the coordination of their actions in the international arena, and in the final analysis, to subordinate them to its influence.

China is encouraging hostility toward the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia, Laos, and other countries. Its approach to Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea clearly reveals hegemonism and the desire forcefully to impose its will on the peoples of the area. The fourth anniversary of the unification of Vietnam, liberated from American imperialism, and the first anniversary of the defeat of the Beijing aggressors proved that neither the imperialists nor the Beijing adventurists, who have taken over, will be able to subordinate the heroic Vietnamese people to their power.

Recent events have shown that Beijing has no intention of settling its relations with the socialist countries of Southeast Asia. Constant Chinese military provocation is continuing on the border between China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The heirs to the methods of imperialist piracy assert impudently that "China has the right to teach Vietnam a new lesson" and to attack the Socialist Republic of Vietnam again. Last March the Beijing leaders unilaterally proclaimed a suspension of the Sino-Vietnamese talks. They recalled their ambassador from Hanoi and totally broke off trade and economic relations with Vietnam and Laos. China is continuing its subversive activities against Laos and is giving military and political support to the remnants of the Pol Pot gangs.

Beijing is forced to be cautious in its hostile activities against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea because of the firm positions adopted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. In his 22 February speech, noting the strength of the unity of the fraternal countries and of socialist internationalism, which manifested itself particularly convincingly in the powerful support given the people of Vietnam in their struggle against the American and, subsequently, Chinese aggressors, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "Such will be the case in the future as well, should anyone once again consider disturbing the peace and security of that heroic country. Our solidarity and support are also on the side of the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea in their lengthy struggle to earn the right to a new life."

Beijing is continuing to pursue its expansionistic policy, military-political and economic pressure, and ideological diversions with regard to the Mongolian People's Republic. Particular emphasis is placed here on the falsification of the history of Mongolia and the Mongolian nation.

For a number of years the Chinese leaders have been playing a double game on the Korean problem. In fact, they support the maintenance of American forces in South Korea while they verbally endorse the appeal of the Korean People's Democratic Republic for their withdrawal. Beijing was restrained in its comment on the armed action of the working people of South Korea last May. It remained silent about the fact that repression is being used against the South Korean population, with the participation of the so-called joint command of American and South Korean armed forces.

China's tactics in its approach to the European socialist countries appear to an ever greater extent to involve double dealing. On the one hand, Beijing is continuing its attempts to interfere in their domestic affairs. It tirelessly distorts the significance of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia and expresses regrets about the "artificial division" of Germany. Chinese propaganda is making use of the methods of the bourgeois mass information media in covering life in the socialist countries to an increasing extent. All kinds of fabrications are put forth about seeming contradictions between the ruling circles and the masses. The relations governing the alliance among the socialist countries are grossly misrepresented. On the other hand, Beijing favors the development of state relations, without abandoning its anti-Sovietism.

The Chinese leadership tirelessly attacks the collective organs of the fraternal countries and tries to discredit the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. In particular, it has slandered the proposals formulated at the May conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members on the taking of further steps to develop the process of political and military detente, and the implementation of effective measures to restrain the arms race and insure the overall improvement of the international atmosphere.

Against the Communist Movement

At the beginning of the 1960's, the CPC leadership tried to subordinate the entire communist movement to its control, to lead it astray from class and internationalist positions, and to impose upon it a petit bourgeois adventuristic approach to the solution of a number of essential problems in the theory, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle. Following the failure of this plan, beginning in the mid-1960's, it undertook to create Maoist groups abroad whose purpose was to establish a kind of new "world revolutionary movement." As we know, these hopes too failed to materialize.

The 11th CPC Congress (August 1977) formulated a tactic which involved replacing the old line of breaking with the communist movement with readiness to establish relations with parties which would move more or less openly away from real socialism and reveal, to a greater or lesser extent, separatist and nationalistic trends. The object remained the same: to create the "broadest possible international front" of struggle against the USSR and the socialist comity as a whole.

This tactic was manifested in the fact that the CPC resumed its practice of sending delegations or individual representatives to the congresses of some communist or workers' parties, the exchange of party delegations at different levels, and the welcoming of representatives of the communist press. Beijing began to respond to the initiatives of some of the Western European parties desirous of resuming relations with it.

The talks held between the heads of the CPC and an Italian Communist Party Delegation in Beijing in April proved that by pursuing a line of "rallying all who could be rallied" in the struggle against the USSR and the other socialist countries, the Beijing leaders are trying to draw a certain segment of the left-wing forces into an antisocialist "united front." Flirting with individual communist parties, the leadership is trying to divide the communist movement in order to weaken and neutralize the resistance to Maoism and in China's present proimperialist policy. Hu Yaobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary, stated that the CPC will restore relations with communist parties which pursue a "correct" policy, i.e., a policy which suits Beijing. At the same time, it rejected the possibility of the establishment of any kind of contact between the CPC and the CPSU.

The Chinese leadership has let it be clearly understood that changes in its tactics do not mean changes in its political line. For example, without mentioning the basic differences existing between the CPC and the Italian Communist Party, Deng Xiaoping used the visit of the Italian delegation publicly to confirm the thesis of the inevitability of a world war, emphasized the strategic nature of the rapprochement between China and the United States, and confirmed the anti-Soviet line of China's policy. Furthermore, on the eve of the visit of the Italian Communist Party delegation, the Beijing leadership made it clear in its guidelines to cadre workers that it regards resumption of relations with the other communist parties as an important step in the unification of all forces in the struggle against Soviet hegemonism." All of this shows clearly that from the very beginning of the open polemics Mao Zedong and his group imposed upon the communist movement at the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, ideological differences were accumulated by the Maoists solely in order to conceal their class treason, just as today, in the political area, the scourge of the "Soviet threat" is being used by the Maoists to camouflage their preparations for war and their conspiracy with the imperialists.

By pushing the ideological aspect of differences between the CPC and some communist parties into the background now, the Chinese leadership is plainly trying to clear the way for a rapprochement with opportunistic and nationalist elements and, at the same time, to avoid acknowledgement of the baselessness of all the charges formulated by the Maoists against the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties. This is because its charges ("betrayal of the cause of world revolution," "conspiring with the imperialists," and "betrayal of the national-liberation movement") are fully applicable to it today.

The current Maoist tactic has yet another aspect: the desire to conceal, to embellish the policy of alliance with reactionary imperialist forces. This policy is meeting with a lack of understanding and dissatisfaction both among the progressive international public and in China itself. By establishing contacts with some communist parties, Beijing is trying to

whitewash this policy. At the same time, the outlines of the ideological platform formulated by the CPC leadership in the establishment of such relations are becoming clear. On the ideological-political level, this includes the "national models of socialism," rejection of scientific communism, slandering the achievement of true socialism, and the rejection of the international experience in the building of socialism.

The communist parties maintaining firm Marxist-Leninist positions cannot undertake a rapprochement with the CPC at the cost of concession of principles. They cannot support those who ally themselves with imperialism, oppose world socialism, and encourage the further aggravation of international circumstances and war. Cooperation with the CPC is possible only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

As to the Maoist groups, Beijing continues to use them as the means for pressuring the communist parties. However, it has become more selective in establishing contacts with such groups. The number of delegations of foreign Maoists visiting China has diminished. In a number of countries the Maoists are changing the labels of their "pocket parties." For example, the united and reorganized Maoist organizations in Spain and Belgium no longer call themselves "Marxist-Leninist" but have been given the name "labor parties." A trend toward their transformation into respectable "constitutional" parties which can play a role within the bourgeois governmental system has been noted.

One Chinese document acknowledged that "many adventurers" incapable of implementing their assignments have turned out to be members of Maoist groups. Nevertheless, Beijing has not abandoned the creation of new pro-Chinese groups. At the beginning of 1980 the united Maoist "Communist Party of Japan (Marxist-Leninist)" appeared. Preparations are being made for the creation of a "United Communist Party of the United States (Marxist-Leninist)."

The energizing of Beijing's subversive activities cannot fail to attract the attention of the international communist movement. Hiding behind statements about "returning" to this movement, the CPC leaders are initiating a new cycle of dissension.

Some Domestic Policy Features

The great-power expansionist course pursued by Beijing in the international arena is based upon an antisocialist and antipopular policy pursued by Mao's heirs within the country.

This policy is characterized by continuing political, social, and ideological maneuvering based on the fact that the consequences of the lengthy crisis experienced by the national economy, the party, and the entire socioeconomic structure of Chinese society, are far from being surmounted yet.

The relative normalizing of the circumstances, a certain ideological-political "thaw," and a course charted toward the modernization of the country do not change the essence of the military-bureaucratic and social-militaristic regime established by Mao Zedong and supported by his heirs. The purpose of the "democratization" measures is, above all, to insure the adaptation of this regime to the paths and objectives now facing the Chinese state and to make the regime more active.

Both economic and political-ideological means for the mobilization of the Chinese working people will be used to modernize the country and increase its military potential. At the same time, the doors are being opened for the penetration of foreign capital into the country. The Beijing leaders are engaged in all kinds of economic experiments. They tend to acknowledge the errors made, although to only a limited extent, and are trying to correct them in a more or less functional way. Individual Marxist statements reveal that they are now leaning toward a "mixed economy," which would combine socialist with capitalist economic methods, a centralized governmental system, and elements of market control.

Naturally, under such circumstances it would be difficult to speak seriously of successful surmounting of the general backwardness of the country. While agreeing with this task as a whole, the various factions within China's leadership itself differ on the specific means of implementing it, the limits of the reforms planned, and the admissible framework of cooperation with the West and the borrowing of capitalist economic management methods. Naturally, this is fraught with new domestic policy aggravations.

Meanwhile, the economic situation of the PRC remains complex and contradictory. The growth rates for output in the most important sectors of industry and agriculture have slowed considerably. A further reduction of this pace is planned for 1980. The stipulation that the gap between the extracting and processing sectors must be reduced and the pull-up of the fuel-energy and raw material bases accelerated has remained practically unimplemented.

The Beijing leadership is proving to be unable to formulate an overall scientific concept for economic development. It is engaged in a search for a kind of "Chinese model" "consistent with the country's conditions."

Essentially, it is a question of returning to some forms of public organization of the production process inherited from capitalism, or existing in the initial years of the people's system, combined with a course of actively involving Western capital.

This course of events threatens the purposeful planned management of the economy, for the result may be an intensification of uncontrolled trends inherent in nonsocialist forms of economic management. Taking into consideration Beijing's proimperialist orientation, it is not impossible

that as the country is dragged into the orbit of the political and economic influence of imperialism, this process could become uncontrollable and difficult to reverse.

The adoption of a kind of "mixed economy," the combination of planning and market principles in the national economy, in view of the frailty of China's social structure, alienation from the socialist comity, practical exclusion of the proletariat from the administration of social development, and the energizing of the petit bourgeois private-ownership element could lead to far-reaching negative socioeconomic consequences and the loss of a socialist future.

The attempts to develop a separate economic mechanism are based on the great-power nationalistic and anti-Marxist platform which comes, ideologically and politically, closer to the opportunistic concepts of "national socialism." Bourgeois science and opportunists of all hues are trying to use the seeming rationality of socioeconomic measures currently being implemented in China to further their own class interests, depicting the Beijing regime as businesslike and respectable, as a kind of "factor in international progress," and glossing over China's reality in order to find additional arguments in favor of the alliance between international imperialism and Maoist chauvinism.

The accelerated militarization of the national economy of the PRC and the siphoning off for its requirements of an ever increasing share of the national income are hindering the economic development of the country and are the most important reasons for the calamitous situation of the working people. Soviet economists have estimated that whereas during the First Five-Year Plan the coefficient by which state expenditures for socio-cultural purposes outweighed military appropriations was about 1.6 over the past 20 years military expenditures have been increasing at a faster pace (faster than appropriations for sociocultural needs by a factor of 1.25). In 1979, despite an overall reduction in capital investments in the national economy, military appropriations rose 20 percent. According to the data available, a further increase has been planned for this year.

Two aspects are noteworthy against this background: The first is the continuing organizational confusion within the CPC which, judging from the admissions in the local press, did not stop even after the February party Central Committee plenum, which passed the decision to convene the 12th Party Congress ahead of schedule. According to the Chinese press, the very serious consequences of the "extremely abnormal circumstances," i.e., the "cultural revolution," have still not been surmounted at all levels thus far. Everywhere mass purges, investigations, and checks are underway. There is no discipline. Factionalism and anarchy have spread to the tremendous mass of the party members and cadre workers. As early as January Deng Xiaoping complained that "the party's authority is not the

same as in the past," that it does not play the vanguard role, and that there are people who are not only failing to observe party discipline but are nurturing "mistrust, discontent and doubt concerning the line, course, and political stipulations of the party's Central Committee." According to many observers the internal tension and the struggle being waged on all levels of the party's hierarchy could become even further aggravated on the eve of the 12th CPC Congress, planned for the end of 1980 and beginning of 1981.

The second aspect is the army. Here matters are hardly any better. However, it continues to be the main support of the regime, which is doing everything possible to strengthen this support, both for the sake of preparations for war and to resolve political, ideological, and economic problems with its help.

In its 29 January issue, the armed forces newspaper JIEFANGJUN BAO wrote that, "the entire army agrees with the fact that it must become a pioneer in stability and unity"--a pioneer in something which today is in such short supply in China.

Even though by the will of its rulers China is now acting as the junior partner of imperialism, and even though it is still quite weak economically and militarily, the international progressive public cannot ignore the danger which originates from the interaction between Beijing and the imperialists, and from Beijing itself.

This danger consists not of a single element but of several:

First, China's policy has a negative effect on the ratio of forces in the international arena, creating additional incentive for the attacks mounted by the imperialist reactionaries against the socialist states and world socialism as a whole;

Second, it is of an instigatory nature. Clusters of interrelationships and contradictions develop around it, although they have in common an antidemocratic trend. It is now obvious that not the least of the reasons why the United States has pursued the path of sharp aggravation of the international circumstances is to provoke China into mounting dangerous new ventures against world socialism and its allies. In turn, Beijing itself wishes to provoke a conflict between the United States and the USSR. It is doing everything possible to urge Japan into a confrontation with the Soviet Union;

Thirdly, the danger which China represents lies in the threat that it may use its own military potential, increased thanks to imperialist help, against socialist and other neighboring states. Beijing's possession of intercontinental missiles carries the threat of an increase in the aggressiveness and adventurism of its actions and may lead to a considerable aggravation of the circumstances. Furthermore, this complicates the

solution of the already difficult problem of limiting the strategic arms race and reaching an agreement on their reduction;

Fourth, the chauvinistic policy of the Chinese rulers, who describe their country as a socialist state, discredits the foreign policy of the real socialist countries, helps the reactionaries promote mistrust of them, and hinders their implementation of one foreign political action or another;

Fifth, it is obviously aimed at slowing the pace of the building of a new society in the USSR and the other fraternal countries. Like the imperialists, the Chinese leaders do not conceal their hope that as a result of the arms race and intensified international tension, the Soviet Union and the other socialist states will encounter substantial difficulties and become more susceptible to foreign pressure. Last May, talking with Callahan, the leader of the British Labor Party, Hua Guofeng cynically stated that "through our resistance we should succeed in creating economic difficulties for the Soviet Union," and that the time to resolve disputes will come only when "the Soviet Union finds itself in a difficult situation. Beijing is no less openly pursuing a "line of attrition" with regard to Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, and Mongolia. It suffices to recall the provocative activities of the Maoists, the Chinese emigres in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, their appeals to the United States to intensify its blockade of Cuba even further, their subversive activities against Laos, their economic sanctions against the Mongolian People's Republic, and so on. All this calls for increased vigilance, intensified political countermeasures, and material outlays, including outlays for defense.

The study of the foreign and domestic policy of the Beijing leadership reveals that thanks to the will of its leaders, China remains a power hostile to the cause of socialism and peace. Under the conditions of aggravated clash between the socialist and capitalist world systems, the importance of China as a negative factor in international politics is increasing. The imperialist countries, the United States in particular, are betting ever more heavily on the "Chinese card." Beijing's partnership with them, based on hostility toward the USSR and the other socialist countries, and their joint activities, are leading to serious complications in the political situation, not only in Asia, but throughout the world.

Continuing the struggle against the policy and ideology of Beijing's leadership and the aggressive intrigues not only of the imperialists but their Maoist stooges as well is the topical task of all true Marxist-Leninist parties and all supporters of peace and progress. As in the past, their struggle against Maoism remains one of the forms of international aid to the Chinese people in the defense of the socialist future development of their country and China's return to the path of equal

cooperation and friendship with the socialist countries. For only socialism and the resumption of cooperation and friendship with the world socialist system can provide China with a solid foundation for the solution of the most urgent socioeconomic problems, the elimination of backwardness centuries old, and the building of a socialist state.

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READERS' VIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 110-117

[Text] "Good Help for Propagandists," by Ya. Ioselev, propagandist, CPSU member since 1930, Leningrad

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth" draws the particular attention of the party organizations to increasing the education of the working people taking as an example the life and activities of the creator of the Communist Party and of the first socialist state in the world, and the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the CPSU and the Soviet people. The documentary novel by L. Moajovtseva and V. Polonskiy "Sdavat'sya ne Namereny!" [We Do Not Intend to Surrender!] (Politizdat, 1979, 207 pp), on Nikolay Aleksandrovich Alekseyev (1873-1972), an outstanding member of the Leninist Bolshevik guard, is a good contribution to the solution of this problem. It describes a person who could be used as an example worthy of emulation by those who are bringing closer the triumph of communism through their toil. "I," V. I. Lenin wrote, "have known him since 1902, from London, where we collaborated in ISKRA. He is a very erudite Marxist, a Bolshevik, and outstandingly conscientious comrade when it comes to fulfilling his duty" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 53, p 305).

The authors particularly focus on the period which subsequently N. A. Alekseyev was to describe as the most shining period in his life--his work in ISKRA and his participation in the publication of the first Russian legal Bolshevik newspapers in Petersburg, after the 1905 revolution.

As a man with encyclopedic knowledge, familiar with the German, French and English languages, Nikolay Aleksandrovich regularly wrote for ISKRA surveys on the international socialist and workers' movements. It is through his perception of events that the authors describe the circumstances marking the preparation for the Second RSDWP Congress, the struggle which developed at the congress on the party's program and bylaws, and the work of the Third Congress whose secretary N. A. Alekseyev became. After the 1905 revolution Nikolay Aleksandrovich returned to Petersburg and began actively to contribute to the semi-legal Bolshevik press.

During that period N. A. Alekseyev translated into Russian Karl Marx' pamphlet "Critique of the Gotha Program," which was published by the Epokha publishing house in Petersburg. The translation of this superb work was timely and topical: in this work Marx considers problems of the theory of the proletarian revolution and directs the working class and its party to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like the "Communist Party Manifesto," the pamphlet provided a program for action by the proletariat fighting for its ideals. In it, for the first time, Marx pointed out that "there exists between the capitalist and the communist society a period of revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter. Corresponding to this period is a politically transitional period during which the state could be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 19, p 27).

The part describing N. A. Alekseyev's further life and struggle draws our tireless attention and interest.

This is a successful book. Written in a good literary style, with great warmth and perception, it recreates the character of a firm Leninist who was always where the duty of the communist called, fulfilling his duty with the awareness of a great responsibility to the people.

Using notes, letters and documents left by N. A. Alekseyev and recollections of contemporaries, the authors cite relatively unknown events in Lenin's life, thus adding additional features to the portrait of the great leader. In particular, the authors describe Vladimir Il'ich's attitude toward complex and conflicting personalities such as G. V. Plekhanov and V. I. Zasluch. Without abandoning his principled positions in the struggle against their hesitations and departures from Marxism, Lenin valued and profoundly respected them as great revolutionaries who had done a great deal for the Russian social democratic movement.

Answering N. A. Alekseyev's rejoinder that G. V. Plekhanov was somewhat hurt by his loss of a leading role in the RSDWP, Vladimir Il'ich said, in a mildly ironic tone, "No, dear Comrade Alekseyev, not 'somewhat.' Georgiy Valentinovich is quite hurt! Quite! He is concealing his hurt, holding out. . . . We shall do without him but he is worthy of respect. Notwithstanding his occasionally hysterical breakdowns, Georgiy Valentinovich Plekhanov is worthy of respect. Trust me, and do not judge him with the strictness of youth" (p 59).

Vera Ivanovna Zasluch had spent many years away from Russia, without friends and relatives. She had spent long hours alone and would frequently retreat within herself. Understanding this, Vladimir Il'ich asked of Alekseyev the following: "Please, be more attentive toward her. . . . I beg of you, Nikolay Aleksandrovich, to give her a little of your time. Above all, give her attention. Your calm, and your sober mind are, trust me, what her overwrought soul needs the most. . . ." (pp 60-61).

Lenin showed the same concern for N. A. Alekseyev and his family in the reactionary period, emphasizing that years of preparation for a new revolutionary outbreak lay ahead, adamantly recommending that he complete the medical training interrupted by his detention and exile: "Naturally, not in Petersburg. . . . Go to Yur'yev, for example. It has a good university" (p 150).

These and many other frequently short yet indicative events enable the reader to gain an even clearer idea of Vladimir Il'ich's character: his understanding, sensitiveness, responsiveness in his contacts with like-minded people, analytical mind, sober thinking, clear ideological and moral positions, and intolerance of revisionists and political opponents.

Some isolated yet necessary remarks on the book appear required.

The novel (pp 46-47) describes a meeting among all the revolutionaries in London on the occasion of the anniversary of the Decembrists' uprising. The authors make N. A. Alekseyev ask the following question: "Why did the Decembrists' movement fail?" The question, however, remains unanswered. Yet, in my view, an answer could have been given on the basis of Lenin's works "In Memory of Gertsen," "The Role of Estates and Classes in the Liberation Movement," and "From the Path of Russia's Workers Press."

On the initiative of S. V. Andropov, one of the first agents of Lenin's ISKRA (see pp 41, 45), Alekseyev translated into Russian the pamphlet "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany." Andropov and Alekseyev named F. Engels as its author. At the turn of the century, however, they could not have known this. The fact is that the pamphlet consists of a number of articles which were published in the American newspaper THE NEW YORK DAILY TRIBUNE, from October 1851 to October 1852, under the signature "Karl Marx." It was only as a result of the correspondence between Marx and Engels, published in 1913 (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vols 27 and 28), that it became known that Engels was the author of the articles. Eleonora, Marx' daughter, had put them together and published them under Marx' signature in 1896 (1 year after Engels' death). That is why, in describing the talk between Andropov and Alekseyev, the authors should have mentioned Marx as the pamphlet's author and briefly presented the facts in a footnote.

Nikolay Aleksandrovich Alekseyev lived a long and rich life. At different times it was said of him that he could have become a great historian, outstanding philosopher, noted physician, or outstanding literary expert. Yet, all such "might-have-beens" fade in the face of what he was--a consistent fighter, to the end of his days, for the social liberation of the oppressed masses and for the happiness of the working people. The obituary published in PRAVDA, signed by party and government leaders, read: ". . . Through all his activities he justified the description of him given by Lenin."

The book "Sdavat'sya ne Namereny!" which describes to us this already-distant yet so immediate past and the gigantic work done by Lenin and his fellow workers is of great political-educational significance. It will be a great aid to propagandists and students within the political education system and acquaint the mass readership with glorious pages from the history of the Leninist party.

"Let Us Continue the Discussion," by O. Koshelev, communist labor shock worker, Moscow

The topic of the article by Ye. Ivanov and F. Medvedev "For a Communist Attitude Toward Labor" (KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1979) profoundly affects the participants and organizers of the movement. In my view, however, the material presented is of a general nature. It hardly covers all ripe problems and contains few constructive suggestions. A continuing discussion of the topic, therefore, becomes necessary.

Noting that "the main organizational task in the development of the movement is to raise to a new level the educational role of the labor collective," the authors limit themselves to the advice of taking as an example the best collectives which "should become a model, a live example for emulation by all participants in the movement." Naturally, the force of this example is of great importance. This, however, is insufficient. Following the authors' logic, the remaining participants in the movement are assigned a passive role only: take as an example the best collectives or wait for their appearance. Yet, it seems to me, it is important for all collectives to act creatively and with initiative, systematically implementing measures for the communist education of their members, guided by the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

Dwelling on shortcomings of a subjective and, above all, organizational nature in the development of the movement, the authors consider that most of the responsibility for them lies with the heads of individual enterprises or production subdivisions. Indeed, this is precisely the case in some collectives. In my view, however, a number of organizational shortcomings are related to the fact that sectorial recommendations in organizing the movement for a communist attitude toward labor are no longer consistent with its current development stage.

For example, according to these documents, the title "Communist Labor Shock Worker" is awarded and confirmed on the basis of annual work results. Practical experience has indicated that this period is too short for determining the extent to which the technical and economic indicators of the competitors have become stable, and the extent to which the principles of the moral code of the builder of communism have entered their lives and are consistent with Lenin's instruction that "such an honorable title must be earned as a result of long and adamant work . . ." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 26). It is no accident, therefore, that this high title

is frequently awarded only on the basis of the fulfillment of quantitative plan indicators while work quality, upgrading professional skills, and the moral aspect of the workers seems to be ignored.

The recommendations are also not clear on the specific items to be included in the assumed obligations according to whether the participants are struggling for the title "Communist Labor Shock Worker" or for its confirmation.

The documents stipulate that honorific titles shall not be renewed should the worker fail to meet his production indicators or fulfill his pledges. However, the recommendations say nothing about what to do with badges and certificates already awarded to such comrades, since, in fact, such workers have lost their right to them.

Shortcomings exist in the system of awards to the participants in the movement as well. The system is not organically linked with measures of material and moral incentives to the participants in the socialist competition within the labor collectives and national economic sectors. Also, no distinction is made between rewards to those who have earned the title of shock worker for the first time and those who have honorably retained it over a number of years.

In a word, I believe that the urgent need has arisen to study and analyze the over 20 years of experience of the movement and, on this basis, formulate and adopt a standard regulation on the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. The regulation would clearly stipulate the basic requirements, indicators and achievements which would give the right to such high awards. In this connection I would like to submit some specific suggestions.

In my view, the "Communist Labor Shock Worker" badge should come in three classes. A third-class badge and certificate (identical for the entire country) should be presented on the basis of the results of 2 years' work. Should a worker or employee honorably fulfill his higher obligations and observe the norms of communist morality in subsequent years (3 years, for example), his title would be confirmed and he would be awarded the second-class badge, properly recorded in the certificate; the first-class badge would be awarded after a further period of time.

Furthermore, the standard regulation should clearly formulate the conditions according to which honorific titles are awarded and confirmed, closely relating them to the qualitative indicators of the plan and with a creative attitude toward labor.

One of the stipulations for awarding the "Communist Labor Shock Worker" title, with the third-class badge, could be having the right to a personal-quality seal or the reaching of a specific percentage of output without claims; the second-class badge could require (in addition to the stipulated

indicators) the submission (application) of suggestions for production rationalization or organization, for improved work methods with proven annual economic results, upgraded skills, or mastering a related skill; the first-class badge should require even greater annual economic results from rationalization activities, or the mastery of several related skills or of a second profession.

Obviously, the earning of corresponding benefits should be stipulated for each of the three categories of competitors (such as, for example, priority in receiving cards for rest homes and sanitoriums, improvements in housing conditions, non-competitive enrollment in secondary specialized or higher schools, and so on).

A differentiated system for earning such awards and incentives would always remind the communist labor shock workers that they have been awarded a very high honorific title. It would bring moral satisfaction, mobilize the people for new labor accomplishments, and provide examples for emulation.

Naturally, the "Communist Labor Shock Worker" title cannot be a kind of "permanent title." The standard regulation should stipulate that in the case of non-fulfillment of production indicators, obligations or other requirements, the class of the title awarded workers and employees would be lowered, while workers awarded the third-class badge would be deprived of the title of shock worker and would surrender their badges and certificates. Obviously, the same procedure should be applied in cases of labor discipline violations, improper behavior outside work, or resigning without valid reasons.

Communist labor shock workers bearing first-class badges should have their honorific title confirmed on the basis of the results of their work over the 5-year plan. Additional stipulations for such confirmation could include the following: 100-percent delivery of output without claims and of superior quality only, or a labor quality coefficient not smaller than the unit; in sectors using criteria such as grades, marks, or points, correspondingly, their output should be the highest grade, highest mark, and so on.

Naturally, the standard regulation should properly reflect indicators considered important at the present stage of production development such as the state of labor discipline, voluntary work, and observance of communist morality norms and rules of socialist community life.

Such specific requirements would encourage the workers and employees competing for a communist attitude toward labor to formulate high obligations in accordance with unused production reserves. The public defense of such obligations and periodic reports to their comrades on the course of their implementation would make it possible to identify progressive experience disseminated within the shortest possible time, and give operative help to stragglers.

The awarding of honorary titles, of all three classes, based on the results of the production activities of the competitors, would link the movement more closely with the results of the enterprises' implementation of their national economic plans and would help to eliminate the still-existing formalism in the confirmation of such titles.

Obviously, my suggestions are not indisputable. It is unquestionable, however, that a comprehensive, systematic approach to the organization of the competition for a communist attitude toward labor and efficient criteria consistent with the current stage of the development of our society, on whose basis honorific titles would be awarded, is a prerequisite for the further development of the movement and for upgrading its role in resolving the varied economic, social and educational problems formulated by CPSU congresses and Central Committee plenums.

In conclusion, allow me to dwell on a specific recommendation formulated by Ye. Ivanov and F. Medvedev. In the third section of the article they suggest that the very description of the honorific titles of "Communist Labor Shock Worker" and "Communist Labor Collective" be made more specific, for "we are faced here with a certain anticipation, as we do not take into consideration that even though we are living in the conditions of developed socialism, this is not as yet communism."

In suggesting the award of titles such as "Shock Worker of the Movement for a Communist Attitude Toward Labor" and "Shock Collective in the Movement for a Communist Attitude Toward Labor," the authors explain their advantages as follows: they "would not identify the work of their participants with communist labor. Yet, they would clearly emphasize that the title is awarded for real successes, for shock work in the movement."

Everyone knows that under the conditions of developed socialism there neither is nor could there be communist labor in the full meaning of the term. Equally familiar is the fact that the basic purpose of the participants in the movement is to help as of today in the development of communist labor. In this sense the current name given to such honorific titles is entirely justified, in my opinion, as is the name of our party which has set itself a task of historical importance, the building of a communist society in our country. Furthermore, we should not ignore the traditions which have developed in the course of the movement, one of which, unquestionably, is the description of the honorific title of "Communist Labor Shock Worker (Collective)." For this reason, in my view, it would be inexpedient to make them more specific.

"The Fifth Sign of Imperialism Today," by V. Tsema, candidate of economic sciences, Moscow

In recent years some students of contemporary capitalism have expressed the view that the fifth sign of imperialism--the territorial division of the world--formulated by V. I. Lenin has become obsolete following the

breakdown of the colonial system and the definitive transfer of the territories into the hands of national independent states, while modern capitalism has changed from imperialism, as Lenin knew it, to "imperialism without colonial empires."

Without questioning the fact of the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system, I believe that the division of the world among the imperialist predators should not be identified with the colonial system alone. The concept of "division of the world" expresses not simply a status (whether colonial empires exist or do not exist), but an inner characteristic, an attitude organically inherent in imperialism, in the same way that monopolies or capital exports are inherent in it. The economic content of these relations is the earning of super-profits by financial capitalism and the strengthening of its position in the competitive struggle in realms and territories subordinate to its interests and located abroad.

V. I. Lenin indicated the following distinguishing features of aggressive imperialist policy. First, it is an expression of the basic interests of monopoly and financial capital possessing tremendous economic and military power used in the struggle for its interests and based on the division and redivision of the world. "Financial capital," Lenin emphasized, "is such a big, one could say decisive, power in all economic and all international relations that it could subordinate to itself, and does subordinate, even countries enjoying total political independence. . . ." ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 379).

Secondly, imperialist colonial policy presumes a fierce struggle (peaceful or violent) between capitalist countries for the already-divided realms of influence. In this area it is distinguished by its particular intensity and aggressiveness.

Thirdly, inherent in this policy is a variety of forms of division of the world and of subordinating countries and nations. Lenin draws attention to the circumstance that "financial capital benefits mostly from a subordination related to the loss of political independence by the subjugated countries and peoples" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 379). In other words, colonies are the basic yet not consequently the exclusive form of division of the world. It is very important in this connection to take into consideration Lenin's view that in the age of imperialism financial capital and its corresponding international policy, consisting of the struggle among capitalist countries for the economic and political division of the world, create, in addition to colonies, a number of transitional forms of state dependence. Let us note that Lenin's concept is of essential significance in assessing the colonial policy and division of the world by modern imperialism. In Lenin's view, typical of this age "are not only the two basic groups of countries--those with colonies and the colonies themselves--but a variety of forms of dependant countries which may be politically and officially independent yet, in fact, are entwined

in the strings of financial and diplomatic dependence" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 383).

Organically inherent in contemporary imperialism are relations in the division of the world achieved through its neocolonialist policy which creates an inordinate variety of forms of domination by financial capital. It is only the forms of manifestation of the fifth sign of imperialism that change as a reflection of the adaptation of the capitalist system to the new world circumstances. The study of the relations which constitute the content of this sign indicate that Lenin's theory of imperialism is not subject to "wind erosion." Obviously, a thorough scientific study of each of the basic economic characteristics applicable to the features of contemporary capitalism could be one of the directions of its further development.

"Summing Up More Fully CPSU Historical Experience," by Prof N. Goriach, doctor of historical sciences, Khar'kov

Summing up the experience of the struggle waged by the CPSU and, particularly, of one of its combat detachments--the Ukrainian Communist Party--for the implementation of the Leninist national policy and the assertion of the principles of proletarian internationalism, and against petit bourgeois nationalistic ideology and politics is of major theoretical and practical importance. In recent times the historians have made considerable progress in bringing to life the laws governing the disappearance of bourgeois and petit bourgeois parties in Russia and in interpreting the Bolshevik tactics in this respect. However, most books and articles on this subject deal with the collapse of all-Russian parties. Meanwhile, however, the development of local non-proletarian parties, including those of the Ukraine, has been insufficiently covered. Interesting in this respect is the book by I. P. Kuras "Torshestvo Proletarskogo Internatsionalizma i Krakh Melkoburzhuznykh Partiy na Ukraine" [The Triumph of Proletarian Internationalism and the Collapse of Petit Bourgeois Parties in the Ukraine] (Naukova Dumka, Kiev, 1978). With the help of specific historical facts, the authors draw attention to two basic groups of problems: first, an interpretation of the struggle waged by the Bolshevik organizations in the Ukraine, under the leadership of the party's Central Committee, headed by V. I. Lenin, for the creation of a political army of the revolution, strengthening ties with the masses in the initial period of the building of socialism, their internationalist education and the elimination of national narrow-mindedness in a certain segment of non-proletarian strata; second, a consideration of the internal processes occurring in the petit bourgeois parties at different historical stages, processes which had essentially pre-determined the anti-people's nature of the policies of their rulers and brought about their inevitable collapse. In my view, the author deserves credit for a work which interprets the experience of the struggle waged by the Communist Party and its local organizations against the Ukrainian petit bourgeois nationalistic parties

throughout their existence, from the end of the 19th century to 1925. The monograph has the merit of organically and scientifically tracing the ideological, political, and organizational bankruptcy of the petit bourgeois parties and the assertion of proletarian internationalism in the workers' and revolutionary movements of the Ukraine.

The study of the historical experience of the struggle of the CPSU and its organizations in the national areas for the victory of the socialist revolution and for the creation and consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry is of topical theoretical and political significance also because anti-communists of all hues, including Ukrainian bourgeois and petit bourgeois nationalists, entrenched abroad, are distorting every which way the reasons for the disappearance of non-proletarian parties in our country.

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PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE METHODOLOGY

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[Review by D. Kerimov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book "Metodologicheskiye Problemy Obshchestvennykh Nauk" [Methodological Problems of the Social Sciences] (based on the materials of the All-Union Conference on "Topical Problems of Social Science Methodology"). Edited by academician L. F. Il'ichev. Nauka, Moscow, 1979, 472 pp]

[Text] The dynamism of contemporary social life and the complexity of economic, socio-political and spiritual processes substantially upgrade the significance of sciences whose purpose is theoretically to bring to light the objective laws governing social development. The social sciences can fulfill this role the more effectively the more thoroughly their methodological foundations are developed. In recent years interest in the study of methodological problems has risen noticeably. This has been characteristic of all realms of social knowledge and is explained, above all, by the need for a more profound interpretation and reorganization of social life.

One of the confirmations of this fact is the monograph "Metodologicheskiye Problemy Obshchestvennykh Nauk," written by a large group of scientists. Its unquestionable merit is that it reflects the methodological problems of the basic sectors of the social sciences: philosophy, scientific communism and political economy, science of the state and the law, sociology and history. This not only makes it possible to study the development of methodological problems in these sciences but, which is of particular importance, to insure their reciprocal enrichment with the corresponding arsenal of tools of knowledge.

Each section of the monograph covers a broad range of problems. For example, the section on "Conceptual and Methodological Functions of Historical Materialism" deals with topics such as the materialistic approach and dialectical methods for the study of social phenomena, the specific aspects of theoretical knowledge, comprehensive analysis and interconnection among social, natural and technical sciences, and the correlation between social and biological factors. The section on "Methodological Problems of

the Theory of Scientific Communism" discusses the study of developed socialism and the scientific and technical revolution, the specific manifestations of contradictions under socialism, and the combination of internationalism with patriotism. A particularly broad range of problems is considered in the section on "Methodological Problems of Political Economy": method, theory and practice in socialist political economy, the main way leading to the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism, the mechanism of action and the utilization of the laws of the growth of socialism into communism, the nature of contradictions in the economy of the mature socialist society, the genetic-systemic study of its production relations, the optimizing of reproduction and economic management, and many others. The section on "Methodological Problems of the Soviet Science of the State and Law" covers important topics on interrelationships between the base and the superstructure. Also noteworthy is the section on "General Problems of Historical and Archeological Methodology" which also deals with problems of the accuracy of historical knowledge, conceptual means for the expression of historical unity, and comparative-typological studies. The section on "Methodological Problems of Marxist-Leninist Sociology" describes the subjects and place of specific sociological studies, the role of statistical laws in the social process, and so on. The monograph concludes with the sections on "Methodological Principles of the Study of the Problems of War and Peace" and "Methodological Aspects of the Study of the Interrelationship Between the Individual and Society." Naturally, such an all-embracing work could be professionally evaluated only through the joint efforts of specialists. The purpose of this review is different: to single out a number of general debatable problems and thus invite the readers to engage in further thoughts, studies and discussions.

Even though the term "methodology" is used quite frequently in science the boundaries of this concept are so eroded by unclear interpretations and definitions that it is frequently ascribed a variety of meanings. For example, the monograph points out that "some scientists consider methodology as the sum total of individual ways and means for the study of social phenomena and processes applied in the practice of social studies; others consider that methodology is a philosophical science which studies methods for the acquisition of knowledge" (p 4). Interpretations resulting in the pitting of theory against method may be found as well.

Without claiming in the least to provide a solution to the problem, we believe that the concept of methodology should be understood in a far broader sense, as the conceptual unity of a number of components. It involves not only a certain number of ways of study and their theory, but the theoretical summation of objective laws governing social life, playing the role of a guideline in the further study of the respective subjects. At the same time, inevitably methodology includes a clear conceptual position which directs any type of research process. With full justification the authors of the work emphasize this aspect. "In the field of

social knowledge," the book states, "not only the content but the methods used for acquiring the knowledge itself express specific ideological and socio-political positions" (p 12).

This view of methodology entails a number of conclusions.

Above all, in our view, methodology is not a local discipline existing separately from the entire set of sciences but it is internally inherent in science as a whole and in each of its individual branches (both general and specific). It is precisely by virtue of such an understanding of universality that methodology is not "a science of sciences" but a universal scientific manual for action, constituting the base of the entire system of knowledge and the cognition pivot of any scientific sector:

Furthermore, as a science of the general laws governing the development of nature, society and the intellect, Marxist-Leninist philosophy is the basic content of methodology, its nucleus. This circumstance determines the organic and profound tie between philosophy and all sciences. "Apparently today everyone already realizes," the monograph notes, "that even the slightest weakening of the attention which the social sciences themselves pay to general philosophical methodological problems, not to mention the underestimating of the latter, could be reflected, above all, in the level of their own scientific work" (p 16).

Finally, methodology includes also both general and individual scientific methods. Some of them assume a philosophical nature. However, far from all of them act as "facets or aspects of a general philosophical methodology" (p 20). Frequently they become so formalized (in cybernetics, for example) that they are not directly related to philosophy as a conceptual science. However, this does not mean in the least that such methods could be used independently of philosophy. On the contrary, it is only on the basis of philosophy that we can insure the effectiveness of the application of general and individual scientific methods in specific studies.

The methodological significance of philosophical and other general theoretical areas of knowledge is that they are the stimulating factors in the progress of cognitive thinking. Let us note, in this connection, that occasionally a simple description of the external characteristics of the studied subject is raised by some authors to the "methodological" level, as a result of which methodology itself is reduced to an empirical level and its cognitive nature is in fact eliminated. Indicative in this respect is the presentation of problems in the study of the political system (see pp 292-297). We find here the already familiar information on the political system of the socialist society, some quantitative data characterizing the system, and a comment on the general task related to its development. Even though such a description is necessary, it is unable to fulfill methodological functions. Naturally, we cannot reject or underestimate the empirical stage of research which is a prerequisite for theoretical knowledge. But neither should we depict matters as though,

in itself, the initial stage of research would be methodologically significant without a subsequent development of the mental process in the direction of a theory. Such a view would depreciate the richest possible potential of the science, lower the role of methodology, and lead us away from the search for new gnosiological tools.

K. Marx wrote that "not only the result of studies but the way leading to such results must be the true ones" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, p 7). Marxist-Leninist philosophy has developed a clear scientific concept of the dialectical way to knowledge: from live contemplation to abstract thinking and from abstract thinking to practice. The monograph does pay attention to the consideration of this way. However, it is merely mentioned rather than specifically analyzed. It is no accident that, occasionally, instead of resolving problems of scientific research the authors merely formulate them. This is a weakness particularly noticeable in the sections on the theory of scientific communism and the interrelationship between the individual and society.

Scientific knowledge presumes the deep interpretation and concretizing of the studied material in terms of the specific nature of one or another scientific branch. In this connection let us point out the following:

The research process is not a straight-line motion of cognitive thinking leading from contemplation to abstraction and from abstraction to practice. The process is far more complex. It is not only subject to multiple repetitions at each stage of knowledge but is characterized by their interwoven nature, by a return to the beginnings. It is very important to bear this in mind in the study of political reality whose development is exceptionally dynamic. That is why a continuing study of facts and a critical investigation of already developed abstractions are necessary by turning to the data on which they are based and by comprehensively analyzing the correctness of thought dynamics leading from the abstract to the concrete as the unity of varieties. In the political area, more than in other areas of social reality, each step of the cognitive process must be accompanied by a repeated reiteration of the movement from the real-concrete to the abstract and from the abstract to practice and back. For example, studying the problem of democratizing one or another political institution, we must not only repeatedly compare the consistency between the formulated recommendations and the essence and social purpose of democracy, but thoroughly take into consideration the changes in all ties and relations which would inevitably follow with the implementation of the recommendations. A repetition of the movement from the real-concrete to the abstract and back is particularly frequent in the elaboration of a scientifically substantiated foreign political activity. This is understandable. Always guided by strategic objectives and tactical tasks, in this area we must comprehensively analyze a tremendous number of events and circumstances which, put together, form the characteristics of the political situation at the moment.

It would be erroneous to oversimplify the ascension from scientific abstractions to a specific entity in our thinking, considering such stages as the simple "application" of the first to the second. Scientific abstractions, which embody the wealth of the individual, separate and special factors, do not possess in the least a quality which would enable us to derive simply and on a purely logical basis the variety of specific factors. The making of such attempts in social research was criticized by Marx himself. He wrote that the bourgeois economists are trying to resolve the contradiction between general laws and more developed specific relations "not by finding intermediate links but by directly placing the concrete below the abstract and by directly adapting the concrete to the abstract" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 26, Part III, p 85).

V. I. Lenin as well pointed out that "the wish to seek answers to specific problems in the simple logical development of a general truth . . . is a debasement of Marxism and a mockery of dialectical materialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 3, p 14). In the field of politics he considered that "laying the complex, vital, and rapidly developing practical problems of the revolution in the Procrustean bed of a narrowly conceived 'theory' instead of considering the theory as being a manual for action above all and more than anything else" would be an irreparable error ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 44). Scientific abstraction may be a tool for penetrating within the nature of a specific social phenomenon only if applied on the basis of a thorough analysis of such a phenomenon with all its ties and indirect relationships.

Quite justifiably, the authors offer an extensive study of the correlation between the logical and the historical in the process of the study of social phenomena.

Specialized publications tend to analyze social processes either from their historical or exclusively logical aspects. While accepting, in principle, such a "division of labor," we must not forget that the logic of thinking is historical to the extent to which history is logical. That is precisely why the methodological base of any study must rely on the principle of the unity between the historical and the logical. Any possibility to acquire a logical awareness of the laws governing reality would be impossible without an historical approach. However, it would be equally impossible to determine the inner reasons and mechanisms of the natural dynamics of history without a logical interpretation of its course. Naturally, an historical study which reproduces the factual development of social life takes priority compared with its logical study. "The course of our thinking must begin with what marks the beginning of history," F. Engels wrote, "and its further progress should be conceived as nothing but the reflection of the historical process in its abstract and theoretically consistent form; this reflection may be corrected but in accordance with the laws which are given to us by the factual historical process itself" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 13, p 497). Consequently, a logical study is not an a priori structure but the

reproduction of that same historical factor in the "logical tracing of internal relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 25, Part II, p 469).

Any historical study presumes a definite conceptual position taken by the author, based on profound logic. It is on this basis that the author's mind creates a hypothetical concept of the historical process in its entirety on the basis of which the study is conducted. Such a concept is necessary as the starting point in the logical progress of an historical study. However, it could be refined or even changed depending on specific results.

Let us note here yet another essential aspect of the logical nature of historical research. The point is that the logical system of the historical process includes trends, i.e., "a model" of the future whose basic features and characteristics are provided by its present and its past. It is precisely against such an ideal future that facts, events and processes are "checked." Paradoxical though the inclusion of elements of the future in an historical study may seem on the surface, it is always present as a guideline. Naturally, the future is not the subject of historical research. This is a type of logical method for socio-historical study which enables us to determine development trends.

Therefore, a social study is based on the organic unity between logical and historical factors. "That is why, as the monograph points out, pitting logical against historical facts and general sociological and specific historical laws is erroneous. The logical aspect of the development of society is also the historical aspect in the sense that it is derived from the experience of the history of mankind and that it sums up this experience. Yet, since it is a question of a summation, the logical aspect covers historical experience, removing itself from the specific, the individual, the random factor" (pp 331-332). Therefore, the logical-historical approach presumes the study of the factual pre-history, history, mature conditions, and the future development of social phenomena. This is precisely the nature of the dialectical and historical-materialistic principles governing the study of society. In this connection, it would be pertinent to recall Marx's words on the Hegelian understanding of the correlation between factual political life and logic, a statement which profoundly expresses the nature of the problem: "Hegel gives to his logic a political body but does not give the political body a logic" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 1, pp 273-274).

The logic of the "political body" is a reflection of real political life. It is a product of the rational knowledge of its objective laws. Such knowledge systematically brings to light trends, stages and forms of transition of the social body politic from one qualitative status to another. It is on this basis that not only the laws governing political development to the stage of mature socialism become apparent, but also the main directions, the prospects of the gradual progress toward communism.

The interaction between the state and the superstructure and, particularly, the definition of the place and role of the modern state in the system of base-superstructure relations is of basic methodological importance to the further development of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences. This topic is discussed in a separate chapter in which, in our view, the authors accurately claim that "the substantially increased possibilities of the socialist state and law to influence the economy do not replace in the least the basic law of the correlation between the economic base and the governmental and legal superstructure" (p 299). Yet, it is precisely this assertion that requires a serious substantiation in the light of debates which have developed in recent years and which have been incomprehensibly ignored by the authors. Yet, such discussion could hardly be considered as ended.

Indeed, under mature socialist conditions, the state of the whole people is penetrating ever more profoundly into the economic life of society, expanding its regulating influence on the broadest possible range of relations. Some researchers interpret the economic role of the state as its transformation (in any case in some respects) into a base category. Such an interpretation of the problem, it seems to us, does not take into consideration at least three important aspects. The first is the theory of the base and the superstructure which, expressing the most essential features in the correlation between material and ideological factors and not excluding in the least their interpenetration, characterizes, above all, the determining role of production relations in the development of society. Distinguishing between these factors is of essential cognitive significance, although beyond that the relative import of such a distinction would be unquestionable. Secondly, unlike base phenomena which appear and develop regardless of the human will, the activities of the socialist state, including economic-organizational activities, are based on the conscious and purposeful execution of an economic policy. Therefore, the "transfer" of such activities from the superstructure to the base reduces (not to say totally eliminates) the growing significance of the subjective factor in socioeconomic progress. Thirdly, if we admit the "transformation" of the state into a base category the possibility is eliminated scientifically to explain what determines its own development and functional changes, including the expansion and intensification of its economic role.

Noteworthy in this respect is the idea expressed in the book that it would be erroneous to identify the economic base with the economic realm of social life which is not reduced in the least to a sum total of production relations but includes the entire content of the economy and all economic mechanisms with their combined objective and subjective aspects. "While remaining secondary (superstructural) formations, the economic organs of the socialist state become necessary components of the economic system and operate in the economic area. Therefore, economic policy is not something external in terms of the economic life of the socialist society.

Through the national economic plans which are the equivalent of legal laws, it is converted into a program for national economic management and is thus included within the factual economic process as its subjective side" (p 80).

One way or another, the monograph considers the individual aspects, features, and sides of the correlation between theoretical and practical activities in the course of the study of social reality. Yet, regrettably, it fails to provide an overall interpretation of such an essentially important methodological problem.

Scientific publications, including this work, emphasize the differences existing among said types of activities while virtually ignoring their unity. Yet, this frequently entails gaps and the pitting of theory against practice. It adversely affects the study of living reality and, particularly, creates the impression that, being merely an incentive, an objective and a criterion of truth, practice allegedly remains outside the cognitive process itself.

The Marxist-Leninist classics have repeatedly emphasized the indivisibility between theoretical and practical activities and their unity, interdependence, and interpenetration. Thus, Marx drew attention to the fact that "the solution of theoretical contradictions in itself becomes possible only through practice, through the practical energy of the people, for which reason their solution is not in the least a cognitive task but is a real vital problem which philosophy was unable to resolve precisely because it saw in it nothing but a theoretical problem" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 42, p 123). Introducing activity and practice into the cognitive process, the founders of scientific communism pointed to the practical-spiritual mastering of the world, thus essentially excluding "purely" theoretical or "purely" practical activities.¹ Practice enters and becomes interwoven within the cognition process itself, constituting its mandatory component, aspect, or feature. "The unity between theoretical ideas (knowledge) and practice is, please note, also a unity found precisely in the theory of knowledge," Lenin wrote ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, p 200).

We have discussed here merely individual and most general methodological problems covered in the monograph. The reader will find in it the formulation of a number of new problems and the outlines leading to their solutions. As we pointed out, the usefulness of this work lies in the fact that the authors have considered methodological problems in all basic areas of the social sciences. Unfortunately, this has been accomplished in a rather disparate manner, in factually separate sections. This is the main shortcoming of the work. We consider as more fruitful the combination of the collective efforts of the representatives of the different sciences insuring the all-round comprehensive study of the same social subjects.

FOOTNOTE

1. Unquestionably, human activities may be primarily either material or spiritual. In all cases, however, in the final account, they are one of the aspects of a single practical-spiritual mastery of the world. In this connection we consider Marx' criticism of A. Storch of considerable interest. Its entire emphasis was not focused in the least on opposing judgments on the relatively autonomous existence of spiritual output but against the separation of the latter from material production. In other words, it opposed the separation and contra-position of the two types (sides) of public production (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 26, Part I, pp 279-280).

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BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 122-123

[Text] Kosygin, A. N. "V Yedinom Stroyu Zashchitnikov Otchizny" [In the Single Ranks of the Defenders of the Fatherland]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 47 pages.

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Zarodov, K. I. "Ekonomika i Politika v Revolyutsii" [Economics and Politics in the Revolution]. Some contemporary problems in the light of historical practice. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 245 pages.

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Mikhaylov, M. I. "U istokov Velikogo Dvizheniya" [At the Sources of the Great Movement]. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 207 pages.

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Ornatskiy, I. A. "Ekonomicheskaya Diplomatiya" [Economic Diplomacy]. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1980, 272 pages. (Foreign policy. Diplomacy).

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"Rabochiy Klass v Mirovom Revolyutsionnom Protseesse" [The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process]. Yearbook. A. A. Galkin editor in chief. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 319 pages.

"Sistemnyye Issledovaniya" [Systems Research]. Methodological problems. Yearbook, 1979. Editorial collegium, D. M. Gvishiani editor in chief. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 384 pages.

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"Sovremennyy Etap Obshchego Krizisa Kapitalizma i Mirovyye Otnosheniya" [Contemporary Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism and World Relations]. I. I. Kas'minov et al. authors. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 247 pages.

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[Appearance and Establishment of the Socialist Economy]. Vysshaya Shkola,
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Razvitiya" [The Social Infrastructure: Nature and Development]. Mysl',
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JOURNAL'S MAIL: JANUARY-JUNE 1980

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 80 pp 124-128

[Text] In the first half of 1980 KOMMUNIST received about 1,000 pieces of correspondence. They included 168 articles, essays, reviews and notes, 107 responses to journal publications, 182 questions to the editors, and 496 citizens' declarations and petitions.

This year the Soviet people and all progressive mankind solemnly celebrated the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 35th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany.

The anniversary of Lenin's birthday was the subject of a number of letters, articles, and literary works received by the editors. A number of such materials were already listed in a survey published in issue No 2 of this journal. Let us add to this list the recollections of labor and Great Patriotic War veteran P. Miroshnichenko (Moscow) "Always With Lenin In My Heart;" a poem on the great leader by F. Antipov (Makeyevka); notes by V. Saberezhnykh (Kamenka Village, Kurskaya Oblast) "Lenin's Cooperative Plan In Our Area;" the article by D. Brenkevich, docent at the Kuybyshev Polytechnical Institute "An Important Aspect In V. I. Lenin's Life and Activities;" and others. Some of these contributions have been prepared for publication. They include the article by V. Steklov (Moscow), honored power worker of the USSR, deserving builder of the RSFSR, and laureate of the State Prize, entitled "Lenin--The Initiator, Inspirer, and Manager of the GOELRO Plan," and the article by A. Frolov (Moscow) entitled "Spiritual Wealth and Communist Morality."

The Leninist topic is as inexhaustible as is the love of the people for the great leader. Lenin lives in our hearts and in the actions of the communist party, the Soviet people and all true fighters for socialism and communism. That is why KOMMUNIST is continuing to receive manuscripts and letters on the subject of Lenin.

Materials related to Victory Day, sacred to all Soviet people, account for a substantial part of the journal's mail. The editors received dozens of articles on events related to the Great Patriotic War and the international circumstances prevailing at the time, recollections by

the participants, stories, novels, and works of poetry. They include an article by Captain Pavel Rank P. Grishchenko, candidate of navy sciences, who commanded during the war the famous "U-3" submarine which sank 26 fascist transport and other ships, and L. Mikheyeva, candidate of philological sciences. "How could the way to victory be measured? In terms of battles, days, grief, suffering, or millions of lives? Yes, all this remains unforgettable and sacred to us," they write. "This unforgettable past has been recorded in many volumes of history and frozen forever in the steel and stone of monuments and memorials to glory. To this day it can be heard, touching human hearts, in the words of novels and stories, staged in the flames of the war." The victory will remain forever engraved in the memories of the grateful descendants whose right to life and happiness purchased in the difficult war years such a high price. This is the sense of most materials received by the editors.

While recalling the war, the Soviet people are concerned with the present and the future of the people and the country and of peace on earth. Such thoughts and feelings are beautifully summed up in the concluding words of the article by P. Grishchenko and L. Mikheyeva: "The memory of the past is sacred and the person who has experienced all trials has become three times stronger. He healed the wounds of his native land. He fought and is fighting for peace. He raised generations unfamiliar with war and, together with them, is building communism."

The Soviet people warmly and unanimously approve the decisions of the June 19 CPSU Plenum. The report submitted at the plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, and the plenum's decrees on convening the regular 26th Party Congress and on the international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union are mobilizing the working people in the struggle for the successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan and the implementation of the decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum.

KUPOVNIK is continuing to receive a number of letters whose authors, expressing their infinite love for their native party, proclaim their aspiration to live and work like Leninists and communists, support the party's plans through practical actions, increase the economic power of the country, and properly welcome the forthcoming party congress. The editors have already begun to receive suggestions on a variety of socio-economic, political, and ideological problems related to the 26th CPSU Congress. For example, such materials have been sent by V. Pisarev, candidate of economic sciences, and Ye. Bukh (Moscow).

In the future as well we shall spare no effort to protect detente and everything good achieved in the 1970's, reach a turn toward disarmament, support the right of the nations to free and independent development, and promote and strengthen the peace." The authors of a number of letters refer to this statement made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum. They support and fully approve the principled peace-loving course of the Leninist party and Soviet state and the measures aimed at insuring the

loyalty of our homeland and of the fraternal socialist countries, and giving the revolutionary people of Afghanistan the necessary political, economic, and military aid. I. Gavrilina, from Nevda Village, Murmanskaya Oblast; V. Galikov, from Kaluga, and many others emphasize the close unity within party ranks and the unshakable unity between party and people, thus expressing the interest and expectations of the Soviet people.

The letter by S. Khatshel' (Magati goraki), imbued with a spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, discusses the international circumstances and the struggle for peace in the hot spots of the planet. The author condemns the aggressive policy of the rulers of Israel--this shock detachment of U.S. imperialism and international Zionism.

A considerable share of the mail discusses vitally important problems of development of the socialist economy as formulated in the CC CPSU decree "On the Further Advancement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs." The letters reflect the profound interest shown by broad circles of the Soviet people in the effective solution of problems raised by life and the implementation of party tasks.

At the November 1974 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev indicated the need for a decisive improvement of the situation in construction, upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments, reducing the number of newly initiated construction projects, and focusing efforts and means on target projects and on the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises. The concentration of resources on a limited number of sites is one of the decisive prerequisites for reducing construction time and increasing capital returns.

Last year the people's controllers in the Crimea decided to investigate the situation with the concentration of capital investments at industrial construction projects, writes engineer-economist P. Ananskikh from Simferopol. However, the managers at the Kerch'metallurgstroy Association, to which the investigators addressed themselves, stated that the trust had no such data at its disposal and that one month of intensive work by all three departments would be required to gather such information. Equally, no such data were available at the Krymstroy Combine, at the object statistical administration, and even in the branches of the Bank and Stroybank. Yet, control over the use of capital investments is the direct obligation of bank personnel who must have at their disposal the precise information on the state of affairs at construction sites. None of them referred to the fact that no one has the right to ask them to provide information not stipulated in the existing bookkeeping and accountability system. "If such is the case how do you implement the party's decisions on concentrating construction resources without the necessary information?" They were asked by the people's control inspectors. "How are you struggling against the wasting of capital investments without knowing anything about the matter?" In the final account, the

personnel of the oblast department of the Struybank agreed to collect raw data not only for projects costing 3 million rubles or more. Few such projects are under construction in the oblast. The results were unsatisfactory. Over the past three years a clear trend had developed not toward the concentration of resources but toward their further waste.

Who is to be blamed? the author asks and answers: "Apparently all main participants in capital construction and, at the same time, no one. Actually, the purpose of a client seems to be to order as many projects as possible. The very fact of ordering such projects does not constitute, in itself, a violation of the rules. We believe that it is the construction workers who should block the waste of forces and funds, for, better than anyone else, they know how many and what type of projects they could build simultaneously. However, the construction workers justify themselves by saying that all rightful and wrongful means are being used, with the help of administrative or other influences, to force them to include in their portfolios ever more projects, and that everyone is telling them one thing only: 'Build' even though, obviously, it is impossible to build all such projects simultaneously."

F. Anashkin believes that a proper authority should be set up under the oblast executive committees or people's control committees which would establish the sequence to be followed in the construction of projects. Such an authority would coordinate all problems related to the concentration of resources. Let us add that, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, such obligations must be carried out by the executive committees of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies which can sum up the results of such concentration, establish and eliminate cases of waste of funds and forces, and disseminate the best experience.

At the November CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that, "The tasks facing us require in particular to intensify and strengthen control over the implementation of planned assignments and of decisions made." The waste of capital investments is a gross violation of party and government decisions, resulting in the failure of the plans. That is why such wastes trigger the justified concern of many of our readers who are trying to draw to them the attention of party, state, and economic organs.

As we know, shortcomings in material and technical supplies to enterprises are frequently the consequence of disparities between the parameters of the goods produced and the needs of the Soviet people. Journalist Sh. Mastalinichik considers that production assignment indicators such as gross output and marketing, wholesale price and profit do not encourage the enterprises to meet the demands of consumers and do not limit commodity output to the level of demand. The principle of each enterprise being concerned with its own economic prosperity is prevalent in economic relations. This has led to the inclination to produce goods for which there is no demand but which are profitable to the enterprise. "We have not as yet succeeded in comprehensively combining the interests of suppliers and

consumers and insuring the organic unity between their interests and those of the state." According to the author the problem could be resolved by changing the system of indicators of the manufacturing enterprise. They should be based on direct orders placed by consumers for quality goods and low material-incentiveness and cost. This would be consistent with the implementation of the governmental program and with raising the economic standard of output and the prosperity of the people.

In order for the production management mechanism to be improved Sh. Mustafin suggests the creation of a system of direct ceiling relations among enterprises which would call for the formulation by central authorities of legal limits on monetary funds to pay for labor, raw materials, and equipment for the production of planned finished goods. The author is confident that such a "system of ceilings would prevent the accumulation of above-norm stocks of resources and unfinished goods." In his view, with such relations among enterprises the latter would no longer be concerned with meeting their own consumer requirements. This will resolve the problem of material and technical support for the production process and its rhythm.

Obviously, the suggestion is not uncontroversial. However, its author's idea may turn out to be useful in the formulation of plans for the material and technical support of the production process and its management.

A number of materials received by the editors discuss the implementation of the agrarian policy formulated by the party, the decisions of its 25th congress on bringing the material and cultural-living conditions of town and country closer to each other, and the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum decree on the further development of agricultural production. Taking his oblast as an example, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Alekseyenkov (Smolensk) reviews the process of improving economic relations in agriculture and submits suggestions aimed at increasing agricultural production and upgrading its effectiveness in the conditions of the Nonchernozem zone. V. Mayver discusses in his article the problem of insuring the highly productive utilization of agricultural equipment by upgrading the capital return of machines and mechanisms.

The letters to the editor consider theoretical problems as well. Thus, M. Nikolayev (Kazan') points out that in some textbooks on scientific communism the transitional period from capitalism to socialism essentially goes beyond the range of the historical framework of real socialism and the communist system. The new system, he points out, was born with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution which laid the beginning of basic socialist changes carried out in the transitional period (the creation of a socialist state and the nationalization of banks, industry, basic productive capital, and the land which was given to the peasants). That is why, in his view, starting with the transitional period the history of the new society should be broken down into periods. Naturally, this problem would require a further thorough discussion.

Problems of improving the higher schools are always the focal point of the attention of our party. The main tasks of the higher educational institutions at the present stage were defined in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Development of the Higher Schools and On Upgrading the Quality of the Training of Specialists." These problems are discussed in a large number of letters received in recent months.

Upgrading the quality of training and education is the topic of the article sent by Candidate of Technical Sciences Docent B. Metelitsa (Kostroma). The training process, he writes, begins with the teacher, with his general culture, scientific erudition, pedagogical skill, social and political maturity, and, finally, his dedication to his work. He must be in step with the fast growth of knowledge in his specialized field and even outstrip it. He must be a sociologist, a psychologist and an educator. The task of the teacher is to be able organically to blend conceptual problems with the subject he teaches. His own ideological-moral conviction must become the profound conviction of the students. Such strict requirements trigger a number of problems related to the training of education cadres for the country's higher educational institutions.

Unfortunately, as other letters as well point out, so far no adequately planned and efficient system has been formulated for the training and selection of scientific-pedagogical cadres for higher educational institutions. The authors call for a more thorough selection of students for postgraduate courses training potential teaching cadres.

As we know, currently plans for VUZ enrollment are formulated essentially on the basis of local needs for cadres in one or another subject, many correspondents point out. Yet, in order to upgrade the quality of cadre training such plans must be formulated for each university or institute in accordance with the specific nature of the school, the faculty, and the condition of the training and scientific base. It would be expedient for the Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education to plan target enrollment in universities located in the European part of the USSR of a certain number of young people from the other parts of the country, particularly from Siberia and the Far East, where the need for teaching cadres grows with every year but remains unsatisfied. Some union and autonomous republics require the target training of cadres in economics, the Russian language, history and culture of fraternal peoples, art, and other subjects.

The ratio between students and faculty remains an important problem in improving the activities of higher schools. B. Metelitsa, Z. Verdiyeva (Baku), S. Ambartsumyan (Yerevan), N. Sarybekov (Dzhambul) and others write that the VUZ personnel welcomed with satisfaction the instruction contained in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on gradually lowering the number of students per teacher. In their view, however, this should not be subjected to an automatic approach. One should take

into consideration not only the classroom load of the teachers but, something no less important, their scientific research work as well.

A number of correspondents raise the question of the more effective utilization of the potential of higher educational institutions in resolving most important scientific and technical and economic problems. Frequently contract projects are carried out by institutes and university chairs and laboratories on time and are highly valued by the customers. However, months or, occasionally, years would have to pass before they are put to practical use. By virtue of some strange logic the higher educational establishments are given credit for production developments even though both the interests of the project and justice demand that they be responsible for the timely and qualitative implementation of scientific research projects. Enterprises and ministries should bear the responsibility for the practical utilization of their developments and for insuring their economic effectiveness assuming, naturally, that they are of the necessary quality.

N. Sarybekov, candidate of pedagogical sciences and docent at the Dzhambul Pedagogical Institute, discusses the education of university and secondary school youth in the light of the recently passed laws by the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Protection of the Air" and "On the Protection and Utilization of the Animal World." A concerned attitude toward the environment and the plant and animal world, and an increase in their beauty and wealth are inseparable from love for the homeland. They are an organic component of communist morality. The author is right in stating that the development of a concerned attitude toward nature and of the requirement to use its gifts purposefully and economically should become one of the mandatory directions in the molding of a comprehensively developed individual.

Deserving teacher G. Kurbakov (city of Mamlyutka, Kazakh SSR) and S. Karpenchuk, organizer of extracurricular educational work (Kachkovka Village, Ukrainian SSR) share their thoughts on methods and experience in the training and education of student youth, training teaching cadres by higher educational institutions, the ties between school and life, and the problems resolved by the working people of town and country.

It is the unanimous view of our readers that the successful implementation of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on the higher schools call for involving all scientific-pedagogical reserves of higher educational institutions in this matter. This is the proper way for upgrading their role in the socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress of the country and in the implementation of the plans for the building of communism.

The editors have received a number of responses to articles published in the journal. Brief reviews, remarks, and wishes are proofs of life

contacts with the readers enabling us to draw objective conclusions on the extent to which the topics and the ideological-theoretical and literary standards of the journal are consistent with the demands of those for whom it is published.

A number of reactions were received to the article by V. Serebryannikov "Ready to Join the Rank and File" (No 17) and the editorial article "A Major Problem of Historical Materialism" (No 18) for 1979, and the articles "Problems of Pedagogy at the Focal Point of the Ideological Struggle" (No 2) by K. Salimova, "Leninism and Social Development" (No 3) by V. Zagladin, "Subversive Actions--A Weapon of Imperialism" (No 4) by S. Tsvigun, "The Leninist Principles of Economic Management Under Contemporary Conditions" (No 5) by V. Mevedev, for 1980, and others.

The editors thank all the comrades who have sent them their reactions and remarks concerning the journal's publications.

In addition to the staff of KOMMUNIST specialists in various fields of science and the national economy answered the readers' questions. All in all, over 200 answers to theoretical and political questions were given. A number of readers received extensive advice.

Occasionally, along with articles, essays, notes, letters and complaints, the editorial mail would bring manuscripts of books and monographs whose size exceeded the size of the journal itself severalfold. Clearly, their authors do not take into consideration that KOMMUNIST publishes materials not exceeding about one printer's sheet. Let us also remind the readers that the editors cannot review manuscripts. The publication of books like the review of manuscripts and the determination of their merits and shortcomings, is the work of publishing houses, to which they should address themselves.

As always, over the past six months the editors received declarations and complaints on a great variety of problems. The number of letters in which the working people raise questions of important social, national, economic and ideological-moral significance, submit constructive suggestions, and report cases of negligence, bureaucracy, violations of production and financial discipline, and misuses has risen. In accordance with the stipulations of the 4 March 1980 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase, the journal's staff directs them to pertinent central departments or local organs, i.e., to the institutions which have the power to resolve such problems. In such cases the editors always see to it that such institutions consider the essential features of the statements and complaints they receive and make specific decisions on their subject.

Let us note that most officials to whom KOMMUNIST has addressed letters by the working people have dealt with the essence of the questions in an

efficient and operative manner, and have answered the authors and the editors within the deadlines stipulated by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase. Yet, cases of formalism and bureaucracy are still encountered. In the first half of this year answers to 20 letters were delayed. Thus, since January there has been no answer from the RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services to the letter by N. Makarov (Perm') in which he complained of red tape in the registration and practical utilization of his invention on the part of the chief of the technical-economic bureau of the oblast population consumer services administration. Since then, on two occasions the editors have reminded the ministry of the inadmissible delay in answering this letter to the editors.

Obviously, the attention of officials who delay their consideration of the requests of the working people should be drawn to their responsibility for such violations.

The party members, the entire Soviet people, are living today under the sign of the struggle for worthily meeting the 26th Leninist Party Congress. The KOMMUNIST mail convincingly proves that the Soviet people are fully resolved to do everything possible for the implementation of the party's plans.

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