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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 12, August 1980



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No. 12, August 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 THE SOCIALIST COMPETITION IN HONOR OF THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 3-5

[Statement by the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] The CC CPSU notes that the party members and all working people in the country welcomed with tremendous enthusiasm and patriotic upsurge the decision of the June 1980 Central Committee Plenum on convening the 26th CPSU Congress. The Soviet people are expressing their unanimous support for the party's domestic and foreign policies and their inflexible resolve to strengthen the economic and defense power of the homeland through shock labor.

While developing the labor activity evidenced in the course of the preparations for the celebration of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, the leading production workers and the collectives of brigades, sectors, livestock farms, shops, enterprises, organizations and associations are adopting increased socialist pledges and increasing their creative efforts. A nationwide movement is spreading under the slogan "Shock Completion of the Five-Year Plan and A Worthy Welcome to the 26th CPSU Congress."

The working people of a number of Moscow enterprises have launched the initiative calling for fulfillment of their 1980 assignments by the 63d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, successful completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and ensuring stable work in 1981. The collectives of leading enterprises in Leningrad, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, the Urals, Siberia and other republics, oblasts, rayons and cities have decided to extend their shock Leninist watch, to greet the 26th CPSU Congress with high-level accomplishments, and to create a good base for work in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The workers and employees of Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast have pledged production of their entire above-plan output with saved material and manpower resources. The Komsomol organizations in the country have proclaimed an all-union relay race for shock youth work.

The competitors are focusing major attention on achieving the greatest possible practical results and on implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the November 1979 and June 1980 Central Committee plenums, and the stipulations and conclusions contained in the reports and addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, on problems of party economic policy. The patriotic initiatives approved by the CPSU are being further expanded.

Heading the nationwide pre-congress competition and directing the labor and political activeness of the Soviet people toward the solution of the specific problems of economic and cultural construction are the prime duties of all party, soviet and economic organs and the trade union and Komsomol organizations. The successful completion of the 1980 plan and the 10th Five-Year Plan will lay a solid foundation for the development of the national economy in the 11th Five-Year Plan and for the further economic and social progress of our country.

The CC CPSU decrees:

1. Approval of the initiative of the leading production workers and labor collectives which have adopted higher socialist pledges and are mounting a shock watch in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The CC CPSU calls upon party and Komsomol members and the working people in all national economic sectors to follow the example of the initiators of the competition and to mark the party congress with high labor results. They must work from the instructions issued by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the need to apply maximum energy in order successfully to fulfill and over-fulfill the plan for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, to complete and master the production capacity of target projects on schedule, to reduce the volume of unfinished construction and uninstalled equipment, and to insure the stable functioning of the national economy in 1981, the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

2. The central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, the party kray and oblast committees, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee, and the party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations will channel their political, organizational and educational work toward the extensive involvement of workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, and engineering and technical workers and employees in the pre-congress competition.

In the course of the pre-congress competition we must struggle ever more persistently to upgrade production effectiveness and work quality, to accelerate the growth of labor productivity, to observe the savings regimen strictly, and to strengthen labor and state discipline.

The socialist competition must comprehensively contribute to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and direct the efforts of scientists, specialists, inventors and rationalizers toward the solution

of the basic problems of technical advancement and production intensification and the development and application of the latest means of mechanization and automation, progressive technology, and scientific organization of labor.

All collectives must elaborate and implement specific measures in order worthily to welcome the 26th CPSU Congress. Insuring the further development of the coal, petroleum, natural gas, metallurgical, machine-building and power industries, increasing the variety and upgrading the quality of consumer goods, and improving the work in transportation and capital construction must become the focus of particular concern on the part of the ministries and departments and the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

The party, soviet, agricultural, trade union and Komsomol organizations and rural working people must do everything possible to harvest the crops within a short time and without losses, to fulfill their plans and obligations in the sale of grain, industrial crops and animal-husbandry products to the state, to procure fodder, and to organize the wintering of cattle.

The CC CPSU emphasizes that the influence of the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor must be comprehensively enhanced in order that every working person and each collective and sector may achieve high end results and resolve education problems. Positive experience must be approached with care. It must be energetically disseminated. Omissions and shortcomings in economic management must be critically considered and steps must be taken to eliminate them.

Particular attention must be paid to the creation of the conditions necessary for the successful meeting of obligations, the fulfillment of counterplans and the improvement of economic management methods. Better use must be made of all forms of moral and material incentive for the participants in the competition.

4. The mass information and propaganda media must cover the course of the pre-congress socialist competition functionally and efficiently. They must more effectively reveal and disseminate the experience of labor collectives and leading production workers who are successfully carrying out their obligations.

5003
CSO: 1802

L. I. BREZHNEV'S ANSWERS TO PRAVDA QUESTIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 6-7

[Text] 1. Question: On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, how do you assess the influence of the Helsinki Final Act on the development of the situation in Europe?

Answer: The Soviet Union's assessment of this conference and its results is simple: they are positive. Under the conditions of increased complexity in international circumstances, the Helsinki results are becoming more, rather than less, important.

I remember the excitement of the afternoon of 1 August 1975. It was then that, gathered at the Finlandia Palace of Congresses, the heads of 33 European countries and the United States and Canada sat behind the same table, side by side, and affixed their signatures to the Final Act. This was a day of great hope for the nations. It was also the day of a realistic look into the future, not devoid of concern with what it would be 5 or 10 years hence.

Today it has become even clearer that the Final Act marked a major event in the history of postwar Europe, opening up broad opportunities for the peaceful development which this document was designed to serve.

In my speech from the rostrum of the European conference in Helsinki I emphasized that its decisions must not falter with the first bad weather. We have frequently cautioned, and this has been subsequently confirmed, that the policy of detente may be characterized by ebb and flow. Despite all this, we can justifiably compare the Final Act with the firm breakwater which blocks whatever would erode the foundations of detente.

2. Question: Do you believe that the Final Act will continue to have a beneficial influence in the future as well?

Answer: Yes, I do.

This is a document as unique as was the European conference itself. I would say the following: it is a message from the generation which experienced the horrors of World War II to the generation which must reliably insure the primary right of man--the right to life and peace.

If we view the course of European development not through the lens of the moment but in its historical perspective, there is no retreat from the Helsinki way. The Final Act, like the United Nations Charter, facilitates the transition of human civilization to new, higher standards in international relations.

That is why the anniversary of the signing of the Final Act could be made a "Europe Day," like the anniversaries celebrated by the peoples of other continents. This day, however, is not merely a holiday. It also represents an appeal for the firm establishment of detente and peace.

The immediate task now is constructively to hold the meeting of representatives of the members of the European conference in Madrid and to complete it with substantive results, and to insure the convening of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. The Soviet Union is ready to make a worthy contribution to the work of both of these forums.

The main thing at present is to find ways of reducing the threat of war now and in the future for Europe and, therefore, for the entire world. But this problem cannot be resolved without bringing about real changes in the field of arms race limitation.

Therefore, detente, cooperation and security make up the general line followed by our party and the Soviet state in European affairs and in world politics as a whole.

5003
CSO: 1802

IN THE BENEFICIAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE LENINIST FRIENDSHIP AMONG PEOPLES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 8-23

[Article by D. Kunayev, CC CPSU Politburo member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee]

[Text] These days the Kazakh people and all working people of multinational Soviet Kazakhstan are celebrating the great anniversary--the 60th anniversary of their republic and of their republic party organization--in an atmosphere of tremendous political and labor upsurge. Symbolically, this great holiday coincides with the period of active preparations by the entire Soviet people for a noteworthy event in the history of the Leninist party, the country and all progressive mankind--the 26th CPSU Congress. Implementing the stipulations and conclusions contained in the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and UJSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, at the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, the working people of Kazakhstan are welcoming their anniversary with new accomplishments in all economic, scientific and cultural areas.

Our holiday is a vivid manifestation of the triumph of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU and the bright ideals of friendship among the Soviet peoples. The republic's working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia are proudly surveying the glorious path covered since the Great October victory, and the social changes whose depth and scope make them truly equal to centuries of accomplishment. Within a very short historical time, more specifically, in the life of a single generation, Kazakhstan, the former backward, outlying area of czarist Russia, has been transformed, within the multinational Soviet state and bypassing capitalism, into a republic with powerful modern industry, highly developed agriculture, and progressive culture and science.

The Great October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party and its Leninist national policy not only brought the Kazakh people social and national liberation, but also gave them socialist statehood, turning them into a free and developed socialist nation. "We want a voluntary association of nations," V. I. Lenin wrote, "a type of association which would not permit any nation to exert coercion over another...and which would be based on total trust,

clear awareness of fraternal unity and entirely voluntary agreement ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 43). The historical experience of the multinational USSR confirms the real triumph of fraternal unity among fraternal nations united on the basis of total trust and voluntary agreement.

History has preserved over 400 documents characterizing Lenin's fatherly concern for Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people and for the socialist transformations which radically changed the life of our vast area. We would be fully justified in saying that all achievements and upswings in Kazakhstan in its political, economic and cultural development over the past 60 years have been related to Lenin's immortal name. As an internationalist in the highest sense of the word, Lenin helped all the oppressed peoples of Russia, including the Kazakh people, to rise to the height of makers of their own history and active builders of a new, just and classless society. Lenin's foresight was clearly manifested in hundreds and thousands of accomplishments. One of them is the fact that Kazakhstan exists today.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that today Kazakhstan is "a republic bubbling with constructive socialist life, where the people of labor and science are changing nature, bringing life to the desert, and building major modern industrial centers. It is a republic which is giving the country a tremendous quantity of grain, milk, meat, wool and other farm products. It is a republic which supplies the country with ferrous and nonferrous metals, coal, petroleum, natural gas and a great deal of modern technology. In a word, in the united ranks of Soviet socialist republics Kazakhstan has a noteworthy and honorable position."

The Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and Communist Party of Kazakhstan" states that the working people of the republic achieved outstanding successes in the building of socialism and communism under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, and thanks to the combined efforts and resources of the entire country and the steadfast implementation of the Leninist national policy. These words express the profound gratitude the Kazakh people, the working people of the Kazakh SSR, feel toward all the peoples of our multinational homeland, the great Russian people above all.

I

The roots of the sociopolitical, economic and cultural cooperation and friendship between Kazakhs and the great Russian and other fraternal peoples in the country date from the distant past. Direct economic and cultural relations were established between the Russian and Kazakh populations long ago, as early as the 17th and 18th centuries.

For many centuries, opposing the oppression and cruelty of the patriarchal-feudal society, and expressing their hatred of the raids mounted by foreign aggressors against their villages, the Kazakh people's masses wanted "zher-uyuk"--a land with justice, whose loyal defenders could protect the unfortunate. Life itself, history, indicated to the Kazakh poor who their true friend and defender was. On the basis of historical experience, the firm conviction that only with the help of Russia and the Russian people would the progress and prosperity of the Kazakhs be possible developed imperceptibly in the hearts and the souls of the toiling people and the minds of their best sons.

The voluntary unification of Kazakhstan with Russia, which began in 1731, marked a radical change in the life, development and historical destiny of Kazakhstan. This decision saved our people from conquest and total destruction by foreigners. The alliance with Russia was the only correct one, for it not only protected the steppes from the bloody raids of the aggressors but also had very important social consequences. Kazakhstan's joining with the Russian state contributed to the awakening of production forces, the process of breakdown of precapitalist relations and the appearance of a proletariat. It created the most favorable conditions for the development of economic and cultural relations with all nationalities in our country. From that time on the historical destiny of the Kazakh people was forever merged with the destinies of the Russian and the other peoples inhabiting multinational Russia.

The unification with Russia also marked the beginning of the spread of democratic ideas in Kazakhstan. They were brought to our steppes by the outstanding sons of the Russian people. In their works of literature, historical manuals and reports they described to their compatriots and to the rest of the world the life and mores of the Kazakhs. They described their spiritual generosity and material poverty with deep sympathy. We are proud and will always remember that the works of the first Kazakh educators--Chokan Valikhanov, Abay Kunanbayev and Ibray Altynsarin--were molded under the influence of the ideas of Russian revolutionary democracy, the ideas of A. I. Gertsen, N. G. Chernyshevskiy and N. A. Dobrolyubov.

In the middle of the 19th century the democrat Chokan Valikhanov, the first Kazakh scientist and educator, wrote that "the fate of millions of people, firm in their hope of achieving civic development, people who consider themselves brothers of the Russians in terms of fatherland, and who have voluntarily accepted Russian citizenship, deserve greater attention and greater support in decisive questions which may be formulated in terms of Shakespeare's 'to be or not to be.'"

It is only by identifying with the splendid souls of the Russian people and the high humanism of their revolutionary-democratic representatives that the great Abay could call upon his compatriots to "learn the good from the Russians, learn how to work and live through honest toil. If you achieve this you will be able to teach your people and protect them from oppression."

By strengthening reciprocal economic ties, Kazakhstan's joining with Russia contributed to the development of production forces and to the exposure of the Kazakh people to the heights of Russian culture and public thought. However, czarism, the exploiting classes, and the forces of reaction and social and national oppression blocked the path to unity and fraternity. They tried to promote hostility among nations and to hinder the economic and cultural progress of outlying national areas.

The territory of Kazakhstan, stretching from the Caspian Sea to the Altay and from the Alatau and Karatau mountains to the west Siberian depression, was the most neglected and backward part of the czarist empire. The Kazakh toiling people lived in need and hunger, in a state of eternal slavery. Everywhere the peasantry was oppressed by owners, feudal lords, the Islamic clergy and the czarist colonizers.

The imperialist plundering of Russia by foreign capitalist interests, its outlying areas in particular, was added to the oppression of the working people by czarism, the landowners and the bourgeoisie. The main industrial sectors in the area--ore mining and petroleum--were in the hands of British, American, French and Austrian entrepreneurs. Kazakhstan's natural resources were exploited in predatory fashion.

Epidemics took the lives of hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs. In Irgizskiy and Turgayskiy uyezds there was one physician per 87,500 square kilometers. The area's native population was dying out.

Marking the 25th anniversary of their republic, the working people of the Kazakh SSR, in their letter to the VKP(b) Central Committee, described the rightless prerevolutionary past: "The painful fate of our people was like a spring without flowers, a day without sun, or a river without water."

However, a different Russia existed as well--a Russia of great culture and progressive, freedom-loving traditions. It was precisely together with its best representatives, in joint actions with the Russian people and the other peoples of our country against the oppressors, that the Kazakh people learned in the great school of struggle, fraternity and internationalism.

Marxism began to spread in Kazakhstan in the final decades of the 19th century. The first Marxist circles and groups appeared in the cities. Lenin's fellow workers--F. G. Vinogradov-Yagodkin, V. V. Kuybyshev, I. S. Ruzheynikov and others--came to the aid of the new organizations of the RSDWP in Kazakhstan.

In that period, the national-liberation movement of the Kazakh working people merged with the revolutionary struggle being waged by the Russian workers and peasants and the other peoples of Russia. Lenin, the brilliant strategist and tactician of the revolutionary struggle, and the Bolshevik Party adamantly promoted understanding by the masses that there was no path toward national liberation other than the struggle for social liberation.

and for the building of a socialist society. "I am deeply convinced," Lenin pointed out, "that the various individual federations of free nations will rally to an ever greater extent around revolutionary Russia. This federation will grow on an entirely voluntary basis, without lies or coercion, and it will be invincible" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol. 35, p. 288).

The popular uprisings which spread throughout the Kazakh steppe in 1916, including the particularly violent and threatening one headed by Amangel'dy Imanov, were a test of the revolutionary awareness and class activeness of the Kazakh working people, who boldly and decisively rose against czarist autocracy and its colonizing policy on the eve of the two 1917 revolutions. The 1916 liberation movement in Central Asia and Kazakhstan merged with the all-Russian revolutionary movement, which inaugurated a new stage in the development of proletarian internationalism.

The attractive truth of Lenin's ideas shaped the first revolutionary-Bolsheviks among the best sons of the Kazakh people. They included A. Dzhangil'din, A. Imanov, T. Bokin, U. Dzhandosov, S. Seyfullin and I. Ryskulov. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee, and with its daily help and support, together with like-minded Russian people, they promoted the struggle of the working people of Kazakhstan for the victory of the Great October Revolution and for the establishment of a soviet system in the area. In this struggle they were given invaluable aid by the envoys of the Central Committee of the party and the Soviet government, S. H. Tsvilling, F. I. Kolesov, A. F. Sol'kin, A. A. Zvezdov, P. A. Kobozov, I. F. Sidorenko and others. The prerequisites for the growth and maturing of the Kazakh working class were created through the efforts of the progressive representatives of Russia and Kazakhstan.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution inaugurated the age of new and truly fraternal relations among the peoples of the former czarist empire. The Leninist principle of equality among nations, based on the very nature of the Soviet system as a state and political form of dictatorship of the proletariat, was expressed in the equality of citizens regardless of their national and racial affiliation, the equality of national languages in all realms of social life, the elimination of national oppression, the abolishment of all national and religious privileges and restrictions, and the granting to all nations of the right to develop their statehood in forms consistent with their will and objective developmental conditions.

The working people of Kazakhstan note with a feeling of gratitude and pride that Lenin was at the origin of their Soviet national statehood and the socialist transformation which radically changed their entire life.

The nationalization and restoration of the Ridderskiye mines, the study of the prospects for the development of the Karaganda mines and the Embinskiye oil fields, the laying of the Kokchetav-Petropavlovsk railroad tracks, the life of the Aral Sea fishermen, and the first agricultural communes were all the objects of Vladimir Il'ich's attention, and the concern of the

leader for Kazakhstan's all-round development and his perspicacity in assessing its very great potential were manifested in everything.

The "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" and the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People," adopted by the Soviet government, proclaiming the equality and sovereignty of the peoples and their rights to free self-determination, including secession and the establishment of autonomous states, and the free development of all nations and national groups inhabiting the country, were of historical importance to the development of Kazakhstan, as they were to all other fraternal republics. Another programmatic document was Lenin's November 1919 letter to the communists of Turkestan: "The establishment of proper relations with the peoples of Turkestan is...of a significance which could be described as tremendous, as universal-historical, without exaggeration," the leader emphasized in this letter. "The attitude of the Soviet republic of workers and peasants toward the weak and until now oppressed peoples will be of practical significance to all of Asia and all colonies throughout the world, and to thousands and millions of people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 304). These words remain topical to this day.

V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party formulated the most important task in the field of national policy--surmounting the factual inequality of the nations and eliminating the lag in the cultural and economic development of the former colonial outlying areas. In order to resolve this problem, the party mobilized the efforts of the backward peoples themselves, above all, educating them, increasing the political and labor activeness of the working people, and organizing the effective and constant aid of the "Russian proletariat to the backward peoples in the union for the sake of their economic and cultural success" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S'yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], Politizdat, Moscow, 1970, Vol 2, p 438).

The historic 26 August 1920 decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the RSFSR Sovnarkom, signed by V. I. Lenin and M. I. Kalinin, "On the Establishment of the Autonomous Kirgiz (Kazakh) Socialist Soviet Republic" was of tremendous importance in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in the area and involving the toiling masses of the native population in Soviet construction. Kazakh statehood was born as a Soviet, a socialist statehood. In the course of the struggle to create it, the intrigues of the nationalists who tried to impose their own bourgeois "autonomy" upon the toiling Kazakhs failed. The 4-12 October 1920 Orenburg Constituent Congress of Soviets of the Kazakh ASSR became a vivid confirmation of the loyalty of the working people of Kazakhstan to the cause of socialism.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat marked the beginning in practice of the establishment in our country of a new socio-political international comity. Lenin, in particular, noted that the defense

of the gains of the socialist revolution in the first years of the Soviet system had already blended the working class together with the peasantry, and that the policy of the Communist Party strengthens and unites all the peoples in the land of the soviets "in one great powerful family," "forming one great entity" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 52, p 301). In Lenin's judgment, in the struggle for the victory of the revolution and the building of socialism, the working people were being united by "the unbreakable bonds of living interests and class consciousness" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 287).

The founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a triumph of the Leninist national policy and the idea of proletarian internationalism. This became one of the main factors in the tempestuous upsurge of the economy and culture of all the Soviet republics and in the building of socialism within the shortest possible time.

The great good luck of the Kazakh people lay in linking their destiny forever with Russia, thanks to the genius of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and the Communist Party he created and, hand in hand with the Russian and the other peoples in the country, taking part in the conquest and consolidation of the power of workers and peasants, the creation of the first socialist state in the world, and the establishment of fraternal unity and unbreakable friendship among the peoples. On the basis of the 1936 USSR Constitution the Kazakh ASSR became a union republic.

These historical accomplishments are the result of the tremendous work done by the Leninist party, the party of internationalists, which insured the simultaneous conversion to socialism of all nations and nationalities, including those which, like the Kazakh people, came into the new system from feudalism, bypassing capitalism.

In the very first years of the Soviet system, the republic's party organizations were the battle detachments of the RKP(b). Their unification on the basis of the Leninist ideological-organizational foundations was accomplished at the first Kazakh party conference of June 1921. In February 1925 the oblast party organization became a kray party organization. With every passing year the ranks of the Kazakhstan party organization increased, joined actively by the Kazakh working people, broadening its ties with the masses and augmenting its leading role in the life of the republic. The party organizations strengthened in the course of their irreconcilable struggle against the Alash-Orda, national deviationists, Trotskyites, and anyone who tried to distort the Leninist national policy and to hinder the building of a new life on a socialist basis.

Lenin's loyal students and fellow workers, the noted leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state A. A. Andreyev, F. I. Goloshchekin, S. I. Gusev, F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, M. I. Kalinin, S. M. Kirov, V. V. Kuybyshev, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, V. A. Radus-Zen'kovich, Ya. E. Rudzutak, M. V. Frunze, Sh. Z. Eliava, Ye. M. Yaroslavskiy and others, made an invaluable

contribution to the ideological and organizational strengthening of the Kazakhstan party organizations and to the implementation of the general party course of building socialism.

In 1927, by decision of the VKP(b) Central Committee, the kray party organization became the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Kazakhstan. In 60 years it has covered a tremendous path of struggle and construction, becoming the reliable combat detachment of the CPSU.

II

The road of the Kazakh people toward socialism, like that of the other peoples of the Soviet east, was neither simple nor easy. A wide gap had to be filled between the universal-historical greatness of the tasks which had arisen, on the one hand, and material and cultural poverty, on the other, had to be closed. On the 15th anniversary of the founding of the republic, PRAVDA wrote that "Soviet Kazakhstan began with virtually nothing--zero literacy, culture, industry and inventory of resources; that is why we could and should point out that the Kazakh country and people can count their restoration to life only from the start of the Soviet system."

The history of the building of socialism in Kazakhstan is a vivid and convincing example of the way the Soviet state and the progressive revolutionary proletariat did everything possible, not only in words but in deeds, to help the fraternal peoples of the East to convert to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

Immediately following the founding of the Kazakh republic, a heroic struggle developed within it for socialist industrialization. Although in ruins and hungry itself, Soviet Russia gave selfless aid to the young republic. Thanks to this aid, Kazakhstan developed large-scale industry and an energy base during the prewar five-year plans. Hundreds of new enterprises appeared. They included such giants as the Balkhash Copper Smelting, Zyryanovsk Lead, Aktyubinsk Chemical and the Achisay and Leninogorsk Polymetallic combines, and the Chimkent Lead Plant. Working together with the Kazakhs, the Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Latvians, Georgians, Armenians, Tatars, Bashkirs, Kirgiz and Tadzhiks built new cities and workers' settlements on their ancient land, laid the Turksib railroad tracks, and built the Karaganda Coal Stoke-Hold.

Moscow and Leningrad assumed sponsorship of the republic. Machines and equipment for the creation of a powerful socialist industry and agricultural machinery were shipped to Kazakhstan from these and other cities throughout the country. The help of the fraternal republics could be seen in everything. Donbas miners built the Karaganda coal mines; Dnepropetrovsk workers built the Nurinskaya Dam and the Karaganda GRES [State Regional Electric Power Plant]; Moscow subway construction workers and Makeyevka metallurgical workers built the huge copper enterprise in Balkhash, and

workers from the central oblasts of the RSFSR built the shops of the Semipalatinsk Meat Combine. Workers from Baku and Groznyy trained the Emba petroleum workers, while machine-building workers from Khar'kov and Sverdlovsk installed new equipment on the numerous farms and construction sites. Rail-road tracks and roads were laid with the fraternal help of all the peoples of the country.

The industrial development of the republic was accompanied by the extensive involvement of the Kazakh working people in production work and the training of national cadres for the working class and a scientific and technical intelligentsia. Workers, engineers and technicians from Moscow, Leningrad, Khar'kov, Donbas, Baku, Sverdlovsk and other industrial centers shared with them their technical experience, knowledge and skills. A number of Kazakh workers mastered special skills and upgraded their qualifications by working directly at enterprises in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and other Soviet republics.

The training and development of a national working class was one of the initial results of the friendship among the peoples of our multinational country, organized by Lenin's party, and the embodiment of the Leninist national policy.

Thousands of engineers, technicians and highly skilled workers who had come from a number of Russian cities were the promoters of the policy of industrialization in Kazakhstan. The Leningrad workers provided a model of fraternal aid. The Leningrad Soviet of Deputies of the Working People had assigned them the task of special public control over filling orders to be sent to Kazakhstan. The example of the workers was followed by the city's scientists who, in creative cooperation with the young scientific cadres in the republic, did extensive work on the study of its subsoil.

Help came to Kazakhstan from workers and engineers of other fraternal republics as well. Assigned to Kazakhstan by the party, they proved by their toil and their entire lives how loyal they were to the ideas of friendship and solidarity among fraternal peoples. The Russians I. T. Volkov, P. P. Garshin, K. O. Gorbachev, V. I. Ivanov and V. S. Shatov, the Ukrainian I. A. Kostenko, the Tatar S. Sharipov and the Latvian R. A. Dreyman were among them. Many Kazakh specialists benefited from their efforts, selfless aid and generosity in sharing their skill and experience.

With the fraternal help of the peoples of the entire country, Soviet Kazakhstan rapidly became a republic with a highly developed sectorial industry. In prewar 1940 its overall volume of industrial output had already exceeded the 1913 level by a factor of 7.8.

Following the true path indicated by Lenin, and implementing Lenin's co-operative plan, the working people in our republic completed the collectivization of agriculture, in the course of which the kulaks and bays--the last exploiting classes--were eliminated.

The path covered by the agricultural economy of our republic was that set forth in the decrees of the Soviet state on the land and the allocation of funds for irrigation projects in Turkestan, the path from the Obukhovskaya commune in Eastern Kazakhstan to the most profound revolutionary changes in agriculture. It was a great and glorious path leading from backwardness to progress and from poverty and lack of culture to material prosperity and spiritual renovation. All this is inseparably linked with the victory of the socialist production method and the implementation of Lenin's cooperative plan.

In the course of collectivization over one million poor and average private farms in Kazakhstan took the path of socialism. The socialist reorganization of agriculture in the republic had a special characteristic, in that while in a considerable part of the country the purpose of collectivization was to join the individual peasant farms together in kolkhozes, another historical task was being implemented simultaneously in Kazakhstan; the conversion of our people from a nomadic to a settled way of life. The solution of these two revolutionary problems represented a radical change in the life of the Kazakh people.

The victory of the kolkhoz system in Kazakhstan represented a qualitative leap in the development of the material and technical base for socialist agriculture. In the prewar years, the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses had already become the main producers and suppliers of all types of agricultural commodities.

On the eve of the Great Patriotic War, Kazakhstan had come very close to matching the central parts of the country in its level of development. It had established an identical social class structure. Everywhere the new, the socialist way of life was being asserted, raising the working man to unparalleled heights. The alliance between the working class and the peasantry had become even stronger.

The people's education and culture grew along with the tempestuous development of the economy. Immediately following the victory of the Soviet system, in Kazakhstan, as elsewhere throughout the country, a cultural revolution was undertaken. A struggle was waged for the elimination of illiteracy. In 1930 universal mandatory primary education was introduced in the republic. A broad network of schools, higher and secondary educational institutions, and cultural centers was created and a Kazakh Soviet intelligentsia was trained. Literature and art developed in stormy fashion. Radical changes took place in science and culture. The men of science and culture among the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union made a tremendous contribution to their establishment and development. Socialism not only provided broad access to spiritual values for the toiling masses, but also transformed them into direct creators of culture.

The results of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU, which converted Kazakhstan into a developed and equal socialist republic, were manifested

with particular emphasis in the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War. Together with all the peoples of our great homeland, the Kazakh people made a substantial contribution to the defeat of the enemy. About 1.2 million sons and daughters of our multinational republic, including 82,000 party members and 250,000 Komsomol members, fought in the ranks of the Soviet army. Hundreds of Kazakhstan people were among the defenders of Brest who displayed unparalleled heroism and firmness. The Eighth Guards Rifle Division mobilized in Kazakhstan consisted of Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs and Kirgis. The 28 Panfilov heroes displayed iron endurance, greatness of spirit and unparalleled courage which amazed the world at the Dubosekovo railroad station near Moscow. They were united by their faith in victory, love of the socialist fatherland, organic combination of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, and integration of the national with the all-union. "The inviolable friendship among peoples became our basis for loving our homeland," wrote the Kazakhstanis at the front to their soldier-countrymen. "Today, looking at the palaces of Leningrad, the high-water Neva, the slumbering northern forests, the shining Black Sea, and the Far Eastern mountains, the Kazakh is fully justified in saying, 'this is my land, my homeland. Everything that is mine is yours, my neighbors and brothers, and everything that is yours is mine.'"

Kazakhstan troops heroically defended Leningrad, fought courageously at Stalingrad, and participated in the liberation of the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic States and Moldavia. About 500 troops from Kazakhstan were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union for exploits in the Great Patriotic War. This includes the great daughters of the Kazakh people Manshuk Mametova and Aliya Moldagulova, the first Oriental women to be presented with this high battle award.

The role of the fraternal cooperation among the peoples of the USSR was exceptionally great in the rear as well. It was a powerful factor in the creation of a reliable arsenal for the front in the Urals, Siberia, Central Asia, and Kazakhstan. A number of evacuated enterprises were relocated in the republic. Kazakhstan welcomed over one million people fraternally and warmly. The industrial potential of the eastern areas, developed in the prewar years, including in our republic, served as a good base for the further growth of enterprise capacity. New industrial enterprises were built and the series production of new kinds of armaments and ammunition was mastered in Kazakhstan, to which a number of plants and factories were evacuated from the European part of the USSR. "We shall always remember the Kazakhstan of the war years," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the occasion of the semicentennial anniversary of the founding of our republic, "as a reliable rear area where combat Red Army units were formed, as a powerful arsenal and an important granary of the country."

During the war years some of the greatest scientists in the country went on with their scientific work in Kazakhstan for the sake of the victory, including I. P. Bardin, L. S. Berg, V. I. Vernadskiy, N. F. Gamaleya, N. D. Zelinskiy, V. L. Komarov, S. G. Strumilin, A. Ye. Favorskiy and many

others. They studied mineral resources and developed effective ways of utilizing manpower. Like the other rear areas in the country, Kazakhstan met the growing requirements of the country's war economy and, as PRAVDA wrote, powerfully supported the front with the entire wealth of its land and all the treasuries of its mountains.

During the war a number of outstanding Soviet literary and art workers served in Kazakhstan: A. N. Tolstoy, S. Ya. Marshak, S. N. Sergeev-Tsenskiy, S. S. Prokof'yev, G. L. Roshal', S. M. Eyzenshteyn, G. S. Ulanova, V. P. Maretskaya, Yu. A. Zavadskiy and others. It would be difficult to overestimate the help they gave at that time to their Kazakh colleagues. The traditions they initiated continue to live in the variety of literary and artistic genres in Kazakhstan to this day. In the war years fruitful activities were pursued in Alma-Ata by the Joint Mosfil'm and Lenfil'm motion picture studios on the basis of which Kazakhstan's young motion picture industry subsequently developed.

The ideological and political unity of the Soviet peoples strengthened even further during the hard trials of the war and the viability and invincibility of the first socialist state in the world were manifested. Through the flames of the fiercest battles against fascism, the bright ideals of friendship among the peoples of the USSR gained new strength and persuasive power, greatness and beauty.

III

The European friendship among the peoples became a factor in the even higher rates of Kazakhstan's economic, scientific and cultural development in the postwar years. Thus, whereas during the prewar five-year plans we had built about 200 big industrial enterprises, during the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone we commissioned 365 new enterprises, shops and production facilities. Today in half a day the republic's industry can produce the volume of goods produced in the entire year of 1920. Its weekly output is almost the equivalent of the 1937 output, while its annual output is greater by a factor of five than all prewar five-year plans combined. In terms of per capita production of electric power and other types of industrial commodities, the Kazakh SSR population today ranks among the leaders in the country.

The dynamically developing economy of present-day Kazakhstan is a structural component of the single national economic complex of the USSR. The industrial aspect of the republic--the land of launchings into outer space--is defined by ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the power industry, and the coal, petroleum and chemical industries, all provided with the most modern equipment. The first fast neutron nuclear reactor in the world is operating successfully in Kazakhstan. Machine building and metal processing are developing at a rapid pace. The republic has developed a large chemical industry. Kazakhstan's role in the all-union territorial division of labor is increasing with every passing year. New types of output such as metallurgical equipment, tractors, bulldozers, excavators, sheet and fine rolled metals,

alumina, ferroalloys, plastics and many others have become powerful factors in the all-union national economic balance. The economic relations between the Kazakh SSR and the other fraternal republics in the country are becoming closer, deeper and more varied. The hundreds of types of industrial commodities we are producing with their help are being exported to 80 different foreign countries, in particular to the members of the socialist comity.

The economic cooperation among the Soviet republics within the all-union national economic complex is a clear manifestation of the material embodiment of the friendship among the peoples united by the common objective of building a communist society. Thanks to the will of the Leninist party and the inspired toil of members of over 100 nationalities, Kazakhstan has laid a foundation which guarantees the development of the economic and spiritual potential of the republic in full accord with contemporary requirements.

Capital construction is developing on a broad scale. Since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan alone over 200 new enterprises, large production facilities and shops have been completed. They include the Pavlodar Petroleum Refinery, the Novodzhambul Phosphorus, Ust'-Kamenogorsk Armatures, and Stepnogorsk Bearings plants, the Zhezkent Ore-Mining Combine, the coking battery at the Kazakhstanskaya Magnitka, the Tentekskaya Mine in Karaganda, new facilities and enterprises in the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, power industry, machine building, coal, chemical and petrochemical industries and a number of light and food industry projects.

Work of unparalleled scope is taking place at the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Karatau-Dzhambul and Mangyshlak territorial-production complexes, which are most important areas for the power, coal, chemical and petroleum and gas extraction industries. The Vostochno-Kazakhstanskiy, Dzhezkazganskiy, Karagandinsko-Temirtauskiy, and Kustanaysko-Lisakovskiy industrial-production regions, which owe their birth to the party's farsighted economic policy, are developing at a headlong pace.

The sectors producing consumer goods in the republic are growing at an accelerated pace. Today enterprises in the light, food, meat, dairy and local industries, equipped with highly productive modern facilities, are producing hundreds of different types of commodities which are in great demand.

From a roadless area in the past, Kazakhstan has become a major railroad country with tracks covering 14,000 kilometers today. A broad network of automobile roads has been built. Air transport, communications facilities, television and radio broadcasting have developed at a rapid pace.

As a result of the systematic implementation of the Leninist agrarian policy, radical changes have taken place in the republic's agriculture over the past 60 years. An unparalleled distance from nomad livestock breeding to highly developed agricultural production equipped with modern technology has been covered.

Whereas at the beginning of mass collectivization the areas in crops in Kazakhstan totaled 4.2 million hectares, today they exceed 35 million. Kazakhstan today is justifiably described as a republic of sovkhozes--it has over 2,000 of them. Along with these, more than 400 kolkhozes are strengthening and developing.

Agriculture has been extensively electrified. Cultivation of the soil and the sowing of grain, corn, and sugar-beet crops have been totally mechanized. All grain and silage crops are harvested with combines. The level of comprehensive labor mechanization at livestock farms has been raised.

The successful implementation of the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses and the March 1965 and July 1978 CC CPSU plenums, and the daily support and aid given the republic by the CC CPSU and the Soviet government, have turned Kazakhstan into the biggest grain and animal husbandry base in the country. The republic is engaged in the extensive specialization and concentration of agricultural production. The scale of agricultural chemization is expanding. Cattle-raising and meat-production complexes, large poultry farms, and interfarm associations, involving the participation of hundreds of sovkhozes and kolkhozes, have been created and made operative.

The epic of the virgin lands--an event inconceivable under nonsocialist conditions, in societies torn by social and national conflicts--is an outstanding and heroic page in Kazakhstan's history. The development of the virgin lands is one of the brilliant confirmations of the unity, friendship and fraternity among Soviet peoples. It is no accident that the virgin lands are described as "the planet of 100 languages," as it was developed, together with the Kazakh people, by members of all USSR nations.

The book "Tselina" [Virgin Land] by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, who personally headed the development of the virgin lands in Kazakhstan, and which is precious to the heart of every Kazakhstani, emphasizes that "a gigantic agroindustrial complex was organized in this area and its influence powerfully affected the development of the entire country's economy." The truly heroic epic of the development of the virgin lands became a powerful factor in the further upsurge of Kazakhstan's production forces and in the drastic increase in its share of the all-union national economic complex. The republic's working people are immeasurably grateful because of this to the Communist Party and, personally, to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who made a tremendous contribution to the creative elaboration and systematic implementation of the Leninist agrarian policy of the CPSU.

The virgin lands became a field of exploit, a field of creativity. The term "virgin-land worker," to use Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's picturesque expression, "indicates the special character dictated by the requirements of the times." The virgin-land traditions can be seen today in a number of great accomplishments by Kazakhstan's agricultural workers. A movement for high farming standards is spreading in Kustanayskaya, Severo-Kazakhstanskaya, Tselinogradskaya, Kokchetavskaya, Turgayskaya and other

oblasts. It is one of the basic forms of competition among grain growers to achieve an all-round increase in grain production and to average no less than 20 quintals per hectare. The title "High Farming Standard Collective" has been awarded to about 100 sovkhoses and kolkhozes in the republic and to more than 700 sections and brigades. The names of the best crop masters in Kazakhstan are familiar to the entire country. They are Heroes of Socialist Labor M. Ye. Dovzhik, A. Isakov, N. Malgashdarov, I. I. Ivanov, V. A. Dityuk, T. Mustafin, K. Donenbayeva, D. A. Rosinskiy and many others.

With every passing year the huge grain field of Kazakhstan is gaining strength. Whereas before the development of the virgin lands the republic delivered to the state no more than 100 million poods of grain in the best years, in the past four years alone it has pleased the homeland with a full Kazakhstan billion on three occasions.

Reclamation plays a particularly important role in Kazakhstan because of its droughty climate. Daily attention is paid to this important trend in upgrading agricultural production effectiveness. The irrigated land area is increasing with every passing year. Major engineering-irrigation systems and irrigation water reservoirs have been commissioned or are under construction. The role of the one-of-a-kind 500 kilometer-long Irtysh-Karaganda canal is exceptionally important to the development of the rural economy and the industry of Kazakhstan's central oblasts. The canal will reach Dzhezkazgan in the near future.

Thanks to the development of huge irrigated land areas, the republic has become a major rice growing area in the country. In 1979 Kazakhstan produced 517,000 tons of this valuable crop. Today a crop averaging 40 quintals of rice or more per hectare is no exception on many farms in Kzyl-Ordinskaya, Chimkentskaya and other oblasts. Cotton, corn, sugar beets, vegetables, fruits, grapes and other crops are also being raised successfully on irrigated land.

The cattle herds are growing and their productivity is rising. Animal husbandry accounts for one-half of the republic's gross agricultural output. Major changes are taking place in sheep breeding, a traditional sector. Whereas in 1940 Kazakhstan had a little more than 8 million sheep and goats, it has more than 35 million today. Mutton and wool production has increased considerably.

The material prosperity of the working people is increasing steadily on the basis of the successful development of the socialist economy. Compared with 1965, the national income of the republic was greater by a factor of 2.4 in 1979, totaling 19.6 billion rubles. The gross public product equaled 45.8 billion rubles. The real income of the population and payments and benefits received from public consumption funds are increasing. Every year over one-third of the republic's budget is allocated to meet the social and cultural needs of the working people.

In the past 15 years more than 10 million people were able to improve their housing conditions. The network of children's preschool institutions, hospitals, polyclinics, prophylactic establishments, houses of culture, clubs, libraries, sanatoriums, rest homes, tourist bases and sports facilities is expanding steadily. More than 1,700 hospitals and 2,275 outpatient-polyclinical establishments are providing the population with medical help. About 46,000 physicians are watching over the health of the working people. The main fact underlying these figures is that under the Soviet system the general mortality rate in Kazakhstan has declined by a factor of almost four.

The transforming power of socialism and of the Leninist national policy has been clearly manifested in the unparalleled upsurge of public education, science and culture. An area where, before the revolution, the literacy of the native population was not even two percent has today about 9,000 schools attended by 3.3 million students, 55 higher and 231 secondary specialized schools, an academy of sciences, and a broad network of scientific institutions engaged in research on virtually all topical modern scientific trends, ranging from the microworld to the cosmos.

Kazakhstan's multiple-genre art and literature have blossomed in vivid original colors. A number of books by Kazakh writers have become accessible to Soviet and foreign readers. The best of the republic's multinational art works, creative collectives and individual performers are known far beyond its borders. A beneficial process of reciprocal enrichment and rapprochement among the national cultures within the single all-Soviet culture is broadening and deepening.

Mukhtar Auezov, one of the founders of Kazakh Soviet literature, was profoundly correct in claiming that "we must never forget that the creative influence and support of Russian literature helped us to find the broad path of realistic art." Splendid proof of this is found in the works of Auezov himself and, above all, in his world famous epic, "Abay's Road," which has become one of the greatest achievements of Soviet multinational literature and is now influencing the development of the literatures of all fraternal peoples in our country. The creation of valuable works by many contemporary Kazakh, Russian, Uygur, German and Korean literary workers in the republic, and the operatic and symphonic music of our composers, the best variety shows, motion pictures, paintings and sculpture would have been inconceivable without such a beneficial process. The culture of the Kazakh people, reborn with the Great October Revolution, like that of the other fraternal peoples, has become an organic, an inseparable part of Soviet socialist culture. It actively seeks to encompass the most valuable features and traditions of each one of the peoples of our country. This does not depersonalize national features in the least, but contributes comprehensively to the birth of an essentially new quality and to the all-round enrichment of national culture with a socialist internationalist content.

In his speech on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, in a discussion of the influence of the economic and social development of the national republics on the process of internationalizing the life of the Soviet people, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that in Kazakhstan "today, along with Kazakhs... there are millions of Russians, and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Belorussians and so on. Kazakh culture is developing and increasing, encompassing the best features of Russian, Ukrainian and other cultures to an ever greater extent. Is this bad or good? We, the communists, confidently answer that it is good, very good!"

The republic has become a place for holding scientific and creative meetings of union and international significance. The achievements of Soviet Kazakhstan convincingly prove the rich results of the unification of the peoples of our country and the extremely broad opportunities which this opens up for the foreseeable future.

The most significant successes in the socioeconomic development of the republic were achieved in the period noted by the historical 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. It was precisely during these years that profound qualitative changes occurred in Kazakhstan's economic potential, related to the implementation of large-scale programs for the comprehensive development of the republic's national economy.

These successes were achieved thanks to the close attention paid and constant practical help given by the party's Central Committee, its Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally, who visited the republic repeatedly. Meeting with the party aktiv and the working people in various economic sectors, and studying the situation thoroughly on the spot, Leonid Il'ich gives us priceless aid in the successful implementation of the plans for the building of communism with his advice. The people of Kazakhstan are proudly aware of the fact that the comprehensive blossoming of the Kazakh SSR and its powerful upsurge toward the peaks of modern progress are directly linked with Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

The achievements of Soviet Kazakhstan are the achievements of the entire Soviet people. Tremendous economic processes such as the development of the virgin lands and of new mineral deposits, the building of new cities and one-of-a-kind electric power plants, canals, dams, plants and factories, have unquestionably contributed, and are contributing, to the further international unification of Soviet nations and nationalities. The new stage of development of Soviet society, earmarked by the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, is leading to further rapprochement among the peoples, an ever greater strengthening of their unity, and the achievement of new successes in the building of communism.

The miraculous force of the friendship among the peoples of the USSR was manifested in the struggle for the Kazakh billion-79. On the 25th anniversary of the development of the virgin lands, the farmworkers delivered one billion 262 million poods of grain to the state. For this the Kazakh

SSR was given the highest award of the homeland--the Order of Lenin. This is the fourth order to be pinned on the republic's banner.

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the great projects of the 10th Five-Year Plan opened up great possibilities for the further acceleration of the process of internationalizing the economic, social and spiritual life of the Soviet people. Today the role of the contribution of each of the 19 oblasts in the republic and the significance of its territorial-production complexes are becoming ever greater in the all-union division of labor. Kustanayskaya Oblast is becoming one of the largest iron-ore bases of the country, thanks particularly to the comprehensive development of the extremely rich Sokolovsko-Sarbayaskoye deposits. Tselinograd has become an important agricultural equipment production center. The industrial development of Karaganda is continuing. New electric power, coal mining and transport manufacturing capacities have been commissioned in the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz Industrial Complex. The potential of a large-scale chemical industry in Chimkentskaya and Dzhambul'skaya oblasts is vastly increasing. The production capacities of the industrial enterprises of Vostochnyy Kazakhstan are increasing. The intensive development of the Zhayrem'skoye deposit is putting Dzhetskazganskaya Oblast in a leading position in nonferrous metallurgy. The importance of Mangyshlak in petroleum and natural gas extraction is increasing sharply. This is far from a complete enumeration of the major changes taking place on Kazakh soil.

The decisions of the 25th congress are being successfully implemented. Kazakhstan's economy is growing steadily. The CC CPSU decree on further improving the economic mechanism calls for an entire system of specific measures whose implementation will represent a tremendous step forward. A number of enterprises and thousands of leading workers and production innovators have reported ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of socialist obligations assumed in honor of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

As an equal among Soviet socialist republics, Kazakhstan has achieved further successes in the 10th Five-Year Plan. It has a powerful economic potential and its new accomplishments lie ahead. The republic has 20,000 industrial enterprises, mines, shafts and other production facilities. Today the Kazakh SSR is an important area for the extraction and production of nonferrous and rare metals. It ranks among the leaders in coal extraction.

Kazakhstan's power industry is growing at a headlong pace. Today it ranks third in the country in electric power output. The commissioning of a number of large new thermal and hydroelectric power plants, including the first power turbines at the Dzhambul and Ermak GRES, marked the beginning of the qualitative retooling of the republic's power industry. The building of Irtysh system of hydroelectric power plants is continuing. One of the brightest stars--the Ekibastuz fuel-power industry complex--is beginning to shine in the energy galaxy.

The republic's industry has given the country a great variety of goods above the plan. Since the beginning of the five-year plan about 500,000 new housing units have been built. About three million people have substantially improved their housing conditions. Most republic oblasts have fulfilled their semiannual plan for sales of meat, milk and eggs to the government. Larger amounts of wool and astrakhan pelts than in previous years have been procured. All cattle herds and poultry flocks have been augmented. A course calling for the development of the industrial foundations of agriculture is being firmly implemented.

In his outstanding mobilizing report delivered at the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated that "over the past years we have acquired valuable experience in the building of communism. We must examine everything that is positive in our work in town or country carefully. At the same time, we must look critically at the omissions and shortcomings which, unfortunately, can be found in economic management practices and in party work."

Life raises new, more complex and greater problems. Their solution requires the channeling of all organizational and political work into the elimination of existing shortcomings, many of which remain, and the successful completion of the 1980 Plan and the 10th Five-Year Plan. In particular, we must overcome the lag in a number of industrial sectors and individual enterprises and increase the pace and improve the effectiveness and quality of capital construction. We must not forget that the orientation of our entire economy toward intensive development, increased effectiveness and quality, and reliance on the end results of economic activity is the pivot of the party's economic strategy today.

The course of economic and cultural construction depends to an ever greater extent on the high level of conscientiousness of each of its participants and on the successes achieved in ideological and political-educational work, since the importance of state and production discipline, unity of words and actions, and intolerance of any type of slackness or irresponsibility is becoming even greater. Now that the republic's communists have made extensive preparations for the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, which will begin on 4 February 1981, particular attention is being paid to such problems. As is being done throughout the country, the republic is reorganizing social relations on the collectivistic principles organically inherent in mature socialism. The social homogeneity of society is strengthening with the leading role of the working class. The republic's working people, like all Soviet people, are united by a single outlook, common objectives and ideals, and a feeling of belonging to a new historical community--the Soviet people.

The working people of the multinational Soviet Kazakhstan are welcoming the 60th anniversary of the Kazakh SSR and of the republic's party organization, rallying closely around the Leninist CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by the loyal perpetuator of the cause of the

great Lenin, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. They will do everything possible to mark the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan with new successes and to welcome the 26th CPSU Congress in worthy fashion. They will do everything possible to insure the further confident strengthening of the economic and defense power of our beloved homeland and of the entire socialist comity.

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BASIS ON THE LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 24-37

[Article by N. Georgadze, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary]

[Text] For the Soviet people and the working people the world over, Lenin's immortal doctrine is an inexhaustible source of creative inspiration, illuminating the road of revolutionary struggle and construction. It is the party's source of strength and the guarantee of our further successes in building the new society.

V. I. Lenin laid the foundations of the first socialist state in the world and substantiated the need for the continuing participation of the working people in management in the transitional period and under socialism. He proved most convincingly that the systematic development of democracy is a mandatory prerequisite for the all-round advance of the new social system. Loyal to Lenin's behests, the CPSU is successfully implementing a program for the further intensification of socialist democracy and the improvement of Soviet statehood and our entire political system.

The new USSR Constitution--the fundamental law of the first state of the whole people in the world--is an outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism and of the development and specific implementation of Lenin's ideas on socialist democracy. The constitution has codified an important historical landmark in the progress toward communism--the building of a developed socialist society. At the same time, it not only reflects our great accomplishments but is oriented toward the future.

I

Under developed socialist conditions, democracy is a vivid manifestation of the political creativity of the broad people's masses. Its nature is truly all-embracing, and it is distinguished by the ever greater variety and perfection of its forms.

Characterizing the prospects for the development of socialist democracy in the CC CPSU accountability report for the 25th Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, said: "Today we know not only from theory but from long practice that true democracy is as impossible without socialism as socialism is without the steady development of democracy. We consider the advancement of our socialist democracy, above all, as a steadfast support for the ever more extensive participation of the working people in the administration of all social affairs, as the further development of the democratic foundations of our statehood, and as the creation of conditions for the all-round blossoming of the individual. Such is the direction in which the party has worked and will continue to work."

It is this principled approach, based on a truly Leninist understanding of the problem of socialist democracy, which was codified in the USSR Constitution. The fundamental law of the Soviet state of the whole people clearly defines the main directions for the further development of our democracy. This includes the ever more extensive participation of the citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs; the advancement of the state apparatus; the increased activeness of social organizations; intensified people's control; the strengthening of the legal foundations of state and social life; the broadening of publicity and the constant consideration of public opinion.

The historical advantages of socialist, as compared with bourgeois, democracy are based, above all, on socioeconomic and spiritual factors. The public ownership of productive capital and the anti-exploitation nature of production relations, the absence of class antagonisms, the alliance among all classes and social groups and the inviolable friendship among nations and nationalities, the sociopolitical, ideological and moral unity of Soviet society and the monolithic unity of the people rallied around the Communist Party have always provided a solid foundation for our democracy, determining its nature and trends and constituting a reliable guarantee for the factual participation of the working people in administration.

The Communist Party is the nucleus of the socialist political system and the leading force in the process of development and advancement of socialist democracy. The present period is characterized by the further enhancement of its leading role and intensified theoretical, political and organizational activities. The party is worthily fulfilling its role as the political leader of the working class and the entire people. It holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, honorably implementing its historical mission.

All the combat and labor victories of the Soviet people are inseparably linked with the activities of the party which, as Lenin pointed out, is called upon "to direct and organize the new system and to be the teacher, guide and leader of all the working people...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, p 26). The party has always considered

erving the people as its supreme objective. This is manifested in the adamant efforts to raise the economy to a qualitatively new level and, on this basis, to insure a systematic increase in the prosperity of the Soviet people, the creation of the conditions for the fullest possible discovery of the creative potential of the people and for enhancing the people's activity in all the realms of life in Soviet society.

In guiding the building of communism, the CPSU focuses its attention on the development of the economy which, according to the USSR Constitution, is defined as a single national economic complex including all social production units and distribution and exchange within the country's territory. The party's course directed toward upgrading social production effectiveness and work quality is the key problem in the 10th Five-Year Plan now ending, and a determining factor in longer-range economic and social development. This course presumes the rational location of production forces, the improvement of social planning and the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the solution of economic and social problems.

The stipulations and conclusions contained in the decisions of the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum and the speech delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum are of tremendous importance to the implementation of the tasks stemming from the documents of the 25th CPSU Congress. The measures drafted on this basis for the further improvement of planning, the advancement of the economic mechanism and the strengthening of labor discipline are intended to insure a further upsurge in the developed socialist economy and the improvement of its internal organization.

The stable growth of the economic and scientific and technical potential, the potential of industry and agriculture, and the successes achieved in the development of socialist competition for the fulfillment of planned assignments and obligations open up new possibilities for the fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people. The summarizing indicator here is the real per capita income. In the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, this income increased by nearly 14 percent. New and higher wage rates and salaries were applied, affecting 31 million workers and employees in nonproduction sectors. In the past 4 years, 423 million square meters of housing have been completed. Sales of consumer goods have increased. Today the social consumption funds have reached a tremendous sum, more than 410 billion rubles.

The just solution of the national problem--one of the most complex problems in the history of human society--is an important indicator of the true democracy of our system. Our country was the first to resolve it on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and socialist federalism and the right of nations to self-determination, as well as their full equality. The USSR Constitution takes as its basis the Leninist principle of combining the overall interests of the USSR with those of each one of its constituent union republics. This means that the Soviet socialist federation system has been fully justified. Naturally, the strengthening of

all-union principles and the developed sociopolitical unity of the Soviet people do not represent the disappearance of national distinctions. "In the process of the building of communism, the inviolable friendship among the Soviet peoples leads steadfastly to their rapprochement and the reciprocal enrichment of their spiritual life," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized. "However, we would be following a dangerous road if we sought the artificial acceleration of this objective process of rapprochement among nations." The unification of the nations and nationalities in our country is expressed in the creation of an all-union national economic complex, the beneficial interpenetration of national cultures, and the close interweaving and integration of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The truly democratic nature of the Soviet social system is also manifested in the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy of our state, whose foundations have been defined by the CPSU congresses and codified by the constitution. This policy is aimed at insuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR and the protection of our state interests. It is also designed to strengthen the positions of world socialism, to support the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, to prevent aggressive force, to achieve universal and total disarmament, to strengthen the security of the peoples and extensive international cooperation.

Positive results were achieved in the struggle for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems as a result of the changed ratio of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, the joint and united activities of the members of the socialist comity, and the support of the world's progressive public. Having considered the question of the international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum fully and entirely approved the activities of the Central Committee Politburo and of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in implementing the Leninist foreign political course of the 24th and 25th party congresses.

Naturally, the forces of imperialism and reaction are not pleased by the positive changes occurring in international affairs. These forces and, above all, some circles in the United States, supported by the Beijing leadership, consider them a hindrance to their expansionist plans and are doing everything possible to take the world back to the Cold War of sad memory. Using the fabricated and thoroughly false pretext of a "Soviet military threat," they are increasing their armaments without restraint, inflating militaristic hysteria and succeeding in getting huge military budgets passed by the legislative bodies in their countries. At the beginning of the 1980s, this served to aggravate international circumstances.

However, no one has the right to turn back the course of historical development or to deprive the peoples of the right to live in peace. "The Soviet people and our friends abroad can rest assured that the Leninist foreign political course is inflexible," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized.

"It is defined by the decisions of CPSU congresses and is being implemented in all of our foreign policy activities. This course combines systematic love of peace with firm rejection of aggression. It has been proven right in past decades, and we shall continue to follow it in the future. No one will make us deviate from this course."

The decisions of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members, adopted at the recent anniversary conference held in Warsaw, the capital of fraternal Poland, proved that, together with the members of the socialist comity, the Soviet Union is adamantly and consistently pursuing such a policy.

II

The most important direction in the comprehensive activities of the CPSU as the nucleus of the socialist political system is the management of the activities of the state organs. The party has always paid great attention to the organizational and political strengthening of the soviets of people's deputies. The united bloc of communists and nonparty people with which the CPSU goes to the elections insures not only the nomination of the best representatives of the people to the soviets but the very great political activity of the toiling masses. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, the "bloc of communists and nonparty people is not the 'temporary coalition' so typical of bourgeois elections. It operates on a permanent and broader basis."

The February elections for the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and the local soviets of people's deputies provided yet another confirmation of the triumph of socialist democracy. Virtually the entire adult population took part in the elections and over 99 percent of the voters voted for the candidates of the bloc of party and nonparty members.

In all, 2,286,000 deputies were elected to the soviets on all levels, representing different classes, social groups and strata within our society, and the working people of all the nations and nationalities in the country. A total of 68.6 percent of the soviet deputies are workers and kolkhoz members, accounting for over one-half of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics. Nearly 50 percent of the deputies are women, 33.1 percent are young people under 30, 43.2 percent are CPSU members and candidate members, and 56.8 percent are not party members; 46.8 percent of the membership of the soviets was renewed. The new soviets have the great responsibility of sailing the ship of state during the period of preparations for the 26th party congress, which will be convened in accordance with the decision adopted at the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum. The plenum's documents and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's profound and meaningful speech were welcomed by the working people of the land of the soviets with tremendous enthusiasm. The presidiums of the supreme soviets of union republics and the local soviets are taking measures to insure the

successful implementation of the stipulations of the central committee plenum. Currently, socialist competition in honor of the forthcoming party congress is spreading ubiquitously.

Under mature socialist conditions, the participation of the soviets in resolving the main problem of the state of the whole people--the creation of the material and technical foundation for communism--is one of the main directions in the work of the soviets. "The soviets," Lenin pointed out, "must become organs controlling all the production in Russia...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 148). The party is systematically pursuing a course which upgrades the role of the representative power organs in economic construction, the comprehensive economic and social development of the country, and the implementation of the stipulations of the USSR Constitution.

The 20 August 1979 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On the Tasks of the Soviets of People's Deputies Stemming From the CC CPSU Decree 'On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs'" is directly aimed at insuring the active participation of the soviets in the improvement of the economic mechanism and of planning. Specific steps are being taken by union and autonomous republics for the implementation of these decisions. Problems of planning and economic construction are being considered at soviet sessions and meetings of soviet permanent commissions and executive committees.

The soviets must work hard to upgrade the level of the management of economic and sociocultural construction, to insure comprehensive improvements in economic management and planning, and to coordinate and control the activities of production associations, enterprises, establishments and organizations located on their territory. The role of the permanent commissions in the consideration of plans for economic and social development must be further intensified; the active participation of the labor collectives in the formulation of the five-year and annual plans, the development of socialist competition, and the enhancement of the initiative of deputies and of the organs of the population's voluntary social activities must also be further intensified.

The practice of comprehensive planning of economic and social development and establishing close ties between the material potential of the local power organs and the results of enterprise work is becoming ever more important. The attainment of a new higher level of business skills and specialized and general educational training of the personnel within the soviets is of essential significance. The extent to which the Soviet worker fulfills his party and official duties conscientiously and skillfully, and the extent to which he is industrious, disciplined, demanding of himself, honest and principle-minded largely determines how the party's tasks are implemented. The authority of a manager, whatever his position, does not come spontaneously, but must be achieved through adamant personal effort and daily work.

Educating the members of the communist society is a programmatic task of the party. The achievements of the Soviet state in molding a new man and in the development of science, culture and public education are universally known. Obeying the constitutional stipulations, the Soviet state and its organs are working actively to broaden the factual potential enabling its citizens to apply their creative strength, capabilities and talents and insuring the all-round development of the individual. The soviets face major and responsible tasks in the light of the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." For example, with a view toward energizing this most important sector of activities, the Kirgiz SSR Supreme Soviet heard a report submitted by its presidium on measures for the implementation of said party decision. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered the problem of improving cultural services to the rural population of Orlovskaya Oblast, while the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered the question of improving cultural-educational work in the republic's villages.

The party demands of all state institutions and officials greater responsiveness and attention to the people and concern for them. We must be intolerant of any instance of formalism, red tape or any careless attitude toward the needs of the working people. Here again the soviets play an important role. They must upgrade the responsibility of managers and other officials for the timely and correct solution of the problems raised by the citizens.

On the basis of the stipulations of the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, and guided by the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Further Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy," the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium clearly defined the tasks of the soviets of people's deputies in this area. Related problems were considered at sessions of the supreme soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Kirgiz SSR. Corresponding decrees were passed by the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen and other republics.

The soviets conduct all their work in front of the people's masses and with the active participation of the working people in the administration of governmental affairs and in resolving problems of national and local importance. The principles governing the organization and activities of the soviets, clearly defined by the constitution, are being implemented ever more systematically: democratic centralism and socialist legality; the collective, free and efficient discussion and solution of problems; publicity, informing the population and accountability; and strict control over the implementation of the decisions adopted.

The sessions held by the soviets are the most important democratic tool for the solution of economic and sociocultural problems, for the successful implementation of planned assignments and socialist obligations, for upgrading cadre initiative and responsibility, and for eliminating shortcomings. They insure maximum publicity in the consideration of problems and the activeness of officials elected by the people. Today the authorities are considering the most topical and urgent problems ever more extensively at their sessions.

Thus, in the course of their 1979-1980 sessions, the supreme soviets of the union republics discussed the tasks of the soviets of people's deputies, based on the speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at his meeting with the electors of Moscow's Baumanskiy Electoral District. Other problems as well were discussed at the sessions, such as measures to insure further improvements in the population's health care (RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR and Moldavian SSR); the status of and measures for further improving housing construction and projects of communal and sociocultural significance (Ukrainian SSR and Uzbek SSR); effective utilization of reclaimed lands (Belorussian SSR); measures to increase the production of consumer goods (Kazakh SSR); further improvement in the education and upbringing of children (Azerbaijan SSR and Estonian SSR); the status of and measures for the efficient utilization of fuel and energy resources (Tadzhik SSR); and the status and further improvement of the population's social insurance (Latvian SSR).

In 1979 the local soviets considered more than 760,000 different items at their sessions, including more than 116,000 economic and social development and budget-financial plans, 15,000 items related to industry, construction, transportation and communications, 117,000 items related to agriculture and land, water and timber utilization and environmental protection, and tens of thousands of problems dealing with trade, public catering, consumer services, housing and communal economy and urbanization, public education, culture, health care and social insurance, and socialist law and order. The overwhelming majority of the items were prepared with the participation of the permanent commissions and the deputies. In 1979 over 65 percent of all elected officials addressed the sessions.

The deputies make extensive use of their constitutional right to submit questions to executive committees and other state organs and officials. In 1979 they submitted about 80,000 such questions. The democratic nature of the sessions is also manifested in the involvement of the population in their preparation. Many soviets have adopted the rule of informing the citizens in advance of the date of the sessions and the items to be discussed. Draft decisions of soviets are discussed in advance by labor collectives and at places of residence. This practice is followed, for example, in Rostovskaya and Andizhanskaya oblasts, Kazan' and the Lithuanian SSR. Reality requires further improvements in this work, as was pointed out yet once again by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which considered the question of the sessions held by Uzbek SSR soviets of people's deputies in its September 1979 session.

The soviets ascribe great importance to the implementation of the constitutional requirement on dealing with the instructions of the voters. Such instructions are taken into consideration in the elaboration of plans for economic and social development and in the drafting of the budget, and deputies, managers, state organs, enterprises, establishments and organizations and the public at large are participating actively in their implementation. Between June 1977 and December 1979 more than 700,000 such instructions were carried out, or 91.3 percent of the total. Problems on

the implementation of instructions are gaining an ever more certain position on the agendas of the sessions. Unquestionably, the drafting of a law on voters' instructions, to be completed shortly, will further improve and energize this important sector of soviet work and will make it possible to conduct it even more purposefully and systematically.

The great work of the soviets cannot be imagined outside the context of their daily and direct ties with the people's masses or without reliance on them. The social activity of the authorities totals more than 31 million people; the reports which the executive committees submit to the soviets and the people who have elected them are extensively publicized. In 1979 virtually all the executive committees submitted such reports, which were considered at over 350,000 meetings attended by about 58 million people. The people's deputies also report regularly on their work and on that of the soviets to the voters and to the labor collectives. The systematic implementation of the democratic principles in the organization and activities of the soviets is the guarantee of new successes by the representative power organs and the further increase in their role in governmental-economic and sociocultural construction.

III

The USSR Supreme Soviet plays an important role within the unified system of soviets. It is the supreme organ of state power in the country. The adoption of the new USSR Constitution and the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, as USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the Supreme Soviet's activities. Its role in the implementation of communist party policy is increasing systematically, and its influence in the various areas of social life is intensifying.

Guided by the principled stipulations of the party and its central committee and by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions, the USSR Supreme Soviet in recent years has increased its attention in particular to basic problems of economic and sociocultural construction and upgrading the living standards of the Soviet people. The constitutional codification of the all-embracing rights of the supreme power organ contributed to the further importance of its role in the implementation of CPSU economic policy and to the enhancement of its beneficial influence on the status of the national economy.

The state plan and budget, ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet, represent a major organizing force in resolving the most important problems of economic and social development earmarked by the 25th party congress. The consideration of such problems at its sessions is preceded by the thorough preparatory work done by the permanent commissions of the chambers. Thus, long before the opening of the second session of the Supreme Soviet held last November, commissions and deputies looked actively for ways of increasing production effectiveness and insuring the better utilization of

capital investments and material and manpower resources. Their entire work on the preliminary consideration of the plan and the budget took into consideration the decisions of the party's central committee on improving the economic mechanism and planning. This made it possible to approach specific problems on the basis of new criteria and assessments. A number of valuable suggestions and recommendations were submitted and were reflected in the 1980 plan and budget.

In recent years the USSR Supreme Soviet has considered a number of major problems related to the development of industry, agriculture, public education and health, the rational utilization of natural resources, environmental protection, and increased production of consumer goods and improvements in their quality. The all-round comprehensive approach to the consideration of one or another problem is becoming characteristic of the Supreme Soviet. In such cases discussions of a draft law are closely linked with a study of the situation in the specific sector and the search for effective means of resolving problems.

The adoption of the 1977 Constitution marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of Soviet legislation. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a plan for the organization of its work on making legislation consistent with the fundamental law. This plan, which includes assignments on drafting or amending a considerable number of laws, is being systematically implemented.

Major laws on improving the activities of the supreme representative power organ in the country have been drafted and passed: the Law on Elections for the USSR Supreme Soviet and a Supreme Soviet Regulation. The latter defines the structure, rights and most essential aspects of the organization of the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its organs. The regulation takes into consideration the legislative acts governing the individual aspects of the work of the supreme power organ and reflects long years of practice in the holding of sessions and the activities of the presidium and the permanent commissions of the chambers and the deputies. Amendments and supplements based on the constitution were made to the Regulation on Permanent Commissions; laws on the status of the people's deputies and the procedure for recalling a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy were redrafted.

The laws on USSR citizenship and on the procedure governing the conclusion, execution and denunciation of international treaties by the USSR were made consistent with the constitution and with the practical requirements of important areas of governmental work. The Law on the USSR Council of Ministers is of major importance for the systematic implementation of party assignments on improving the activities of the economic mechanism and the system of state management organs as a whole. The Law on Basic Rights of Kray and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies and Soviets of People's Deputies of Autonomous Oblasts and Autonomous Okrugs is called upon to play a major role in improving the activities of the local power organs. It was drafted and

adopted in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The formulation of the Law on People's Control in the USSR became an important measure for the further improvement of control activities. Having stipulated the tasks of the people's control organs, it strengthened the basic principles governing its activities: socialist legality, democratic centralism, collectivity and publicity. The laws on the USSR Supreme Court, the procurator's office, state arbitration and the bar in the USSR will contribute to the further strengthening of law and order. Laws on the protection and utilization of the animal world and the protection of the air in the atmosphere were passed recently.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has approved a number of ukases by virtue of which amendments and supplements based on the constitution were made to the Foundations of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics of Public Health, Public Education, the Subsoil, Marriage and the Family, the Foundations of Forest Legislation, legislation on labor, the civil code, the Law on the State Notary System, and others. A new draft of the Ukase on the Procedure for Consideration of Citizens' Suggestions, Petitions and Complaints was approved.

Active legislative work is being done in the union republics.

In accordance with the decision of the 25th CPSU Congress, a USSR Code of Laws is being prepared. It will be published between 1981 and 1985 as an official publication of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers.

In drafting and passing laws, the Supreme Soviet acts on the assumption that each of their stipulations and norms will be strictly obeyed. Control of the execution and observance of the laws and planned assignments plays an important role in the activities of the Supreme Soviet, its presidium and its permanent commissions. Every year, in accordance with the constitution, its sessions consider problems in the implementation of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the execution of the state budget.

The control activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the permanent commissions of the chambers have been energized noticeably. The consideration at presidium sessions of reports submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers on the implementation of assignments issued by the Supreme Soviet has become traditional in the discussion of problems pertaining to the plan and the budget. Last March, such a discussion took place for the fourth time. Summing up the results of the exchange of views, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev praised this practice highly, emphasizing that it will "help to find better solutions to many problems. We follow Lenin's instruction, which states that soviet deputies not only pass laws but participate actively in the management of the state."

The activities of the permanent commissions, covering all the most important economic and cultural areas today, are becoming increasingly comprehensive with every passing year. The beneficial influence of commissions and deputies on the state of affairs in many economic sectors has been intensified; the substantiation and depth of the suggestions and recommendations formulated have increased, and so has the attention paid to them by administrative organs and economic managers. We could say that the purposeful and active work of the permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet chambers is a successful and quite original method for the practical implementation of Lenin's instruction on "properly learning economic construction" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 157).

As a rule, the permanent commissions draft recommendations which are submitted to the corresponding state management organs. Many of them are sent by the Supreme Soviet Presidium to the Council of Ministers for the adoption of the necessary measures.

Let us emphasize that the varied work done by the permanent commissions of the chambers is an important method of insuring the continuing activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. As the volume of such activities increases and their content becomes more complex, the number of commissions contributing to the successful resolution of the problems facing the Supreme Soviet increases. Currently there are 16 permanent commissions per chamber, including more than two-thirds of all deputies.

One of the vitally important directions in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its presidium is their guidance of the soviets of people's deputies. In this connection, let us point out the presidium's discussion of the work of the Belorussian soviets in carrying out voters' instructions, the work of the soviets in Krasnodar in considering citizens' suggestions, petitions and complaints, problems in the practice of holding soviet sessions in the Uzbek SSR, problems in meeting with the population encountered by the executive committees of soviets and enterprises, establishments and organizations in Chelyabinskaya Oblast, and the interaction between the permanent commissions of soviets and people's control organs in Permskaya Oblast.

The approach to the consideration of vital problems adopted in recent years by the USSR Supreme Soviet is meeting with broad local response. This positive experience is being skillfully used and applied in accordance with local characteristics. At the same time, we see how local initiative and practical experience are creating new and interesting forms of influence by the soviets on economic and sociocultural construction. In turn, this useful experience is codified and developed systematically on the union level. The art of management by the soviets also lies largely in their ability to see the embryo of a major nationwide project in a single, occasional and seemingly minor initiative. Such an exchange of mutually enriching experience contributes to the increased effectiveness of our representative system and, in the final account, contributes to the successful building of communism.

Implementing the stipulations of the constitution and the Law on the Status of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies participate actively in the work of the sessions of the supreme power organ and the meetings of its presidium and permanent commissions of the chambers, the practical implementation of the party's policy, the organization of the implementation of the laws, and the organization of control over the work of state organs. They are in constant and close contact with their electorate and the public organizations and labor collectives which nominated them, as well as with enterprises, establishments and organizations in their respective electoral districts.

The USSR Supreme Soviet plays an important role in the implementation of the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The personal contacts between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and state and political leaders of foreign countries make a great contribution to strengthening the peace. Addressing the 25th party congress, he noted in particular the great role played by the parliamentarians in resolving the nationwide problem of the struggle for peace. Essentially, all the directions in the work of the supreme power organ are characterized by a striving for peace and international cooperation. This is clearly manifested in the contacts maintained between the Supreme Soviet and foreign parliaments, and in Soviet laws, declarations and other documents.

Last February marked the 25th anniversary of the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the familiar declaration which marked the beginning of active relations with the parliaments of foreign countries. Such relations are becoming broader, deeper and better with every passing year. Within that period, at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Union was visited by 220 official parliamentary delegations from nearly 100 countries. Our delegations have gone abroad about 200 times. Furthermore, the Supreme Soviet has welcomed a large number of individual groups and parliamentarians. The USSR parliamentary group, which rallies all deputies, is making a major contribution to the solution of foreign political problems.

The energizing of the supreme representative organ of the country requires the efficient organization of its work. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium plays a key role in this task. Exercising its constitutional rights, it performs functions related to convening the regular sessions, considers the draft documents submitted to it, and every year approves a plan for measures covering a broad range of problems of state, economic and sociocultural construction.

Coordination of the work of the permanent commissions of the chambers, dealing with the presentation of awards and the consideration of the appeals of the citizens are major aspects of the presidium's activities.

The entire content of today's work by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its organs is defined by the political line of the 25th CPSU Congress and the decisions of the central committee plenums aimed at developing the economy and culture.

improving the life of the working people, perfecting socialist democracy, consolidating fraternal friendship among all nations and nationalities in our homeland, strengthening the defense capability of the land of the Soviets, insuring a durable peace and international security, and making active preparations for the forthcoming 26th party congress.

IV

The fundamental rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens, backed by corresponding material and legal guarantees, codified in the USSR Constitution, are a convincing manifestation of the life-asserting principles of socialist democracy. All of this has a positive impact on social practice and contributes to our further successful progress. The new constitution, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "confirms yet once again that all the changes taking place in our country are designed mainly to insure truly human living conditions for each individual. It has been convincingly demonstrated yet once again that the concepts of freedom, human rights, democracy and social justice take on real meaning only under socialist conditions."

By establishing the public ownership of productive capital, the socialist system released the production forces and opened up the potential for economic and scientific and technical progress. It saved the toiling man from social and national oppression, making him the true master of the wealth he creates. In the state of the whole people man is the highest social value, and the fullest satisfaction of his needs is the main purpose of social production, which has been raised to the level of a key principle of governmental practice for the first time in history. Covering all aspects and forms of human activities in our society by virtue of its very nature, socialist democracy gives the working people, in Lenin's words, "a type of factual opportunity to exercise democratic rights and freedoms which has never existed, even in an approximation, in the best and most democratic bourgeois republics" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 499).

The 1977 USSR Constitution created conditions for the further intensification of the democratic process in the country and for strengthening the status of the individual. It increased the guarantees backing the traditional socio-economic and other rights of the citizens. These include the right to work, with wages consistent with the quantity and quality of the work and equal at least to the minimum set by the state (Article 40); the right to rest, stipulating that the duration of the work week for workers and employees must not exceed 41 hours (Article 41); the right to free education (Article 45), and others. The development of the democratic system has also been reflected in the promulgation of new freedoms and rights. For the first time the constitution contains articles stipulating the right to health protection (Article 42), the right to housing (Article 44), the right to use the achievements of culture (Article 46), the right to participate in the administration of governmental and social affairs (Article 48), rights guaranteeing freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creativity (Article 47), and others.

Naturally, the promulgation of new rights and guarantees is based entirely on the increased potential of the state and the society and on the level achieved in socioeconomic progress. For example, the right to housing is based on the extensive housing construction program and the fact that rentals in our country are the lowest in the world. The foundations of housing legislation for the USSR and the union republics, the draft of which is being discussed extensively today by our public, will also contribute to the systematic exercise of this right.

The basic advantages of the legal status of man in a socialist society are made particularly clear by taking the example of the right to work, backed by a set of organizational-political, material and legal guarantees. Giving a profound interpretation to the decisive role of labor in the development of the country, the USSR Constitution considers it among the most important civic duties deriving from the nature of the socialist system with its inviolable principle: from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his labor. Consequently, the state exercises constant control over the volume of labor and consumption, encouraging the citizens to dedicate all the forces at their command to their work.

The slogan "Everything for the Sake of Man, for the Good of Man" is the foundation for the extensive social program formulated by the 24th and 25th party congresses and is being implemented successfully by the Soviet people. The steps taken following the ratification of the new constitution included the implementation of its stipulations on the free use of textbooks, the raising of wages and pensions for a number of categories of working people, the development of construction of individual housing for rural working people and improvements in population services.

The expansion and intensification of socialist democracy were manifested in the development of a better correlation between the rights and the obligations of the Soviet citizens. The broader the rights and freedoms, naturally, the more important their proper exercise becomes. The Communist Party provides the necessary conditions for a steady increase in the political culture of the working people, developing in them not only a deep understanding of their constitutional rights and obligations but also the ability impeccably to fulfill their civic duty. It is important that every Soviet person always feels that he is master of his country, involved with its fate and state problems, and bears a great responsibility to society.

Strengthening discipline and socialist law and order becomes particularly important under the present circumstances. The party considers this a tremendous opportunity for increasing the public wealth, a reserve which does not require capital investment, and could yield rapid and visible returns. We know what tremendous importance Lenin ascribed to this aspect. His words and the decrees of the Soviet system laid a solid foundation for the proletarian organization, legality and discipline upon which the building of the new state of workers and peasants was erected.

It is precisely toward the area of the execution of the laws that party and soviet work on strengthening law and order in our society is shifting to an ever greater extent. This is understandable, for given the present truly tremendous scale of construction and the considerably increased complexity of the system of social ties and relations, any violation of the law could result in incalculable difficulties affecting the national economy and irreplaceable losses in the field of communist upbringing. Hence we face the task of paying maximum attention to the control of observance of discipline and the laws, to developing the habit of observing the stipulations of rules and norms, and to further promoting the political and legal knowledge of the population.

Lately the ideologues of American imperialism have made their imaginary "defense of human rights" the main trend in the ideological struggle being waged against the socialist comity. They state openly that it is their purpose to provoke "mental ferment" in the socialist countries, the development of "internal problems in the Soviet Union," and so on. Specific facts and, above all, the situation in the United States itself clearly reveal the pharisaic and hypocritical nature of those who have initiated this provocative campaign. A state in which basic human rights are extensively violated, where political trials and the physical settling of accounts with progressive personalities have become a daily practice, where unemployment, racial discrimination and crime flourish, where a number of international conventions on human rights have still not been ratified and where authoritarian methods of government are becoming ever more widespread claims to be the "defender of human rights" throughout the world.

To a certain extent, in connection with the adoption of the new USSR constitution, it is natural for the Western "psychological warfare" specialists to undertake the task of doing everything possible to distort the meaning of the rights, freedoms and obligations of the Soviet citizens. "Naturally, this has its own logic," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "for it is precisely the topic of 'concern' for human rights which has been chosen of late by noted representatives of the capitalist world as the main direction for their ideological campaign against the socialist countries. However, the critics of the Soviet Constitution find themselves in an unenviable position. They are totally unable to avoid the fact that...the socio-economic and political rights and freedoms of the citizens and the specific guarantees for the exercise of such rights have been codified in our constitution more extensively, clearly and completely than anywhere else or at any other time." Soviet reality convincingly bears out the profoundly correct nature of these words.

The history of the land of the soviets is the history of the steady expansion and strengthening of democracy and the systematic struggle for peace and progress. The USSR Constitution is yet another vivid proof of the universal-historical advantages of socialism. In the three years which have passed since the adoption of this document, the tremendous creative opportunities for socialist democracy codified therein--power for the people and power in

the interests of the people--have been revealed to their fullest extent. Embodying the ideal of humanism, social justice, democracy and peace, our fundamental law asserts this great truth of real socialism in the face of which the slander and lies of its enemies are rendered helpless.

Both in spirit and in letter, the USSR Constitution encourages the further active effort of the Soviet people, the builders of communism. Its beneficial influence on socialist reality and on our whole way of life continues to increase. Like a powerful beacon it illuminates the path to the future for the Soviet people and serves as a historical guideline for the fraternal parties and peoples.

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INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN PHYSICAL AND VALUE INDICATORS IN THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM

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[Text] I

One of the major advantages of the socialist production method is the objective possibility of organizing the strictly coordinated development of all national economic units. However, this potential is not fulfilled automatically, but requires the steady improvement of the entire public production planning and management system.

The increased complexity of production-technological and economic relations, objectively determined by the development of the scientific and technical revolution, requires that particular attention be paid to the problem of insuring balance. Applying a certain arbitrary criterion, balance can be divided into two major groups of problems: production-technological and socioeconomic.

Production-technological requirements for insuring balance are more or less established and quite obviously derive from the structural relations of the available production machinery. The socioeconomic problems involved in insuring balance are organically linked with the task of achieving maximal overall national economic effectiveness in social production, the selection of optimal economic solutions in the area of the structure of the production process, its location, assessment of alternate plans for the satisfaction of requirements, and so on. This precisely is why in recent years problems in achieving socioeconomic balance have been particularly closely linked with the efforts to improve the system of national economic management and, above all, with the search for noncontradictory internally interrelated systems of physical and value measurement of outlays and production results and economic effectiveness, on the basis of which economic and planning workers could be

guided properly in their daily activities and in assessing prospects for the development of the various elements of our planned economy.

The comprehensive nature of economic processes and the complexity of economic relations dictate specific requirements for the management system and define the need for specific division of managerial work among the different management units and the breakdown of their functions in making economic decisions. "Each unit within the management system," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "must deal with its own affairs so that the higher units will not be burdened with a mass of current matters distracting them from major problems, when the lower levels can resolve the problems within their range of competence on a functional basis.

The differentiation of management functions takes place both "horizontally" (as, for example, among sectorial ministries, functional departments such as the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, USSR Gosstnab, USSR Gosstandart, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and others), as well as "vertically" (relations along the USSR Gosplan-ministries-associations-enterprises line). In practical terms, this means that the process of making any national economic decision includes a whole hierarchy of relatively small assignments the formulation, elaboration of means of implementation and implementation itself of which are assigned to various elements of the organizational-management structure. Such a breakdown of the procedure of economic decisions is dictated objectively by the complexity of the object of management, and requires the creation of special mechanisms "responsible" for the integrity of the system. Centralized national economic planning and management presumes the existence of a type of economic system of indicators and information which can insure the commensurability of the results of the activities of economic projects, the possibility of combining or breaking down economic information, and the interest of individual production and management units in upgrading the overall effect of the functioning of the system as a whole--overall national economic effectiveness. If interaction in economics is organized in such a way that these three interdependent requirements are met, we can speak of insuring internal unity and coordination in the making of economic decisions and the effective functioning of the management mechanism, including forecasting, planning, implementation of plans and control over their implementation.

The understanding of the essential importance of this problem and of its significance in the organization of the entire process of planned management of public production is reflected in the broad scope of studies, experimentation and adoption of measures to improve the system of planned and value indicators. The most important task in insuring the integrity of a complex economic system is the creation of a uniform system of related measures of outlays and results and economic effectiveness. However different technological processes in machine building may be from the technology used in the synthetic materials industry, from the economic viewpoint, the enterprises in this sector must function as homogeneous projects and their economic activities must be commensurable. Only thus can a multisectorial economy

function as a unified national economy, and only full economic commensurability for various types of economic activity can provide a real foundation for the integration of sectorial and regional economies within the country's economy.

In recent years problems in insuring economic commensurability have been discussed extensively and in depth by the press in connection with problems related to assessing the comparative effectiveness of different capital investment alternatives (the problem of a single or a differentiated norm for capital investment effectiveness for all sectors), planning, production and operation of new equipment, production standardization and quality rating, and the solution of regional problems in locating production facilities. However, most such works deal with problems involving commensurable results in the economic activities of projects located on the same level of the organizational-management structure. But in our view, a study of the "vertical" comparability of economic indicators is no less important.

Whereas the problem of "horizontal" commensurability is essentially one of reducing the entire range of technological production methods to a single economic "denominator" and, consequently, rating them on the basis of economic effectiveness, "vertical" commensurability is a necessary prerequisite for putting together or breaking up economic data in decision making at different management levels. Naturally, the higher economic organs, such as for example the USSR Gosplan, cannot base their plan computations on indicators covering the entire range of goods produced by the national economy. Ministries and associations as well use consolidated indicators, although the degree to which planning and management are concentrated at these levels is different from the level of the USSR Gosplan. Aggregated indicators on the national economic level could include indicators of the dynamics of the national income, accumulations, norms of capital investment effectiveness, utilization of natural and manpower resources, and so on. Such indicators must be synthesized on the basis of more detailed economic data. However, reducing economic indicators for individual enterprises to sectorial indicators and, in turn, reducing sectorial indicators to national economic indicators, would clearly necessitate the application of the principle used in comparisons within the framework of a single economic management level--economic commensurability. Only thus could a conversion from a detailed nomenclature to an economic aggregate (or vice versa) be made possible without violating the inner logic of the organization of information relations in the economy. Any departure from this principle leads to a lack of coordination in the activities of the various management units.

Let us consider some of the combined indicators used: physical, conventional-physical, conventional-value, and value. The aggregated purely physical indicators have a relatively narrow field of application limited by production areas manufacturing a single standardized product. Conventional fiscal aggregation is far more widespread. We know, for example, that at higher management levels most of the output of ferrous metallurgy is planned in terms of tons. The shortcomings of this aggregation method for the result of economic activities are obvious and have been discussed repeatedly in the

press. As a summary characteristic in assessing the results of economic activities, tonnage is oriented toward the production of relatively less labor-intensive goods, avoidance of extensive processing of prime raw materials, and figure padding. As a result, thousands of tons of steel are turned into shavings. An artificial shortage of complex-shaped parts develops, and so on. According to some economists, these shortcomings have to do not with the characteristics of the physical indicators themselves but with the choice of an inappropriate physical indicator. For this reason, for example, it is suggested that the paper manufacturing industry convert from planning the volume of paper output in tons to square meters; the production of pipes should be planned not only in tons but in kilometers, and so on.

In our view, however, the efforts in this direction are encountering major difficulties, in particular of an objective nature. This is because it is a question of economic information and, consequently, the aggregation or disaggregation must be done on the basis of economic rather than physical or technical characteristics. This greatly limits the area for the utilization of various conventional physical indicators (such, for example, as chemical fertilizers in terms of content of useful substance, coal, petroleum, natural gas, shale in tons of conventional fuel, railroad cars in terms of four axles, and so on).

Indeed, it would be meaningless to add freight cars to tons when the former are computed in terms of four axles and the second in terms of content of useful substance. However, intersectorial planning-economic computations are often simply impossible without making the effectiveness with which the goods produced by different sectors are used commensurable.

As we know, monetary indicators are used to resolve this difficulty. Unfortunately, however, in most cases (with the exception of areas related to the financing and crediting of enterprises and sectors, computations of monetary income and expenditures of the population, formation of the state budget and planning of the volume and structure of trade) they are used in planning as a kind of "support" for physical indicators. As a rule, they can be described as conventional-value indicators. By this we mean in particular such a phenomenon as fixed prices. The computation of any economic value (whether volume of output, labor productivity, national income, or gross public product) in fixed prices essentially means superimposing the structure of the distribution of social labor during the base year on the reproduction conditions of the period under analysis (reported or planned).

There is one entire area in which the use of the fixed prices method proves extremely useful. The problem of analyzing economic values on the basis of the elimination of the influence of price dynamics constitutes a distinct area of economic statistics. For this reason, it would make no sense whatever to consider this aspect of the matter in detail here. Something else is essential here. As a method for putting together economic information, fixed prices do not meet the requirement of insuring the commensurability of

results of economic and managerial activity at all levels of planning and management. In other words, they cannot be used as a basis for a mechanism meeting the requirements of an integral economic system, objectively based on the nature of the socialist ownership of productive capital.

The use of money to measure the volume of output of different sectors, using fixed prices, creates the impression that indicators are fully comparable. However, this could lead to erroneous conclusions in assessing the effectiveness of structural changes, the rates of increase in social labor productivity, and the forecasting and planning of the long-term development of individual sectors and production facilities. The entirely natural unevenness marking the appearance and utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the different sectors distorts the effectiveness indicators measured in terms of fixed prices and gives the "fixed ruble" different values in the individual economic areas. It becomes entirely illogical to determine the payment turnover of the national economy in terms of fixed prices, for associations and enterprises make all their payments at current prices.

Therefore, the use of physical and conventional-physical indicators and of fixed prices does not fully resolve the problem of commensurability in different economic processes. It creates difficulties in converting from national economic planned computations to their breakdown and assignment to the implementors and can cause lack of coordination among the various management units.

II

Under contemporary conditions greater emphasis is put on expanding the nomenclature area of the plan and the fulfillment of economic contracts. We believe both to be measures mainly designed to improve the balance of physical and value proportions in planning and in functional economic relations. Planned variety may be increased not only separately but simultaneously through a conversion to the use of a long-term national economic financial plan.

The timely and very important attention which must be devoted to the implementation of the stipulations of economic contracts does not mean the intensification of physical indicators for its own sake alone. The point is that the conclusion and fulfillment of contracts is not a one-sided process of supplying goods or providing services. Other important elements here are delivering the goods (providing the services) in the necessary amounts, proper quality and on time, on the one hand, and the prompt and full payment for goods or services through the bank, on the basis of planned prices, on the other. This is a two-sided process. From the viewpoint of the national economy, both the full and efficient fulfillment of reciprocal obligations by the parties and the maintenance of a planned physical-financial balance are of substantial importance here. Therefore, paying greater attention to

contracts means expanding and strengthening planned material-financial relations and ties at the expense of gross value indicators.

As to the planned assignments of enterprises and associations in terms of volume, let us note the particular importance of the method used to present such assignments to those who implement them. Planned indicators of the volume of marketing net or commodity output can be presented as administrative or economic assignments. The former term is used when there is no reciprocal material responsibility on the part of the ministry issuing the assignment and the enterprise accepting it. In this case the responsibility is one-sided. It is precisely this circumstance that makes it possible to plan "on the basis of the level reached," and to amend planned assignments repeatedly and "aimply." This leads to a protective counterreaction by the enterprise: understated production possibilities and inflated requests for raw and other materials, equipment and manpower.

The latter term is used when the planned assignment is also the planned order given by the purchaser to the supplier, i.e., when the parties are linked by reciprocal material responsibility for manufacturing and delivering and accepting and paying for goods of a stipulated volume and variety on the basis of a set price and within given deadlines. In this case the clients may be organizations of the Gosnab, Gosmatrezerv, Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika, ministries, departments, enterprises or associations. The orders placed by the central economic organizations must have priority and must be accepted and fulfilled on a priority basis.

A long-term portfolio of orders would enable manufacturers and suppliers to stabilize production, marketing, supplies and transport relations, and to work on a rhythmical and stable basis. The problem of nomenclature-free marketing is eliminated. As a rule, the supplier is protected against insolvent customers, as this problem is already resolved in the stage of drafting and acceptance of the order and conclusion of the economic contract. The efficient implementation of large planned assignments is economically advantageous, for it brings corresponding rewards. Therefore, these same volume indicators orient the cost-accounting interests of the enterprise toward more effective economic management than in the past. High volume planned assignments are not in conflict with, but rather correspond to the system of the cost accounting interests of the collectives, providing they are based on the consideration of the commodity-monetary form of planned relations among the parties to an economic transaction. Conversely, these same assignments, presented as exclusively administrative directives to the immediate performing agency, an association or enterprise, encourage the practice of concealing production reserves, "bargaining" for lowered plans and other intolerable phenomena.

The following should be noted in connection with the financing of the outlays of enterprises, associations and sectors. A few years ago economists compared plans for the building of two big plants in Rostovskaya Oblast--the Novocherkassk and Konstantinovsk fish breeding enterprises. Their planned

capacity was approximately the same and so were their specific capital investments. However, the other indicators differed sharply. At the Novocherkassk enterprise the recovery of capital investments took longer by a factor of 2.1 and the number of workers was higher by a factor of almost 3.5 as compared with the Konstantinovsk enterprise. Yet the plans for the two enterprises were drafted almost simultaneously by organizations located in the same city. The whole difference lay in the source of financing: the first was financed from budget funds while the second was financed by a Gosbank loan. Whenever an enterprise is budget financed it is not particularly concerned with the cost or the investment recovery time, as the main concern here is to "extract" more funds. A different situation develops in financing construction from bank loans: the bank will not provide financing without determining the repayment period in advance. Consequently, the norm must be observed or the loan will be refused.

Financial statistics prove that there is a progressive trend toward an increase in the role of enterprise funds and bank loans in financing enterprise capital investments and other outlays. However, the situation is changing slowly. Direct budget allocations and administrative transfers of funds by ministries from one enterprise to another, allowing the enterprise to keep the available profit surplus (which, according to the plan, should be paid into the state budget), and increasing profits through additional indebtedness and are all free sources of financing, essentially without a time limit, and account for over 70 percent of the financial resources used by cost accounting collectives. Over a long period of time, the economic managers have mastered this system perfectly, and they are quietly confident that they can obtain funds if they ask for them persistently.

This procedure is largely created by the extreme pressure exerted by sectors and enterprises on planning and financial organs, a pressure which despite every effort it is hard to withstand.

III

The improvement of production effectiveness and work quality requires the balancing of material and monetary resources. Insufficient balancing of such resources could create the conditions for interproduct and intersectorial disproportions in the national economy, since solvent sectorial and enterprise demand for raw materials, materials, fuel and equipment largely determines the proportions of the national economic plan and the supply-marketing relations within the economy. Should such demand exceed the factual potential, as a result of a surplus of financial resources as compared with material resources, a scattering of capital investments in construction develops and a shortage of a number of material resources will develop in the course of current economic activities. Under such circumstances, as a rule, the increased production of necessary goods does not result in the total elimination of the shortage.

An inadequate balancing of material and monetary resources can weaken the effectiveness of cost accounting, the incentive to operate without subsidy and the effectiveness of the work of enterprises and associations. It allows good accountability indicators to be achieved not only by reducing production costs or increasing the productivity of labor and equipment, but also by increasing wholesale prices and rates, violating the variety plan by producing more highly profitable goods, stockpiling excessive production capacities and material resources, and weakening quality requirements.

On the whole, we can say that violation of the material-natural balance weakens centralization in economic management.

That is why improving the financial mechanism is a mandatory prerequisite for its intensive development, so as to make it possible to balance the long-term national economic plan for material and monetary resources reliably, on the one hand, and, in the course of the implementation of the plan, to preserve the necessary balance, whatever deviations may occur, on the other. The concept of balance as a necessary initial condition for effective economic growth should be extended not only to material, intersectorial and inter-product relations in the economy but to physical-financial relations as well. "We must build, just as we must live, according to our means," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said.

The planned definition and maintenance of a material-financial balance is a task no less, if not more, complex than maintaining a balance in the material area. The point is that the volume of outlays in the financial plan must be related to the income and revenue. In establishing material ratios one cannot distribute more than the amount produced (taking into consideration changes in reserves and foreign trade), whereas the volume of financial resources distributed (also considering changes in surplus funds in bank accounts and savings) may be greater or smaller than the income volume. This depends on the release (withdrawal) of the amount of cash in circulation and the increase (reduction) of debit and credit indebtedness in the national economy. For this reason, the effective planned balancing of material and financial resources becomes possible only with reliable coordination between expenditures and revenues in the financial plan itself.

A great deal has already been accomplished in this respect. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism (1979) called for a transition from exclusively annual to five-year financial planning. Starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, a financial balance and a population income and expenditures balance with the force of mandatory national economic plans will be drafted.

In our view, in the drafting of the financial plan (balance) for that five-year plan, the balance should be broadened to encompass the short-term loans (which finance about 50 percent of current economic expenditures) and the capital and turnover funds of kollektives and cooperatives. Its ties with the balance of monetary income and expenditures for the population should be

broadened. The point is that it is only by fully encompassing within the plan all the monetary funds advanced that the planned coordination of physical and financial resources becomes possible. In turn, this is a mandatory prerequisite for the stable and proportional development of the national economy.

The system of balancing the population's income and expenditures should be planned not only on the departmental level (state trade, cooperative or kolkhoz market) but in terms of products as well, for it is the satisfaction of demand for specific groups of commodities (shoes, fabrics, furniture, and so on) precisely which determines the successful implementation of this important economic plan. The balance must also take into consideration the savings of the population, for they, like current income, determine solvent demand.

In our view, we must in the future convert to a consolidated financial plan for the national economy which would include all the monetary resources of the state, the enterprises and the population, as one of the most important national economic balances in long-term and current planning. It is precisely in the stage of the elaboration of the basic national economic proportions that we must determine the income and directions for the utilization of the country's monetary resources, including emissions, and changes in reserves and indebtedness within the economy. Equally necessary is the accountability (executed) monetary balance, which reflects the overall financial results of the national economy rather than the individual results of departments and sectors which, precisely by virtue of their individual nature, could give a distorted image of the economic results (income resulting from increased indebtedness, indebtedness write-offs, extension of repayment terms, and so on).

In our view, planned coordination between these balances and the balances of the production and distribution of the public product (planned and reported) is the first step in balancing national economic proportions. It is virtually absent from current planning practices, yet it is entirely necessary in economic planning aimed at intensive development. This is one of the important distinctions between economic management under the conditions of production intensification; either it is hindered or it becomes impossible, if the balancing of material and financial national economic resources is disturbed. Conversely, uninterrupted balancing is a necessary prerequisite for this type of economic development.

Naturally, the system of combined national economic financial planning (developed, for example, by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics), which includes the balances of cost-accounting enterprises (associations), kolkhozes, budget-supported establishments, the financing of capital investments, the financing of working assets and reserves, the financing of nonproduction areas, and population income and expenditures, neither can nor should replace departmental financial plans--the state budget, bank credit plans, the plans of the state savings and insurance administrations, the social insurance budget, or the financial plans of

national economic sectors. The latter are drafted on the departmental level, and their assignment has specific targets which are necessary and mandatory in the practice of economic management. The system of financial balances must be the basis for the operation of all departmental plans rather than a substitute for them. The formulation and implementation of financial plans containing specific departmental assignments does not eliminate the need for the strict balancing of all monetary income and outlays in the national economy within the single financial resources balance. Furthermore, it is only through such a balance that monetary and material flows within the national economy can be coordinated. The system of financial balances affects the financial aspect of the social reproduction process in the same manner as the balance of the national economy as a whole affects the entire national economy.

IV

Along with improving financial planning, we must improve the mechanism for controlling the dynamics of monetary resources in order to prevent any heating up of economic turnover as a result of surplus funds. In our view, the main feature here is the following:

The procedure for planning and computing the profits of associations, enterprises and cost-accounting economic organizations must be improved. According to the current method, the difference between the volume of goods marketed and their full production cost is considered profit. However, production costs do not include all the outlays influencing the cost-accounting result of the collective's work. It does not reflect the nature of the production reserves of the enterprise. Yet the more raw materials and other materials and fuel the enterprise has purchased--all other conditions being equal--and the more unfinished goods it has stockpiled and the more unsold goods it has stored in its warehouses, the lower real profits are. However, none of these aspects is taken into consideration with the existing method.

Furthermore, production costs do not cover changes in the reciprocal indebtedness among enterprises based on financial obligations whose payment has fallen due. In other words, the procedure for defining profits allows a situation (of which extensive use is made) in which the increase in enterprise profits is paralleled by an increase in delinquent indebtedness to partners and banks.

While showing an increase in income in some reports as a result of such operations, the current method shows a corresponding increase in losses for others, mainly banks. Furthermore, the distribution and "use" of artificially inflated profits increases the emissions pressure on the bank. Our estimates show that about 12 to 15 percent of enterprise profits as shown in the balance sheets are the result of an unsubstantiated balancing of outlays and the results of economic activities.

A conversion to a realistic computation of the cost accounting incomes of enterprises and associations is needed, taking into consideration all factual outlays rather than the current ones reflected in production costs. Otherwise, we would be enjoying more income than we have generated, i.e., consistently violating the planned balance between physical and monetary resources.

It would be equally expedient to change the procedure and periods for making some mandatory payments to the budget from enterprise profits. The point is that payment deadlines are the same for all industrial enterprises. On the 10th, 20th and 28th of every month they make payments to the budget from their profits in fixed planned amounts and specifically for the month in question. However, a factory producing knitted goods, with short manufacturing and sales cycles, is one thing, while a shipbuilding, automobile production or machine-building plant, which may have a cycle of activities of a month or even several months (for industry at large, the cycle averages more than two months), is another. Therefore, a number of enterprises, operating normally, must make their payments before they have generated and deposited in their bank accounts a sufficient volume of profits. This means that they are making advance payments to the budget. If the goods purchased by the enterprise are delivered to the customer precisely in accordance with contracts, this procedure would entail "merely" so-called temporary, but unjustified, financial difficulties for the supplier. If the customer refuses acceptance of and payment for the goods, whatever the reason, another unpleasant situation develops: there neither are nor will there be any profits, while withholdings from profits have already been paid out as budget revenue. Let us add to this that there has been a steady increase in the number of refusals by customers to pay for deliveries because of violations of contractual or technical stipulations.

One of two things occurs when the enterprises make consistent advance payments: either they have a greater amount of cash than they need to meet all current expenditures, while the "surplus" funds weaken the regimen of economy and lead to irresponsibility, or after settling their accounts with the budget, they are left without adequate funds for their economic requirements (payments for supplies, repayment of bank loans, and so on), and begin to seek help. The result is the same--the desire and the factual opportunity to live "beyond their means." Therefore it is important to differentiate the procedures for budget payments from enterprise and association profits by economic sector, depending on the work characteristics of the sector and the duration of the economic cycle.

Another alternative would be to settle accounts with the state budget on the basis of the factual financial results of the collective's activities. Such results are reflected, as in a mirror, in the annual and monthly balance sheets. In this case there could not even be any question of threatening budget interests, since the procedure for and size of the deposits are planned by the financial organs. Such interests are particularly well safeguarded by the normative-share distribution of profits based on the

degree on improving the economic mechanism. Kolkhoses, consumer cooperative enterprises and public organizations make payments to the budget based on balance sheets. This could be implemented successfully in other sectors.

The time has come to improve the procedure governing the payment of the turnover tax. The wholesale commercial base and enterprises which owe turnover tax pay the necessary amounts to the budget regardless of the actual sales of goods to the consumers. For example, if a store sells the shoes or fabrics it has in stock, the financial situation, in the final analysis, is normal. If the items remain unsold and gather dust on the shelves, the turnover tax paid to the budget comes not from accumulations but from funds allocated for planned expenditures--from working capital. This means another request to the bank and another improper increase in the funds in economic circulation.

Let us emphasize that this procedure for payments to the budget was effective in the prewar and the initial postwar years, when customers were willing to buy and pay for anything produced. At that time, a delivery always meant a sale. Today the situation is different and tomorrow it will be substantially different. More and more people will become "fastidious," which is normal. This precisely is why the current procedure must be changed.

The problem can be resolved by basing the payment of the turnover tax on the earnings of retail trade enterprises. On a transitional basis the trade network could be given deadlines for marketing commodities subject to turnover tax. If such commodities fail to be sold within the deadline, the amount paid as turnover tax should be refunded: if there are no accumulations, there should be no payments from accumulations. Such a procedure would increase the interest of manufacturing and trading enterprises and financial organs in planning the production of precisely those commodities which are in demand. This would threaten neither the budget interests nor the enterprises. It would only increase their reciprocal responsibility for the quality of the work and for end production results.

The struggle to upgrade public production effectiveness requires the elimination of artificial reductions of reciprocal indebtedness in the economy. This indebtedness, however, is increasing quite rapidly: for example, it nearly doubled between 1970 and 1978. By increasing their reciprocal indebtedness, the enterprises create additional financial resources for themselves, thus increasing the amount of money in circulation. The problem is not resolved by the extensive bank loans regularly granted at the end of the year to enterprises in debt, including those with poor credit, since the burden of such indebtedness is shifted to the bank. By this method the financial "ailments" of poorly managed enterprises are concealed, making an objective assessment of the overall results of their economic activities impossible. This in turn weakens the cost accounting responsibility of their collectives for the rational utilization of such credits and their own financial resources.

The procedure of granting short-term guaranteed loans to enterprises would contribute to the solution of the problem. This would create an atmosphere of acute financial responsibility on the part of the borrowers and would limit their demands for loans as a result of effective economic decisions. The other parties to the transaction must be held equally responsible for the accurate and precise implementation of contractual obligations. Delinquent payments should affect the material incentive of the collective as tangibly as failure to deliver or meet one contractual obligation or another. It is only under such circumstances that the nonplanned development of additional financing sources by the enterprises, such as operations involving increased indebtedness, can be eliminated.

The reciprocal material liability of associations, enterprises and cost accounting organizations must be intensified. The point is that only rarely does the violation of contractual obligations result in direct compensation for the damage caused. But noncompensated damage, financially speaking, represents funds withheld improperly from the victim to the benefit of the culprit. Thus the enterprise which violates contractual obligations finds itself, in fact, in a better situation than the victimized party. Furthermore, naturally, under such circumstances the latter must submit another demand for financial resources, as it must be compensated for the damage in one way or another.

It would be expedient to increase penalties to the full amount of the loss suffered. The direct physical liability of the supplier, contractor, transporter, or payor, based on economic obligations, is an important element in the financial mechanism, the discipline potential of which is underutilized. Financial moratoriums weaken the cost-accounting incentives for efficient economic management.

The task of improving the economic mechanism requires a clear definition and demarcation of financial functions among management organs. It is difficult today to say who precisely, or what organ, is responsible for the planned coordination and maintenance of material and monetary indicators and who has the authority required. Responsibility has been dispersed among a number of departments and no one can be held accountable. Further work must be done in this area to improve management.

The experience of recent decades indicates that one condition for the effective implementation of both aspects of democratic centralism in national economic management is insuring the planned balancing of physical and monetary resources. If the factual reproduction cycle is properly reflected through the dynamics of monetary circulation, a solid foundation for strengthening the centralized planned principle is created. The disciplining impact of planned assignments on the work of enterprises, associations and sectors is increased, while at the same time the economic autonomy of cost-accounting units is strengthened in the resolution of current production problems. What is essential is that such autonomy not only does not clash with general economic interests but is, on the contrary, designed to fund reserves for upgrading end economic results.

Also important is the fact that balancing is not only a prerequisite for high national economic effectiveness and work quality, but it also provides scope for the coordinated functioning of all elements within the economic mechanism: the planned assignments of collectives in terms of volume, economic norms and incentives. It also insures the rational organization of the work of economic management organs, freeing them from the petty supervision of enterprises and directing their efforts toward the resolution of long-term problems in the development of production and economic relations.

5003

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IMPORTANT EFFICIENCY RESERVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 50-60

[Article by A. Kaltakhchyan, candidate of technical sciences]

[Text] The problem of upgrading the effectiveness of loading-transport, loading and unloading, and warehousing operations plays a particular role among the major national economic problems. Forming the most important infrastructural area of the economy, such operations are an inseparable part of any production process as well, largely determining technical progress in all economic sectors. Tremendous as yet unused reserves are to be found here along with the necessary prerequisites for the total elimination of unskilled and heavy manual labor. In his November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum speech, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out the need for accelerated mechanization of loading and unloading operations.

Upgrading effectiveness in a given area means a substantial improvement in the condition of the entire economy and the resolution of significant socio-economic problems related to manpower resources, the release of millions of people for more complex types of work, the raising of the cultural and technical standards of the working people and the broadening of the potential for the development and rational application of their creative capabilities. In this connection, there is a need in economic construction practice to resolve a number of economic, organizational and technical problems during the 11th Five-Year Plan, problems which are of great importance in insuring the uninterrupted functioning of the entire national economic complex and the further enhancement of public production effectiveness.

I

The rapid development of the national economy involves an ever greater volume of freight processing. For example, the volume of loading-unloading and lifting-transport operations at industrial and construction enterprises alone totaled 31.2 billion tons in 1978.

The Communist Party ascribes great importance to the mechanization of heavy, labor-intensive and underproductive work. This has also been reflected in the USSR Constitution. The July 1979 CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" places the program for reducing manual labor among the priority target programs for economic development.

In accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the subsequent party Central Committee plenums, a certain amount of work has been done recently to upgrade the effectiveness of freight handling. A successful conversion from the use of individual types of lifting-transport equipment to the introduction of highly productive machine systems and automated reloading complexes is taking place. Basically new machine systems for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of loading and unloading operations involving cement, chemical fertilizers, coal and grain are being created. Organizational measures to create a standardized containerized transportation system within the country and to centralize the designing and manufacturing of some types of lifting-transport equipment are being adopted. The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Gossnab and a number of ministries have set up scientific and methodical councils concerned with the mechanization of loading and unloading operations.

However, the work level of this economic sector still lags behind national economic requirements. Whereas the criterion of socioeconomic effectiveness remains the main feature in assessing the quality of operations in lifting-transport work, we should note that the necessary social effect has not yet been achieved countrywide despite the economic results obtained by some enterprises: the pace at which workers are being released from this work is still too slow, although this is an important source for supplying other sectors with manpower resources. Furthermore, the number of workers employed in this area is still increasing. On the social level, this undesirable process is triggering a number of contradictions. While insuring the highest public production employment in the world, Soviet society today has virtually no manpower available. It is mainly for this reason that the mechanization process in this area will have to be accelerated in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Meanwhile, lifting-transport loading-unloading and warehousing operations remain labor intensive, unappealing, expensive and underproductive. This is increasing the cost of the end product in a number of sectors.

The urgent task of insuring the comprehensive enhancement of the socioeconomic standard in this economic area is being given ever more adamant priority. In our view, its low effectiveness is explained not only by shortcomings in specific subdivisions but also by the general governmental approach to its development and the fact that a concept of optimum functioning and development of the infrastructure was not formulated soon enough and no standardized scientific-technical, design, and information base was created. These precisely were the reasons which, in our view, led to the uncoordinated

technical policy in this area and the manifestation of a departmental approach; to the lack of coordination in designing, manufacturing, and utilizing basic productive capital; to the use of obsolete technology; to the inefficient structure of fleets of lifting-transport machinery and hauling facilities; and to the unsatisfactory organization of this economic area as a whole.

Thousands of production and hundreds of scientific design organizations engaged in extensive efforts to mechanize lifting operations are forced to resolve a number of similar and even identical problems on a parallel basis, and they occasionally find that no one is specifically involved in the solution of the very important and basic general problems in the development of this area. Understandably, the measures they develop are frequently organically unrelated to the general governmental planning system. They are based on different methodical and technological foundations and have no relation in terms of deadlines to the system of technical and economic indicators. Furthermore, major problems are being worked on by small scientific-design teams. Consequently, the work on a system of mechanization for machine models takes a number of years, and the national economy is frequently supplied with equipment which is already morally obsolete. The structural variety of the machines used and the fact that they are manufactured by 400 different plants under more than 40 different ministries and departments hinders the organization of their comprehensive series manufacture and standardization. The result is additional outlays and difficulties in the use and repair of the equipment. For example, the 59 newly developed models of lifting equipment have a total of 68,000 parts, 60 percent of which are not standardized.

The production of lifting machinery increased somewhat during the 10th Five-Year Plan. However, the requirements of the national economy demand a far greater increase in the volume of output and improved reliability and quality. All in all, progressive technical facilities still account for an insignificant percentage of the overall output volume. This is why, for example, containerizing and packaging are only used for a small percentage of the possible freight volume of freight even today, while the level of mechanization in loading and unloading operations handling packaged goods will not exceed 15 to 20 percent. All in all, the capital-labor ratio is currently lower in lifting and transport operations than in other economic sectors. The methods for assessing the level of mechanization of freight handling work in the national economy and the planning, accountability and bookkeeping systems are equally inadequate.

Justifiably complaining from lifting-transport work shortcomings, ministries and departments themselves create a number of difficulties in this area which, incidentally, is reflected in the work of their enterprises by forcing institutes under their jurisdiction to work on improving obsolete equipment and technologies. Occasionally changing the assignments of their plants for no reason, they break off delivery relationships which it has taken related enterprises years to organize. Their search for the optimal variants of intra- and intereconomic relations is insufficiently thorough and skillful. Funds are wasted on the construction of new production capacity even though machine tools can be operated on a one-shift basis only because of manpower shortages in the functioning enterprise.

Lifting-transport operations are carried out on the basis of charts of freight flows in the country which are drafted separately by different departments. For this reason freight is reloaded repeatedly and subjected to long and cross run hauling. Before reaching its destination, each ton of freight must be reloaded between five and ten times. This represents hundreds of millions of tons of useless handling effort in the course of which, furthermore, huge amounts of goods either perish or are damaged. For the same reason the national economy requires several times as much lifting and transport machinery, freight cars, warehouses and manpower as it should need.

The effectiveness with which this economic sector operates is also considerably limited by the use, at thousands of reloading facilities, of systems and conditions which are not optimal. They have inadequate dimensions, technology and technical equipment and, frequently, reciprocal technological incompatibility. Because of this incompatibility, enterprises are frequently forced to unload arriving freight cars manually, since the equipment available to them is unsuitable. Currently, individual systems for the reciprocal "coupling" of technological facilities by limited groups of freight areas are being developed to eliminate such lack of coordination. However, the results of such work are only relative, for this is not the way to reorganize the whole of the very complex system of economic relations in the country.

Therefore, a number of operational costs in the lifting and transport operations sector can be explained by the insufficient utilization of scientific and technical advances, the weak centralized management of its development, the lack of close cooperation among units engaged in designing, manufacturing and using the equipment, and the deconcentration of capital investments. It becomes clear that the problems in this area cannot be successfully resolved with the current methods. It would seem expedient, if the optimum functioning of this economic sector is to be insured, to improve the very foundations of its scientific and technical, production and organizational development in a basic way and to convert to the implementation of a unified technical policy.

II

In the lifting-transport operations sectors, freight is exchanged among all sectors, so that it should involve a single, unified and comprehensive system engaged in conducting technological operations involving freight. As an integrated national economic sector, it must be developed on the basis of an integrated technical policy. Such a policy cannot be limited to coordinating the development of individual types of technology. Today we need not individual and different machine systems but the best possible combination of them, with a simultaneous reduction in the number of models of basic productive capital. It is particularly important to take this situation into consideration because of the excessive development of various types of narrowly specialized equipment. Upgrading the effectiveness of freight handling does not depend exclusively on increasing the production of lifting-transport machines or machine systems. A technical policy can become truly

unified and effective if we plan the functioning of the lifting and transport operations sector on the basis of an interrelated systemic planning, creation, location and utilization of reloading equipment, freight cars, trucks, freight airplanes, ships and warehouse complexes.

Unlike the situation prevailing in the capitalist countries, where because of private ownership the use of scientific and technical advances is possible only within the limits of individual production units, where automation merely increases unemployment and where, with a view to earning higher profits, manual labor is sometimes even deliberately retained in individual production facilities, the advantages offered by socialism insure a steady increase in the prosperity and all-round development of all members of society and the truly comprehensive mechanization and automation of output. Therefore, the formulation of technical policy in our country can be focused on optimizing the entire structure of fleets of loading-unloading and other equipment, and on the development of a unified nationwide network of complexes in charge of processing all basic types of freight.

In order to insure real socioeconomic effectiveness for this sector, it is particularly important to adopt a system of selecting and applying progressive and energy-conserving technology. Effective mechanization systems may include those using packaging, containerization and other progressive forms of hauling; automated reloading systems of the shelving or silo type, the loading of ore and other bulk freight "on the run," while the stock is on the move, and more advanced hauling facilities--freight cars with removable sides or roofs, dump cars, hoppers, cement tanker trucks, specialized cars for hauling slabs, metal coils and metallized pellets, special automotive vehicles and, in maritime transportation, ships of the "roll on-roll off" type, lighters, and modern lifting-hauling machinery. Other promising technological systems are being developed as well. What is needed is not uncoordinated use of such systems, but the skillful development and utilization of a set of technological facilities which would insure the most effective functioning of the sector as an integrated system. Optimizing the technological structure of this sector is one of the most important aspects of upgrading the effectiveness of freight handling. This must be done not on a parallel basis by tens of thousands of officials, who frequently fail to understand the nature of the isolated problems they encounter in the mechanization of lifting and transport operations in their departments, areas or subordinate plants, but on a centralized and permanent basis.

There is little point in using mechanization systems which lead to technological incompatibilities within the network of reloading facilities, fail to insure the effective work of this sector as a whole, and are, furthermore, unacceptable from the ecological viewpoint.

The use of progressive technological processes for loading and unloading operations, based on the use of uninterrupted transport processes, with continuous loading and unloading, conveyor belts, monorail systems, and hauling tractors with automated direction and programmed controls could produce

substantial socioeconomic results in the various types of transport facilities, industrial enterprises and, in particular, in plants engaged in series, large series and mass production. Substantial technological progress could be achieved at enterprises under the ministries of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, machine building, and machine tool and tool building industry, particularly in procurement, machine, assembly, casting, and forge and die shops, through the application of vacuum equipment, air and magnetic cushions, various systems of coupled, piped, or compressed air-containerized haulage, conveyors operating on aerostatic supports, and industrial manipulators and robots.

The use of automated systems for the processing of coal and ore concentrates at the Avdeyevka Coking Chemical, and Zhdanov and Cherepovets metallurgical plants and the Ust'-Donetsk port led to considerable improvements in the work of the transport shops at these enterprises. The use of monorail tracks with centrally controlled electric trucks at the industrial enterprises saves 350,000 rubles per year.

In a number of sectors it would be economically expedient to use specialized transport vehicles for industrial haulage and, in many cases, continuous lifting and transport systems instead of rail and truck haulage. A study indicates that the cost of freight handling is reduced by a factor of 6-8 by converting the basic intra-plant haulage of materials, goods, and semifinished items to conveyor-belt systems.

Other important trends in production development include increasing the efficiency of the reciprocal location of lifting-transport machines and intra-shop equipment, closer coordination of technological processes in plant shops, and optimal choice of related enterprises.

The application of highly productive lifting-transport systems for the development of a unified technology for comprehensively mechanized and automated freight-handling processes along the entire route--entering the plant, intra-operational and intramachining shifts within and among shops, and hauling finished goods--should be considered a necessary prerequisite in pursuing the main orientation in upgrading national economic effectiveness related to the development of automated lines and automated shops and plants. A system controlling all intra-plant material flows on a centralized basis should be mandatory in any automated control system (ASU) at an enterprise. We must see to it that the technology of lifting-transport operations and material production sectors is not subjected to reciprocal adaptation but forms an organically unified production process based on the comprehensive integration of the best features.

From the methodological viewpoint it is important to make reloading complexes, warehouses, or loading berths technologically compatible with each other in all economic sectors. Instead of individual systems for coordinating technology handling limited amounts of freight, it would obviously be expedient to have for each homogeneous freight group an overall "general" system which would reciprocally combine the technologies of reloading

facilities. Such systems are one of the main prerequisites for upgrading the effectiveness of freight processing and they will contribute to the development of a qualitatively higher form of scientifically organizing output on a national economic scale.

This economic area as a whole must become a complex, dynamic system comprising several subsystems, each of which relates to the handling of a homogeneous group of freight in accordance with one of the specified "general" transport technological systems. The sum total of such "general" systems, predetermined by the optimal line of socioeconomic development for lifting and transportation operations, forms the basis for the formulation of the standardized technical policy. Using a computer and national economic models of this economic area to examine the various possible alternatives for technical equipment, we can determine precisely which system will enable it to function most harmoniously and economically. On this basis we can determine the optimal structure for basic productive capital, the volume required and its deployment within the national economy.

In order to upgrade the effectiveness of this economic sector we must formulate the criteria for its optimal functioning and development and insure the proper coordination of the local problems in production-technological subsystems used in handling the various types of freight with the overall objectives of this area and the country's economy. The minimal overall labor outlays needed to insure the optimal functioning and development of the lifting-transport operations sector as a whole should be adopted as a criterion of economic effectiveness, bearing in mind the limitations in manpower, monetary and material resources, determined on the basis of models of the dynamic intersectorial balance and comparison and commensurability not only of the economic but the social results as well. Conversion to the planning of a new system of indicators (technical, economic and social) which would comprehensively reflect the overall functioning and development of this economic sector is equally important.

In drafting long-term programs for the country's socioeconomic development, we must see to it that the methodology used in national economic modeling takes into consideration the influence of the laws of optimal dynamic development and the many-sided relations, place and role of the lifting-transport operations sector. The criteria and indicators of social production effectiveness must comprehensively take into consideration the overall impact the level and quality of the factual satisfaction of the requirements of society for freight operations have on economic processes, considered on a long-term basis.

If these principles are used to shape an integral technical policy, it will be possible in this sector too to combine scientific and technical progress with the advantages of the socialist economic management system organically, to determine the necessary basic quality changes to be made in all the elements of productive capital comprehensively, to use expanded reproduction factors effectively, to determine the volume of investment demand scientifically, and to improve the overall technical and economic indicators of

this economic sector on a planned and effective basis. One of the main advantages of developed socialism--the existence of an integrated national economic organism--provides a great potential for achieving this.

III

It would be expedient to upgrade the effectiveness of this economic area simultaneously in several interrelated directions. In our view, we should begin with the drafting of a comprehensive long-term development program, oriented toward high and national economic results and optimal social effectiveness. We are currently faced with the urgent need for radically improving control of the operations in the lifting-transport area and the developing of its product potential.

It would be expedient to abandon fragmented efforts in favor of organizing a concentrated and broad front leading to the development of progressive technology on the basis of uniform methodical principles, combining the efforts of scientific design organizations working separately, converting to systematically automated design and undertaking the development of progressive technology and corresponding technical facilities. These should be created within a short time and must be of high quality, economical and suitable for mass utilization.

The creation of a system of centralized and automated design and a shift to labor-intensive machine processes in such drafting would make it possible to design such equipment two or three times as rapidly while reducing outlays by 50 to 80 percent and multiplying the labor productivity of the army of thousands of designers working on the mechanization of lifting-transport operations by 10 or even 100. In order to develop a unified scientific design and method base we must reorganize the work of information services and set up an automated control system in the lifting-transport operations sector with a single nationwide information storage bank dealing with the problems in this economic sector. This would enable us to encompass the entire system of production relations in the country fully and engage in technical retooling on a scientific basis.

At the same time, systematic work must be done to reduce the economic requirements for lifting-transport machines, hauling facilities, warehouses and labor resources through the centralized and more thorough formulation of a freight flow system in the country, itineraries for the flows of raw materials, semi-finished goods, complementing items and materials reaching the enterprises, maximal reduction in the number of freight transfers, use of more effective and highly productive mechanization facilities, and improvement in the territorial division of labor. This will considerably reduce energy outlays as well and will contribute to the all-round integration of public production and to insuring its great effectiveness.

In the course of the new five-year plan we must also insure the centralized manufacturing and efficient coordination of the comprehensive production of progressive equipment. To this end, the installed capacity for the creation of basic productive capital for this economic sector must be increased by a factor of 2.5. The technical standard must be raised to the level of contemporary requirements.

The completed equipment should be allocated in accordance with a comprehensive program for the development of the entire sector rather than collecting requests submitted by ministries and subsequently making simple deliveries to random requestors. This method leads to the technological incompatibility of reloading systems. This is why even a quantitative increase in the production of lifting-transport machinery and the saturation of the production process with equipment does not sufficiently increase the operational effectiveness of this economic sector. If there are not enough technical facilities, it would be expedient to concentrate them within relatively complete economic complexes such as, for example, fuel, energy, metallurgy, or the agroindustry. Because of their internal interaction and unified production activity, these complexes have developed organized closed freight hauling systems. On the whole, it would be sensible to increase technical availability in the sector along one of the two following basic directions: first of all, by systematically providing technical equipment to the integrated main network of bases, warehouses, freight areas and docks, while insuring their technological compatibility; second, supplying technical equipment for inter-shop and intra-shop transport-reloading operations at industrial enterprises. During the 11th Five-Year Plan it would be expedient to convert from the local mechanization of lifting-transport operations in shops, individual sectors and warehouses in the various economic sectors to the creation of an integrated comprehensive-automated transport-warehousing service which would encompass the entire production process at each plant.

Along with systematic efforts to optimize the availability of technical facilities in this economic sector, we must insure the more rational utilization of the fleets of loading and unloading machines and other equipment available by improving the planning of their work and the interaction among different transportation facilities. In this connection, it is also important to establish a system governing the legal relations between shippers and receivers, and among the transport-shipping and commercial services of the various transport systems, and to increase liability for freight delivery delays.

The methods used to mechanize lifting-transport operations by the individual sectors have a number of common features: identical types of technological processes and similar systems for the organization of reloading operations at plants of a different nature. Bearing in mind that the sectors are interdependent, all of this means the ministries must make a special, more extensive systematic effort to improve the efficiency of the shapes and parameters of industrial goods and to establish optimal intereconomic relations between enterprises and related plants and main transport systems in order to reduce freight handling difficulties.

In accordance with the revolutionary changes occurring in labor technology and content and the need to insure more effective utilization of material and manpower resources and better coordination of people and equipment, the development of the various technical facilities should be coordinated with the planned training of cadres for this economic sector and the development of their production-technical skills. For example, there is virtually no specialist training in the comprehensive mechanization and automation of loading and unloading work today. The scientific organization of the work of millions of workers in this economic area requires a new scale and content. The social direction of scientific and technical progress under socialism should serve to upgrade the appeal and future prospects of this work. This will have a positive impact on the social conditions in labor activities and will improve the content of working and leisure time.

In order to enhance the socioeconomic effectiveness of lifting-transport work, it is vitally necessary that all the units in charge of research, development, manufacturing, and utilization of fixed capital be combined within a single entity. A study indicates that all the necessary prerequisites exist for shaping and developing an integral nationwide "science-technology-production" complex during the 11th Five-Year Plan, oriented toward high end results and based on coordinated planning and material-financial support of scientific, technical and production units. The organization of such a complex would provide a greater socioeconomic potential and would provide an objective prerequisite for the further growth of our country's economy. This could be achieved through the existing scientific-design and production organizations structured as a special all-union scientific production association. An all-union scientific research and design institute for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of loading-unloading and lifting-transport and warehousing operations could be set up as an important unit within the association by reducing the number of small scientific design institutions and involving specialists from the corresponding departments of sectorial institutes. The reorganization required will not call for additional outlays but will be a natural process consistent with the needs which have matured. Returns on the scientific-production potential in this economic area would increase as a result of focusing efforts on solution of the main problems. It is important that the scientific design organizations developing transportation facilities come under the jurisdiction of such an association with regard to mechanizing loading and unloading operations. Bearing in mind the need for effective control of the processes in developing the area of lifting and transport operations, servicing over 300 national economic sectors, functional measures which require efforts by virtually all the ministries must be implemented. Intersectorial problems must be resolved and the factors in economic integration among the members of the socialist comity must be more extensively utilized. It would be expedient if such an association were under the jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Naturally, this is only one of a number of possible organizational solutions and it does not in any way preclude a search for other and perhaps more promising alternatives.

The establishment of a centralized organ in charge of developing the area of lifting-transport operations would basically enable us to develop and optimally organize an essentially new economic mechanism in this sector, to accelerate production concentration and specialization and labor cooperation, and to insure planning unity and the comprehensive management of scientific and technical progress. It would improve material and technical supply to industry, intensify the processes of converting science into a direct productive force, and lead to a higher socioeconomic level of systematic development of this economic area, based on the criterion of the supreme objective of the socialist production process. Meeting these needs becomes particularly important at the present stage in the forward movement of Soviet society toward communism, which, as V. I. Lenin wrote, "demands and presumes the greatest possible centralization of large-scale production throughout the country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 392).

Such an association could perform coordination functions and formulate and implement a unified technical policy. It could draft major scientific and technical and production decisions, organize the interrelated and automated designing and experimental manufacturing of the rational combination of machine systems, and draft programs for their proper utilization by the national economy. In order to centralize the solution of basic problems in the development of this economic sector, the highest level of this association could include departments for the gathering and analysis of technical and economic data, the formulation of rational systems for controlling freight flows in the country, the development of technology for lifting-transport operations and progressive systems of basic productive capital, the optimal organization of the loading-unloading and transport-warehousing operations in the national economy, the organization of systematic delivery of technical supplies, the development of "general" transport-technological systems, the optimizing of the structure and reproduction of productive capital and correlated planning, the development of transport-warehousing systems for industrial enterprises, the operation and repair of technical facilities, scientific and technical forecasting, the coordination of the comprehensive manufacturing of equipment and carrying out specialized construction-installation projects, as well as departments in charge of comprehensive mechanization and automation of extensive lifting-transport operations in agriculture and trade, and many others. The association would be responsible for implementing the entire complex of tasks related to the development of this sector and for the level of its socioeconomic effectiveness and technical policy, coordinated with the nationwide program for the development of the Soviet economy.

Taking into consideration the increased complexity of socialist production relations, a drastic upgrading of the effectiveness of lifting-transport operations could be made one of the national economic and socioeconomic tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan. If this is done it will be important to insure maximal satisfaction of the needs of the national economy for high-quality, prompt execution of loading-unloading, lifting-transport, warehousing and other operations involving freight handling and to make this

area a highly effective integrated economic sector, totally removing from it unskilled, underskilled or heavy manual labor. The solution of these and related problems would be yet another step toward the supreme objective of the socialist production process: insuring the "full prosperity and free and comprehensive development of all members of society" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. Soch.," Vol 6, p 232).

The present stage is characterized by a certain inconsistency between the high level of the development of output, the intensified processes of expanding intrasectorial and intersectorial procurements of raw and other materials, semifinished goods and complementing items, and the increased complexity of economic relations, on the one hand, and the low efficiency level in freight operations, on the other. A substantial improvement in the work in this economic area, which has a tremendous potential for upgrading the effectiveness of public production and accelerating the growth of our country's economic potential, would contribute to laying the material and technical foundations for communism and the further advance of the socialist society.

5003

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CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNIST UPBRINGING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 61-70

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor A. Kharchev]

[Text] The building of a developed socialist society in the USSR, the tremendous growth in the material and spiritual potential of the country, and the successes achieved in the struggle for peace and the freedom and independence of the peoples, as the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" emphasized, have created a vast potential for the implementation of the programmatic objectives of our party in the area of molding the communist awareness of the people: raising all working people in the spirit of high idea-mindedness and loyalty to the socialist homeland, the cause of communism, and a communist attitude toward labor and public property; total elimination of the vestiges of bourgeois views and mores; the all-round and harmonious development of the individual; and the creation of a true wealth of spiritual culture.

Never before has educational-ideological work been so broad or has it sought to achieve such extensive results. At the present time it is a question not simply of the Marxist-Leninist education of the working people, of helping them to understand their obligations and their rights and to observe the principles of the socialist way of life, but of profoundly mastering the entire range of socialist spiritual values, developing a communist idea-mindedness as a blend of knowledge, convictions and practical actions, and the development in every Soviet person of an active life stance in which unity of words and deeds becomes a norm of daily behavior. The party organizations must resolve these problems under the conditions of an aggravating ideological struggle in the international arena and the existence in the country of a number of economic difficulties not yet overcome, and complex and occasionally conflicting social trends triggered by the scientific and technical revolution and by the processes of population urbanization and mass migration. Therefore, the contemporary approach to perfecting the communist upbringing must be characterized not only by a consideration of the new features developing in the methods of educational and ideological work but by maximal effectiveness in the utilization of objective factors which influence

the establishment and development of the individual, a careful attitude toward the positive experience we have acquired, and the ability to look critically at the omissions and shortcomings which, unfortunately, are still to be found in this area.

Under developed socialist conditions the rise of the educational and cultural standards of the people's masses, improved economic-organizational activity by administrative-management organs, and the steady enhancement of the prestige and role of the party in all areas of our life contribute comprehensively to successful educational work. One of the main conditions for improving this work is found in the systematic implementation of the principle of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, and the discovery of the maximal potential of the socialist system in the interests of its comprehensive progress.

Emphasizing that idea-mindedness presumes profound knowledge without being limited to that alone, the party calls attention to the need for surmounting the well-established but obsolete view that the molding of a socialist personality means the purely intellectual absorption of scientific, political and moral information. Reality has shown that one can be highly educated and have a proper ideological orientation without, however, following through in one's practical behavior. In other words, the knowledge of how to behave in one specific situation or another can either be expressed in practical action, can be ignored by an individual (if it conflicts with his personal selfish interests), or else can be used for purposes of purely external adaptation or concealment of an antisocial action beneath a socially accepted one. V. I. Lenin pointed out that "the upbringing of the communist youth must not consist only of presenting all sorts of pleasing speeches and moral codes" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 313). He demanded that mastery of the foundations of knowledge become an incentive for independent creative mental work, contributing to the ability of the person to formulate communist views and, above all, to gain strength and enrichment from practical experience.

As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, knowledge is linked with action by conviction. The molding of convictions is one of the higher and more difficult objectives of educational work. It means the development of not only the intellectual but also the emotional potential of the individual, the enrichment of the mind and feelings, and above all, the acquisition of qualities such as loyalty to the ideals of communism, inflexible belief in its historical justice, principle-mindedness, courage, honesty, responsibility, truthfulness, class and national pride, patriotism and internationalism, collectivism, personal dignity and nobility of the soul. Without a strong "emotional bridge" for the transition from knowledge to action, particularly under circumstances demanding that a person sacrifice his individual advantages and interests and engage in self-sacrifice, this would be an exceptionally difficult or in some cases entirely impossible step.

The task of shaping convictions is also becoming topical because human awareness today must deal with an "information field" characterized by inordinate stress. Information comes to man both from objective reality, the facts and events of which are always reflected in his mind, and from a variety of other sources and already processed, classified information designed to have a specific ideological impact (radio, television, the press, literature, art, rumors and so on). As technology develops, the supply of information broadens not only in range, but also in terms of its uses for the ideological manipulation of the human mind. Since the development of communications satellites, in particular, the entire earth is within range of transmissions of a wide variety of political trends, including those openly hostile to socialism. Under such circumstances, the development of a kind of immunity to anti-Marxist ideology, starting with the earliest possible period in the development of the individual, along with an ability to assess the information entering the mechanisms of the mind and the memory critically and at the same time to see the realities around us, the true nature of and trends in information, looking beyond the kaleidoscope of sometimes conflicting or random phenomena, is becoming increasingly important.

Thus the overall purpose of educational work is to enable every person to master socialist culture in its wide variety of forms (ranging from conceptual-political to the culture of feelings) and manifestations (ranging from theoretical to practical action). In this connection the view expressed in our publications to the effect that socialist culture can be divided into internal and external aspects is hardly justified, whether logically or methodologically. We can judge a person only by his actions. This classical view means that if the behavior of an individual "looks bad," his flaws are the result not of any kind of cultural division but of a superficial cultural mastery or cultural gaps. In both cases meeting the social (including esthetic) requirements can be artificially imitated in a kind of cultural forgery. Obviously, however, their classification as part of socialist culture (even though "external") is totally baseless.

We know that under developed socialist conditions there remain differences among the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. However, the party is now in the process of seeing to it that all workers and peasants become "intellectuals in the broadest meaning of the term, fully using their creative capabilities and actively participating in the spiritual life of the entire...society" (L. I. Brezhnev). Intellectualism does not mean the affiliation of a person with a social group but is an indicator rallying members of all social groups, promoting their steady unification on the basis of the profound creative mastery of the values of progressive domestic and world culture in the areas of labor, life and communications, and the development and application of individual gifts and capabilities for the good of society. Real intellect is always active. It is manifested most fully and vividly in the active life stance of the builder of communism, in his exigency with regard to himself and his responsibility for assignments, and in his high civic-mindedness.

The spiritual potential of the individual is formed, developed and realized primarily through practical activities, through direct communications within the family initially, and subsequently in school and labor collectives, in so-called "small groups" (i.e., communities within which direct contacts are possible). An individual's self-improvement efforts, the process of self-education, and the real (rather than the abstract-platonic, as sometimes happens) struggle against the vestiges of the past and the opposites of communist morality are an important aspect of this activity. This is why the party considers upgrading the interest of the individual in collective affairs and his participation in production management and in various areas of social activity, ranging from work in an elected position to acting as a tutor, agitator or unit leader, as a means for resolving not only production-social but also ideological-educational problems.

Daily organic ties with production and social practice upgrade both the information-cognitive and emotional results of educational work, whereas as Comrade M. A. Suslov has said, a superficial educational system "which considers only the number of measures implemented," can only compromise this work ("Delo Vsey Partii. Materialy Vsesoyuznogo Soveshchaniya Ideologicheskikh Rabotnikov. Moskva, 16-17 Oktyabrya 1979 Goda" [An All-Party Cause. Materials of the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers. Moscow, 16-17 October 1979]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, p 45).

Even though this system has been exposed and condemned, its elimination involves substantial difficulties, due to the fact that the proper party approach to education requires abandoning the customary criteria for assessing its effectiveness (based on the quantity and "mass-nature" of measures), requiring the more thorough and, therefore, more difficult theoretical and sociopsychological training of the personnel on the ideological front as well as foremen, shop chiefs, and other production managers and, finally, the type of unity of word and deed which the 25th party congress made such an impassioned appeal for.

The principle of unity of words and actions has two main aspects: first, the contemporary specialist, whatever his area of work, whether in industry or education, must organically blend party-mindedness with profound competence and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the work within himself. He must be responsive to the people, to their needs and requirements, and must serve as a model at work and at home. The second aspect involves the need for a profound, truthful party interpretation of achievements and shortcomings, and a study of the reasons for the shortcomings and ways of eliminating them. The fear of openly submitting topical problems of social life for discussion, which is still encountered, and the trend toward smoothing over and bypassing acute problems and ignoring existing shortcomings and difficulties are incompatible with the tasks undertaken by the party in the field of education. "Such an approach, a tendency toward ostentation," the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" points out, "will not help matters but merely delays the solution of our common problems. Wherever criticism and self-criticism are not honored and wherever there is not enough publicity about public affairs, mass activities suffer direct harm."

The experience acquired by the party proves that the force of ideological conviction and, consequently, the extent of the activity of the working people also depend on the comprehensive nature of the educational process itself and the extent to which it combines the results of each of the trends pursued in educational work, ideological-political, moral and labor upbringing above all.

On the theoretical level the fact that different forms of social awareness and their dependence on labor activities interact was proved by the founders of Marxism themselves. In our day the significance of the moral maturity of a person in terms of developing his political convictions and the influence of political awareness on attitudes toward labor are manifested with particular clarity. In turn, the labor accomplishments of the Soviet people are profoundly affecting not only economic practices but the sociopolitical life of the country, the entire moral atmosphere, as well.

A comprehensive approach insures the all-round integral upbringing of the person and the appearance and development within him of all his capabilities and talents, making it possible to determine with the greatest possible accuracy what is usually described as one's "vocation," which determines successful professional-labor activity and leads to maximal satisfaction from the work.

The socioeconomic requirement that every person assume his specific place within the professional structure has become particularly urgent today. The growth of the subjective, human, personality factor is one of the leading trends in contemporary production, a trend which not only is not diminished, but is on the contrary intensified by automation, because this process substantially affects the human manual labor content, gradually reducing the area of purely mechanical work involving the simplest, most repetitive operations. This makes the role of vocational guidance and selection more important, and priority must be given to the task not only of utilizing the strength and working time of the individual, but also of developing his inherent capabilities creatively and to the highest extent, so that his individual contribution to the common undertaking and the winning of the victory in the historical competition between socialism and capitalism become more substantial (quantitatively and qualitatively). In other words, the problem of defining and developing capabilities, as one of the aspects of educational work, is currently taking on important political significance in addition to its socioeconomic importance.

Sociological studies made at enterprises have also established a stable link between vocational guidance and moral awareness. We know that a person's moral self-assessment, which determines the trend and type of individual behavior to a considerable extent, depends largely on the assessment of labor activities around him, i.e., on the ability to carry out an assignment with maximal effectiveness. The greater the consistency between the requirements of the profession and the individual qualities of the workers, the greater his satisfaction with the work, confidence in his abilities, and organic ties

between the work and the self-assertion of the personality will be, and the more his aspiration to grow professionally and culturally and to perfect and educate himself will strengthen. If a person feels that he is in the wrong place, common interests suffer in addition to the individual moral harm done.

The desire to correct this evil may take many shapes. Some people simply change jobs. Cadre turnover is a scourge of the production process, and attempts to reduce it through material incentives have their limits: they are a palliative which may render a disservice to those with unstable moral awareness. Others, reconciling themselves, seek "release" outside their socially useful activities, regarding their work as a purely external obligation, which is performed indifferently, formally and without initiative. Still others turn to unworthy methods to benefit from the successes of others, exerting tremendous energy to win a certain position enabling them subsequently to claim "co-authorship" and take credit for the results of someone else's labor, obscuring the truly creative workers and supporting "helpful" people to this end.

All such phenomena, which distort the character of people and their inter-relationships, develop wherever exigency of cadres has been reduced and connivance flourishes. Conversely, they are rapidly eliminated in collectives where a healthy and demanding moral and psychological climate prevails. This precisely is why creating and maintaining such an atmosphere and insuring a Leninist style of management in enterprises and establishments are among the most important directions in party-ideological work today.

The development of a comprehensive approach to communist upbringing has plainly evidenced some further trends. The most essential of these is the growing significance of esthetic education, of developing a profound ability to absorb art, the beauty of nature, and work and human relations in the mass of the working people. The higher the esthetic standard of a person and the fuller his awareness of the artistic, moral, and ideological and political content of spiritual values, the more effective the educational and ideological function of these values becomes. In emphasizing the significance of esthetic education, we must also point out that a person with a high esthetic standard not only understands but actively promotes beauty, opposing banality, tastelessness, vulgarity and an individualistic-consumer attitude toward nature and the creations of human toil. Finally, there is great truth in the statement that, along with moral incentives to labor, creative-esthetic incentives, the aspiration of a person to invest his idea of perfection in a commodity and to make his work good, beautiful and of high quality have profound meaning.

The political, moral and esthetic forms of culture, and culture and labor, interact particularly intensively on the emotional-mental level. This means that esthetic upbringing is yet another reserve for developing communist convictions in the people as the binding link between knowledge and activity.

Material prosperity, an increase in which unquestionably facilitates the solution of many problems related to communist upbringing, contributes to the molding of the individual. However, increasing and broadening material opportunities must absolutely be combined with a more rapid rise in the ideological-moral and cultural standards of the people. If they are not, manifestations and recurrences of a philistine petit bourgeois mentality are inevitable.

The new material living conditions may be manifested differently, depending on the needs of the working people and the organization of mass services. It is important to take this factor into consideration as well in planning educational work. If the funds remaining after the necessary outlays have been made (paying the rent, buying food and clothing) are to be used to an ever greater extent for the intensification of spiritual life, for raising the cultural standard, broadening the mental outlook, developing tourism, and meeting the requirements for technical or artistic creativity, certain conditions must exist.

An especially topical problem today is the organization of the material base for interpersonal leisure time contacts, for as the individual develops, informal contacts among people, in terms of their upbringing and the reciprocal influence among different social groups and generations within Soviet society become ever more important. According to sociological studies the working people, young people in particular, are unanimously urging the organization of relations as one of the main functions of culture clubs and palaces, and the systematic expansion of the network of clubs, coffee shops, and sports facilities in our cities and villages, the new microrayons in particular.

The increase of material ease and leisure time has outstripped the development of the spiritual interests and tastes of the people on the one hand, and the expanded opportunities for interesting leisure time occupations on the other, and is fraught with the danger of a variety of socially faulty phenomena incompatible with the moral system of our society. This includes, for example, drunkenness in all its individual and collective aspects. Drunkenness not only prevents us from living and working, but is the main breeding ground for crime and immorality. It strikes at our future, for it leads to pathological changes in the new generations. The struggle against this vice presumes the effective stimulation of the expenditure of funds saved by the population for rich cultural pleasures, spiritual growth and creativity--everything which enriches and ennobles the individual in the best sense.

Technical progress and urbanization are making their imprint on modern society to an ever greater extent. The growth of the cities, the increased role of the urban population and the industrial development of the northern and eastern parts of the country are introducing new trends into the very process of shaping the individual and the mechanism of his behavior. This is natural, for man affects the environment and changes it, "while changing his own nature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 188). In this

connection the development of industry makes the problem of upgrading the ecological standard topical. This is because of the need to subordinate all types of labor activities and recreation to the rational utilization of nature, with concern for improving the environment and protection of it from destruction and pollution. In this respect everything is important, ranging from improving production technology to shaping public opinion. "...Developing a careful and attentive attitude toward the environment and expanding the knowledge and habits needed for its preservation and improvement must become an inseparable part of the overall system of cadre education, instruction and training" (L. I. Brezhnev).

Urbanization substantially changes the nature of social control, which, given the conditions in small settlements and stable family and neighborly relations and the concentration of all basic areas of activity (work, life, studies, recreation) in relatively compact areas, formerly had an immediate, all-embracing and actively interested nature. In other words, it enabled society to be well acquainted with the strong and weak sides of a person and with his way of life. Today such direct control is found only within limited territories or periods of time, mainly in the areas of human production and social activities. The anonymous nature of contacts outside these activities, the weakening of interpersonal relations, the narrowing of the moral-controlling potential of the family, the labor collective and public organizations, and the intensified migration processes which remove people from their customary environments have certain moral and political consequences. In particular, they create a greater likelihood of deviation from universally accepted norms of morality. The "moral vacuum" concept, meaning that the traditional practice of social control has become ineffective and that the ability of the people to exercise moral self-control has not yet become a general norm, has even appeared in literature.

Many characteristics of the molding of the current young generation, particularly the relative disparity between physical and social maturity, are also related to urbanization. This leads to a number of negative phenomena which create additional trouble for the family and the school. Social maturity presumes the ability consciously to fulfill the entire range of civic obligations and a high level of human moral responsibility. Involving young people in socially useful work and developing respect and love for labor while still in school not only enrich the lives of developing individuals but contribute to their social maturing. Conversely, parasitism, whatever its form, substantially hinders this process, triggering infantilism, negligence and dependence in the resolution of vitally important problems. Therefore, along with other methods of labor upbringing, adolescents should be hired to do whatever paid work they can without detriment to their studies. This was justifiably pointed out in the report by G. A. Aliyev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee, to the All-Union Practical Science Conference in Baku: "Children will do work truly needed by a plant or factory, to the extent of their strength potential, naturally. During holidays they can also do useful work as mailmen, poster hangers, truck gardeners, messengers, and

so on. To begin with, the student will know that he is performing a useful job. Secondly, even if but for a short while, he will experience the life of a worker. Thirdly, he will learn a specific lesson about respecting the ruble earned" (G. A. Aliyev, "Formirovaniye Aktivnoy Zhiznennoy Pozitsii: Opyt i Aktual'nyye Problemy Nравstvennogo Vospitaniya" [Forming an Active Life Stance: Experience and Topical Problems in Moral Upbringing]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, pp 36-37).

The fact that many adolescents have still had no taste of real work goes along with distorted phenomena such as vandalism and the senseless damaging of elevators, escalators, telephone booths and transport facilities. A working person would never damage what has been created by the hands of a worker. He would not only take care of but sacredly protect socialist property.

Today education cannot be reduced to the mere repetition of traditional, even though tested and well-proven, educational ways and means. All the elements in our life are involved in shaping the new man, for the business atmosphere in each production unit, the standard of the worker engaged in mass services, proper organization and a high ideological-artistic standard in the repertory of theaters, motion pictures and television, energetic public opinion, and the inevitable and well-publicized punishment of those who violate socialist law and order are also educational factors. There are no petty matters in this field. Everything is significant, interrelated, and integrated. That is why the successful solution of this comprehensive problem is possible only on the basis of a skillful combination of all operating factors, and consideration of the specific nature of their influence on the individual. Education is provided not by the educational system alone but by society as a whole, through all its structures, and everyone must realize his responsibility for the common project. It would be pertinent to recall here K. Marx' thesis that "the materialistic doctrine which states that the people are the product of circumstances and education and consequently, changed people are the products of changed circumstances and education, is a doctrine which forgets that it is precisely people who change circumstances and that the educator himself must be educated" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 2).

In the final analysis, the socialist production method is the decisive factor in shaping the new individual. However, we would be considered vulgar sociologists if we limited ourselves to this conclusion alone. The principle which operates as a law is implemented by living beings and it is they precisely who determine whether the expected results are achieved. The socialist production method defines the main characteristics of our way of life as codified by the USSR Constitution: the absence of the exploitation of man by man and of class antagonism and national enmity, sociopolitical unity of the people, systematic increase in the prosperity of the working people, and consistent democracy and collectivism. In turn, these characteristics determine the basic, the typical, features of the Soviet person. Here, however, there is no simple, automatic sequence whereby the second factor follows the first. Life is complex. It is full of contradictions

and continuing change, not to mention the fact, above all, that it involves the activity of people pursuing their objectives and their interests. This precisely is why a purposeful influence must be exerted on the social environment, within which progressive developmental trends must be discovered and the dynamics controlled (i.e., scientifically planned, organized, regulated and supervised) in accordance with these trends. Here training and education work is merely one of the components of this process. They supplement and intensify the positive influence of all the factors in the social environment on the developing personality.

The fact that the establishment and development of the individual are consequences not of strictly educational measures alone but of the interaction between the individual and the whole social environment encourages us to pay attention to improving each of the components of the environment and the active role of the target of education himself.

The most effective means of upgrading this activity and forcing man to become concerned with his consciousness, culture, and political and moral appearance, without waiting for someone to "begin to educate him" at some unspecified time, is social exigency and inevitable social penalties for any violation of the norms of the socialist way of life. Such exigency must be displayed in literally all areas of activity, for the adolescent who is excused ("failure to notice") for rudeness, foul language, or a violation of a moral or legal norm today, will be an adult tomorrow whose antisocial qualities have become a habit, have greatly increased, and have become his "second nature."

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the need for the strictest possible discipline and organization in socialist society, not only in labor but at home, in the course of daily human contacts. But disorganization may originate not only from major, but even from a "minor," seemingly harmless, violation of public order, since both at work and at home we are all interdependent to a far greater extent today than the people of even one generation ago were. Technical progress increases the responsibility of all members of society without exception. This truth must not only be realized in theory but must become one of the many incentives for individual practical activities. Responsibility--the foundation of the new morality--cannot be easily developed at any stage in the growth of the individual. As every teacher knows, people develop responsibly or, conversely, irresponsibly, in the family.

The fact that the family lies at the source of the personality and determines its intellectual, emotional, ideological-political, moral and esthetic foundations has been demonstrated not only by science but by age-old human experience. However, our practical attitude toward strengthening the family and upgrading its educational effectiveness still, in many instances, fails to measure up to its truly tremendous significance in the economic, sociopolitical and moral progress of society. In particular, the family's increased role in the building of communism is also hindered by such factors as the inefficiency of moral, legal and economic incentives, in view of the birth

rate and the quality of family upbringing and the weakness outside support given the family while it is being established, the unpreparedness of young people for marriage, motherhood and fatherhood, the overburdening of women because of a continuing lag in household services, and a number of other circumstances. These shortcomings are entirely avoidable, particularly urgent since they conflict with the very interests of our society.

The schools themselves are experiencing certain difficulties in carrying out their educational functions because of the non-optimal training-education process and, in particular, the abundance of subjects in the curriculum the mastery of which taxes the memory although they contribute little to the development of thinking, the limited possibilities for involving adolescents in work, the feminization of teaching staffs, and the poor organization of the leisure time of the students.

Great harm is also done in the molding of the personality by the insufficiently purposeful utilization of free time and instances of laxity on the part of official organizations and the public toward the violators of social, legal and moral norms, and impunity for delinquents.

All of these examples illustrate the tremendous unused reserves contained within the education process. What are the basic directions leading to its improvement? They involve concreteness and the scientific substantiation of the objectives of educational work in terms of the various population groups, which should be classified not only on the basis of age, sex and profession, as is currently done, but, above all, on the basis of civic, ideological-political and moral maturity, which to a great extent determines the effectiveness of the means of influence. This entails a thorough consideration of all the difficulties and contradictions encountered in educational work, particularly in the big cities and areas with higher population mobility, and the planning of measures for countering ideologically hostile influences based on the growing capacity of communications facilities. It means the thorough formulation of systems of measures aimed at optimizing influences on the developing personality (in addition to strictly educational-ideological work) by the microenvironment, combined with its basic elements: the family, the school and labor collectives, and public organizations.

L. I. Brezhnev's noteworthy statement contained in the report "The Great October Revolution and the Progress of Mankind" could be applied to educational work with full justification: "Never before have we had such timely opportunities to resolve the problems because of which, in the final analysis, the revolution was undertaken: an upsurge in the prosperity of the masses, the development of socialist democracy and the all-round development of the individual. The full realization of the potential of developed socialism represents, if you will, the pathos of our days. It is precisely this which determines the measure of the responsibility entrusted to us today by history."

'A FAVOR BATTLE THEN FOLLOWED...'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, AUG 80 pp 71-79

[Article by Sergey Narovchatov]

[Text] The Nikonovskaya Chronicle contains an ancient poetic legend. The Volynskiy Voyevod Bobrok went to see Dmitriy, the grand prince of Moscow, and summoned him to the front line, promising to tell him something important. Soon after, the grand prince and the voyevod found themselves in the middle of a wide field. Behind them flowed the Don while the Nepryadva lay ahead. The field was a swampy depression and the home of many sandpipers. That is possibly why it was known as Kulikovo. The horsemen halted their mounts in the dark area between the two camps.

Bobrok asked the grand prince to listen to the noises coming from the enemy camp. "...There was a great deal of noise, as if it were a marketplace, or as if buildings were being constructed, or as if trumpets were sounding; wolves howled at the noise. The sounds of birds shrieking and beating their wings could be heard to the right, the crows cawing and the eagles screaming along the Nepryadva River..." This old Russian speech requires no translation, so vivid and expressive is it.

"Do you hear anything?" Bobrok asked. "Fear and terror," Dmitriy answered. "Now," the voyevod said, "turn to the Russian side." Both turned to face the Don.

"What do you hear now?" the Volynets asked again after a while. "Nothing," the grand prince answered. "Great silence; all I see is the light of campfires."

At that time Dmitriy Bobrok (he had the same name as the grand prince) said: "Sir! These are good omens."

Let us recall another great battle which decided the people's fate, that at Borodino, many centuries later. M. Yu. Lermontov's brilliant poetry depicted the eve of the battle as follows:

"I stretched out for a nap by the gun carriage, and until dawn the revelry of the French could be heard. Our open camp was quiet. Some were cleaning their shakos or sharpening their bayonets, grumbling angrily and biting their long whiskers."

What an amazing coincidence! The nature of the Russian soldiery had remained unchanged for centuries--unusual dignity and amazing modesty.

Legend turns into real poetry as it narrates another omen pointed out by Bobrok. Dismounting from his horse, the voyevod put his ear to the ground and listened. Rising, he looked sad and was unwilling to talk.

The grand prince asked him to tell the truth, however bad it might be. "The second omen will bring you great sadness," Bobrok finally answered. "I heard the earth cry, bitterly and terribly: on the enemy's side it was as though a mother wept for her children, speaking the Tatar language and shedding tears; on the Russian side, it seemed to me, I heard a girl crying in great sadness and sorrow. Know, Prince, that you will defeat your enemies, but many of your soldiers will be killed." What impressive words! Young Russia was to shed tears like a girl, mourning her defenders, but more terrible and hopeless would be the cry of sorrow of the people of Orda, not only because of the extent of their losses but because of the end of their rule, dooming the nomads themselves.

The grand prince and the voyevod returned to their camp with the wolves howling behind them. There were many wolves, as if they had gathered from all over the world, and the crows were cawing and the eagles were shrieking. It was a terrifying night.

We can see how the most ancient myth, the Slavic legend, and Russian poetry have themselves spoken to us in their magic language. This is natural, for they were always at the origins of the great events in the life of the people.

That event was indeed great. Over 150 years had passed since the battle of Kalka, when the Russian princes had suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the hordes of nomads sent by Genghis Khan to conquer distant lands. At that time, in 1223, Russia gained a breathing spell and the conquerors withdrew deep into their steppes. However, Russia did not make use of this intermission. Internecine disputes and quarrels among the princes divided the land of Russia even further, and divided and splintered, it was unable to oppose the new invasion in 1237.

The shining culture of Kievan Russia crumbled in smoke and flames. The hooves of the Orda horses trampled the early shoots of education and knowledge. The Russian poets perished, killed by Tatar arrows. Literature and art, which were in all likelihood on the threshold of an Eastern European renaissance, were nipped in the bud. The white temples with their splendid frescoes and icons stood empty and the spread of culture and literacy was seriously hindered.

Let us add another important consideration. It was no accident that Karl Mark spoke of the "Byurik Empire," meaning ancient Russia. Ancient Russia covered a huge area and, despite the troubles and quarrels among the princes, its people felt as one. Incidentally, this unity is always emphasized in the bylines describing those times. Reread them and you will learn that in the court of the Kievan prince, Rostov and Muroma noblemen lived together. Brave people came from all corners of the Russian land to defend it jointly against its enemies. The exploits of the brave men who defended Russia against enemy raids and invasions are the main topic of the popular epic.

At that time Kiev was a huge city. It was far larger than London or Paris in area and population. Ancient German chronicles describe it as the rival of Constantinople--the capital of the powerful Byzantine Empire. Tilmar, bishop of Meissenburg, counted 400 churches and 8 markets in Kiev. This figure was sufficiently impressive to strike the imagination of the foreigner.

Russia traded briskly with east, west, north and south. Kiev and Novgorod were at the crossroads of the world. Varangians and Venetians, Greeks and Arabs, Jews and Germans mingled their languages with Russian in the city streets and at markets. The noblest courts of Europe tried to ally themselves with the strong, rich princes of Kiev. This international glitter did not dazzle the Russians, who were concerned above all with their daily needs. However, the splendor of the embassies and the rich caravans from distant countries brought them news of the prestige enjoyed by Russia with other nations.

All of this combined to become the holy of holies which the people preserved in their souls for a long time. In the difficult years of the Mongol-Tatar yoke the memory of the once powerful and prosperous state was the source from which people drew strength for resistance and unity.

Surmounting the concept of the invincibility of the hordes from the steppes was no easy matter. The Chronicles have brought us a striking legend about the beginning of the invasion. The Russian soldiers who had defeated all their enemies believed that nothing could stop them, that they could do anything. It was as though an iron ring had been plunged into the earth and clutching it, we had turned everything upside down. But as if in answer to this boast, countless soldiers streamed in from afar. As though playing a game, the Russian troops joined the battle. Amazingly, the more of the enemy they killed, the more appeared. They would cut someone in half and two enemies would rise up. They would cut an enemy in thirds and the enemy would triple... The soldiers were unharmed but their swords were dulled, while the enemy forces came on endlessly. The soldiers retreated into the mountains and there, in the caves, turned to stone forever.

Had this image been created by a single person, he would be described as brilliant. The image, however, was the creation of the genius of an entire people who summed up within it the national tragedy of distant times.

Resistance to the conquerors was fierce, but the division of the Russian lands and princes yielded its fatal results. The rigidly centralized forces of the foreign conquerors, organized on the decimal system, with their merciless discipline and blind obedience, could not be countered by the divided forces of the princes. Ryazan' was in flames and then Vladimir, Suzdal', Tver' and the stubbornly defended Kozel'sk fell. After capturing northwestern Russia, the hordes moved south. Having ravaged Pereyaslavl' and Chernigov, they besieged and stormed Kiev following a fierce battle. Kiev met with a bitter fate. Archaeologists have found barren land in the excavations of 14th and 15th century Kiev. For nearly 200 years no one settled on the site of the ravaged city. Grass overran the ruins of the princely palaces, weeds covered the vestiges of the walls, and the bridge markets and squares were covered by dirt.

A difficult era in Russian history began. The people were systematically plundered on an unparalleled scale. Twenty years after the invasion the foreign rulers took a census so that no one would be able to avoid taxation. Furthermore, Russia had to provide roads and military service, to maintain the khan's ambassadors and offer rich gifts.

Tax collectors--baskaks--were sent at the head of military detachments to all Russian lands other than Novgorod. Through them, money, produce and cattle were mercilessly extracted from the Russian population. Any attempt to resist was cruelly suppressed.

Popular uprisings spread like waves throughout Russia. However, the forces were still ill-matched and freedom-seeking rebellions were drowned in Russian blood.

A predatory Mongol star state--the Golden Horde--was set up along the Volga. Socioeconomically and culturally backward compared with the Russian governmental system, it lasted for an entire historical era. The Russian princes were forced to render obedience to the khans, who issued them edicts allowing them to rule.

The fate of the throne of the grand prince was decided in Saray, the capital of the Golden Horde. The Tatar rulers deliberately fanned the rivalry among the Russian princes. Many of them fell victim to jealousy and conspiracies. The princes had to collect taxes; special observers from the Horde checked on the actions of the princely administrations.

Beginning in the 14th century, Moscow became the center of the Russian lands. For a number of reasons its rivals, Vladimir and Tver', were unable to withstand the competition. By then the Golden Horde had begun to weaken, although it remained a frightening, coercive state. It was gradually undermined by internal contradictions and intestine strife.

Meanwhile, Russia rallied increasingly around Moscow, united by the force of a national idea. At that time the Russian church revealed itself as a dynamic patriotic force. Metropolitan Aleksey and Sergiy Radonezhskiy, a prestigious church leader, were decisive in the fight for the liberation of the

Russian lands from the heavy yoke. They actively helped Dmitriy Ivanovich, the grand prince of Moscow, in his daring deeds. Their time had come.

Accustomed to arbitrary rule over Russia, the enemy cavalry advanced toward the Ryazan' area. Crossing the Vozha, the hordes hurled themselves against the Russian ranks. The grand prince of Moscow, leading the troops, faced the enemy, while the other regiments struck from the flanks. The cavalry of the hordes, driven back to the river, was defeated, and commander killed. The victory proved decisive.

Marx praised this triumph highly: "On 11 August 1378 Dmitriy Donskoy totally defeated the Mongols on the Vozha River (Ryazanskaya Oblast). This was the first regular battle against the Mongols won by the Russians."

The significance of this battle should not be underestimated. It made a great moral contribution to Russian hopes and prospects. However, the main psychological barrier had not been surmounted. A decisive defeat had to be inflicted on the Golden Horde in the course of which the Russian soldiers would force the enemy soldiers into headlong retreat. That great event came soon.

At that time Mamay had become the horde's khan. Maddened by the defeat on the Vozha, he decided to repeat his father's invasion. Securing the support of Oleg of Ryazan' and Yagaylo of Lithuania, and hiring mercenaries from among the Circassians, Sarmatians and Crimean Genoans, Mamay began his preparations. His allies were governed by a variety of motives. Oleg of Ryazan' feared that his principality, which bordered on the horde's lands, would be crushed. Yagaylo, the constant rival of Dmitriy Ivanovich, tried to profit from a favorable situation. The two hoped to divide Muscovy, which would be granted to them by the Tatars, between them in the future. According to a general rumor, they reasoned as follows: the moment Prince Dmitriy was notified of Mamay's invasion and that they had joined the khan, he would immediately flee to Velikiy Novgorod, on the Dvina, or to some other distant place, while they would seize the thrones in Moscow and Vladimir, with the horde's permission, dividing Dmitriy Ivanovich's legacy and ruling it.

Their plans failed. The grand prince of Muscovy had no intention of abandoning his capital city. He ordered his forces to assemble at Kolonna by 15 August 1380. He sent advance patrols into the steppe to report to him on the approach of Mamay's hordes. Preparing for the campaign, Dmitriy Ivanovich visited the Troitskiy Monastery, which was already famous by that time. Sergiy Radonezhskiy treated the prince and his companions to a meal.

At the table the prince noticed two friars who looked like true fighting men. Indeed, before becoming monks, they had been men of war. Their names were Peresvet and Oslabya. Dmitriy turned to Sergiy: "Father, let me take these two monks to war! We know about them: they were great fighters, great heroes, knowledgeable in military affairs..." Violating church rules which forbade the monks to fight or even to carry weapons, the father superior of the Troitskiy Monastery told the monks: "I order you to prepare yourselves for army service." They agreed willingly.

The day of departure from Moscow came. The grand prince visited the sites where his predecessors were buried. The troops lined up in Red Square, along the Kremlin wall. All the Kremlin gates were opened wide and the send-off began. The grand princess Yevdokiya and the other women were crying as they bade goodbye to the men. The soldiers stood firm, for it would have been shameful to cry in public.

Moscow was sending her sons off on a great venture. No one knew whether or not the defenders of the families, the people and the state would return. The situation has been similar in all the most difficult periods in the history of our fatherland: in the troubled times when Minin and Pozharskiy led in the salvation of Russia; in 1812, when a multilingual invasion was repelled; in the civil war, when Lenin's call "The Socialist Fatherland is in Danger!" was heard, and in the Great Patriotic War, when the fate of the peoples was being decided at Moscow and Stalingrad.

Dmitriy Ivanovich rode out of the Kremlin on his favorite horse. In his right and behind him was Prince Vladimir Andreyevich of Serpukhovo, his cousin and close friend. The troops began their march, the horses were spurred, the trumpets sounded, and the neighing of the horses blended with the thunder of the drums. The Moscow troops seemed endless, the horses of the Russian cavalry were strong and fast. Armor glistened in the late summer sun, its rays reflected on the scabbards of swords and sabers, the copper tips of the lances, and the iron shields. "Glory sounds throughout the Russian land: the horses in Moscow are neighing, pipes are sounding in Kolomna, the tambourines are beating in Serpukhovo, and the Russians are on the banks of the great Don." This is a record of events as recalled by eyewitness Sofoniy-Ryazanets, the author of "Zadonshchina" (Beyond the Don), clearly imitating the style and rhythm of the "Tale of the Igorevo Regiment."

Before the march Dmitriy Ivanovich addressed the troops briefly. He asked them to sacrifice their lives rather than let the invaders take our cities, scatter us over the earth and take our women and children prisoners. The soldiers answered that they would give their lives for the just cause. The Russian troops, headed by the grand prince, went into the terrible battle with a pure soul and an open heart. "Ahead of them was the shining sun and behind them a gentle wind was blowing," the ancient legend reads.

The troops from Moscow reached Kolomna, where vast forces had gathered. Do, you see, Russia had never seen such a large number of armed men in this place. Dmitriy deployed his troops in combat order. Each detachment was part of the huge entity and all of them were part of the Russian land. The first to leave Kolomna was a regiment commanded by the grand prince himself. The other forces, headed by Vladimir of Serpukhovo, marched toward the east. They crossed the Oka and were joined by new forces from Rязань and Arzamas, commanded by Andrey and Dmitriy of Rязань.

On marches with the troops, the days were warm and clear and the soil was dry. Early autumn was coming on imperceptibly. In the base of the Don the troops met their enemy, who reported that "they was in the river withing the line of the castle. What is the strength of the Khan's forces?" The answer answered: "Incredibly." Dmitriy Ivanovich called a commander. Dmitriy to

decide what to do next. Should they cross the Don or wait on this side? Some said that they should wait since the enemy was strong and a way back had to be kept open. Others advised crossing the Don. "If you want a great battle you must order the crossing, so that no one will even think of turning back, the D'lgardayich brothers said. "Let everyone fight honestly and not think of salvation....As to the strong enemy, we shall see!" Dmitriy put an end to the argument. He stated that he had not come to protect the Don river but to save the Russian land from captivity and wreckage. "An honorable death is better than a life spent in shame!" the grand prince exclaimed. "It would have been better not to go to war at all than to come here and do nothing, then go back."

The troops marched to the Don and deployed along the bank. Clashes broke out among the advance elements. "Only one night stands between our regiments and the enemy," the troops told Dmitriy. "To arms, Prince! Tomorrow the hordes will attack us!"

The Russians began to build bridges. They found fords and crossed the Don. The poetic tale with which we began our story comes down to us from that night. Poetry kept Kulikovo Field fresh, and for centuries reminded new generations of Russian people of the battle. Such reminders have usually coincided with the stormy events in our domestic history. Our great poet Aleksandr Blok, the centennial of whose birth is being celebrated this year, wrote the brilliant cycle of poems "In Kulikovo Field." It was written nine years before the 1917 revolution, yet the breath of the revolution's fire could already be sensed. Prophetically, the poet could see the clash between the two enemy camps. Let us recall the first poem in the cycle:

"The river flowed lazily, washing the banks. Yellow hay-stacks stand on the clayey soil of the steppe. O my Russia! My wife! Our long path is painfully clear to us! Our path encompasses the Tatar arrow piercing our chest. Our path is through the steppe, our path is one of endless anguish, your anguish, O Russia! And I fear not even the fog of night that comes from foreign lands. Let night fall. We shall come quickly and illuminate the steppe with campfires. The sacred flag and the steel of the khan's sword will shine in the smoke...and there will be eternal battle! We shall earn our rest only with blood and dust....The mare is flying on the steppe and tramples the grass....There is no end! The versts fly by....Stop! Frightened clouds and a bloody sunset! A sunset in blood! Blood pours from the heart! Cry, heart, cry....There is no rest! The mare of the steppe is galloping!

You can see, hear, feel how the old and new reality are intertwined and blended in these wonderful verses, just as many centuries ago on the lazily flowing river the night settled on the yellow grass covering the clayey ground where the power of the people would clash with the antipeople's forces. "The sacred flag and the steel of the khan's sword shine in the smoke of the steppe..." The poet finds wise words to describe the road of the century: "Eternal battle! We can only dream of rest..." Repeated a thousand times, these words will become the mandate of our century, which we shall pass on to the coming generations. The power of great poetry has always been that its words are not

bound by temporal limits, yet they are always firmly linked with the era of its appearance. In this powerful poetry the dialectical unity between the eternal and the temporal finds forceful expression and continues to excite our hearts.

In the early morning, having crossed the river, the Russian forces began to prepare for battle. The sun rose but a heavy fog covered the ground and nothing was visible. Taking advantage of it, the grand prince sent Vladimir of Serpukhovo and Dmitriy Bobrok up the Don River to organize an ambush in the forest. This action played an important role in the battle subsequently. Finally, the fog dispersed and the sun shone.

Dmitriy Ivanovich took a place in the front ranks. Military commanders advised him to stay behind or on the side, but the prince said, "I shall be where you are. If I hid in the rear, could I say to you, brothers! let us die for the fatherland? My word must be my deed! I am the leader and commander and I shall be in the vanguard, and I am ready to die as an example to others."

The Russian forces advanced to the mouth of the Nepryadva. Since that time this insignificant little river has been engraved on the minds of the people as a symbol of inflexible firmness in the face of the enemy. I remember the hard, fierce year of 1941. Together with the poet Mikhail Lukonin, my best friend, who was to leave this world too soon, I was moving eastward, behind the enemy lines. We were stricken by the terrible sight of the burned, plundered and tortured land. Along the sad path of the retreat, I began to compose poetry: "I marched, grinding my teeth, through burned villages, punished cities, through the sad Russian homeland bequeathed by our fathers and grandfathers." Suddenly, lines full of hope and faith came of their own accord:

"In sadness as great as the ancient songs, I named the villages, as though in a chronicle, and I saw Yaroslavna in all grandmothers, and Nepryadva in all streams."

The end, which called for seeking revenge against the enemy, came naturally:

"Through my blood and loyal to my sacred objects, I sadly mouthed the ancient words: 'Russia, Mother! My infinite world--on whom shall I seek revenge?'"

The memory of the Nepryadva, glowing in the poems of a young lieutenant crossing the Bryansk forests toward his own troops in the flaming year 1941, has remained startlingly vivid.

But let us return to our story. The Russian troops saw the Mamay horde rushing down from the hill. It moved like a wall, like a cloud; those behind laid their lances on the shoulders of those ahead of them, and they were longer than the lances of those in front. The soldiers of the horde wore dark clothing. The Russian regiments were smartly dressed. Banners fluttered in the gentle wind like colorful clouds, the soldiers' armor shone like dawn in clear weather, and the gold- and silver-lined helmets were like flames. That is how the Russian forces met the Tatars and it was terrible, as the legend says, to see two great forces advancing toward bloodshed and death.

At noon, dropping down from the hill, the hordes attacked the leading Russian regiment. At first, its position was awkward. "It was hard on the Russians, for both the sun and the wind were against them" However, the forces of the two camps soon mingled in close combat. "Then one could see the valor of thousands of soldiers in one success, one after another, finding glory in victory. Lances broke like bits of straw, arrows darkened the sun like rain and dust, and swords struck like lightning. Men fell like mowed grass, blood ran like water, flowing like a stream. No words could be heard above the neighing and trampling of the horses and the moans of the wounded, and the orders of the princes and commanders riding with the regiments could not be distinguished."

This description sounds like the tale of an eyewitness, one who both witnessed and took part in the battle. For only a participant could recall that the orders of the commanders could not be heard above the trampling and neighing of the horses and groaning of the wounded.

National memory has singled out the deeds of individual brave soldiers from among the numerous clashes. For example, Peresvet accepted the challenge of Ielebey, the Tatar daredevil. "Who will fight me?" he asked threateningly. His appearance was frightening and no one immediately volunteered to take him on. Then Peresvet rushed toward him. They struck at one another, their lances clashing violently. The shock brought the horses to their knees and the warriors fell to the ground, dead.

During the course of the battle, Mamay and his bays observed from a hill. The battle waxed fiercer and fiercer. Taking the enemy tactics and the nature of the topography into consideration, Dmitriy Ivanovich opted for a battle order in depth: a large regiment of the grand prince's troops was in the center, flanked by the others. The large regiment represented the main forces and, in battle, was basis of the battle formation. The right and left flank regiments were the Russian tactical units. On the Kulikovo battlefield, the right and left flank regiments were deployed in an area which the enemy cavalry could not cross. A guard and front line regiments preceded the main forces. The purpose of the guard regiment was to launch the battle, while the front regiment was to absorb the first shock of the enemy cavalry and disrupt its battle formation. Both regiments would weaken the force of the strike against the main forces of the prince of Muscovy. A strong reserve detachment was deployed behind the main regiment. Finally, an ambush regiment consisting of elite cavalry was organized under the command of the voyevods Dmitriy Bobrok and Prince Vladimir Andreyevich of Serpukhovo. This regiment was concealed in the forest behind the left flank of the main forces. The Russians' battle formation protected them against frontal and flank strikes and enabled them to make a greater effort in depth and to coordinate the individual elements.

Mamay's forces consisted of a leading detachment of light cavalry, a central regiment of Genoese mercenaries, and strong flanks with heavy cavalry deployed in two lines which, in turn, had their own leading and reserve units. Mamay's plan was to surround the Russian forces with the cavalry and then destroy them by frontal, flank, and rear attacks.

Initially, after eliminating the guard and destroying the advance regiments, the enemy cavalry tried to breach the center and the right wing of the Russian troops for three hours. The regiments of the grand prince suffered considerable

losses; the Boyar Mikhail Brenko, who served in the main regiment in the uniform of Dmitriy Ivanovich and under his flag, was killed. The prince himself, who fought the enemy in the same regiment, dressed as a private, was wounded.

The huge Kulikovo Field was covered with dead soldiers of both sides, ranging over a ten-verst area. Blood flowed like a stream; everything became confused and the battle became a hand-to-hand combat, with corpses falling one upon the other; Tatars pursued Russians and Russians pursued Tatars. The Moscow troops included many recruits who had never seen battle before. They panicked and ran. With desperate shouts the enemy pursued and slaughtered them. The Russian cause seemed to be lost. However, toward 1500 hours everything changed.

Seeing the terrible slaughter and the superiority of the hordes, Vladimir, who was waiting in ambush, rushed to the aid of his cousin. Dmitriy Bobrok, however, was not in a hurry to abandon the trees on the western side of the battlefield. His military experience saved the prince from hasty action. But a wind from the south began to blow and Bobrok shouted: "Prince Vladimir, now is the time! Courage, brothers, Russia is with us!"

The "like-thinking friends," as the legend describes the Russian soldiers, rushed out of the grove. The troops fleeing from Mamay took heart and rejoined the battle. They were totally surprised by the ambush regiment, assaulting the enemy with fresh troops. It was at this point that Mamay's hordes were overcome with insurmountable fear. Under attack from two sides, the hordes threw down their arms and, abandoning their camps, herds, and supply trains, plunged into headlong flight. Many drowned in the river. Mamay himself, with all his bays, took flight.

Victory was total. However, many Russian soldiers, including commanders, voyevods and princes, fell on the battlefield. The victors captured the khan's headquarters and pursued mamay's defeated troops for dozens of versts, to the Krasivaya Mecha River.

Another concern spread among the Russian troops--where was the wounded grand prince? Many claimed to have seen him in various places, either fighting four foes alone, or on foot, without a mount and heavily wounded. Fortunately, Dmitri Ivanovich was found beneath a great oak, somewhat disheveled but not severely wounded. He was identified by features familiar to the entire army. "He was strong and brave, big and broad of body, with big shoulders and belly, a black beard and hair."

As the chronicler writes, the grand prince, forgetting his pain, ordered that "gay trumpets" announce the defeat of the enemy. After an entire week spent burying the dead soldiers, Dmitriy Ivanovich did not pursue the enemy deep into the steppe, but returned triumphantly to Moscow.

Retreating into the steppes beyond the Volga, Mamay met a new enemy: Tokhtamysh, Batyya's descendant, had come to claim the power which was his as the legitimate heir of the Mongol khans. The khan, who had just suffered a crushing defeat in Kulikovo Field, was unable to resist. He fled to Kafa, today's Feodosiya, where he was killed by the Genoese.

The Kulikovo battle was greeted by the people as a bright victory and a cause for great sadness. The legend of the maiden whose cries sounded like a reed-pipe was confirmed. There was great happiness in Russia, the chronicler writes,

but there was also a great grief for those killed on the Don and a scarcity of soldiers, leaders and all kinds of military personnel in Russia.

But neither the sorrow for the fallen nor the tremendous losses or occasional successes by the khan's hordes seeking revenge for the defeat could detract from the blinding triumph. The importance of the Kulikovo battle far exceeds that of any conventional clash, however great. For several centuries Russia protected the West, preserving the civilization of mankind.

For yet another century the foreign yoke which, as Marx said, "not only suppressed but insulted and desecrated the very soul of the people who were its victims," continued to oppress Russian soil. Morally, however, it ended in Kulikovo Field. The enslavers were beaten not in any ordinary clash but in a great battle. The land of Russia had dreamed of this for more than 150 years.

The victory at Kulikovo Field was a true national exploit and feat. It was no accident that the Russian people transferred their love to the leaders in the battle, giving the title "Donskoy" to Grand Prince Dmitriy Ivanovich and naming Vladimir of Serpukhovo "the Brave." We have seen how the people poeticized the great battle in chronicles, legends and stories. Six hundred years later, schoolchildren are still taught of the great accomplishments of the Russian heroes Peresvet and Oslyab.

One hundred and fifty years earlier, the Russian people had saved Europe from defeat and European culture from destruction. "Russia had been assigned the noble task," Pushkin wrote, "and its endless plains absorbed the force of the Mongol attack and stopped their invasion at the very edge of Europe; the barbarians did not dare advance further, with enslaved Russia at their backs, and so they returned to the steppes of their Orient. The developing Renaissance was saved by tortured, dying Russia...."

The Kulikovo victory rallied the Russian lands around Moscow once and for all. Russian statehood was given a tremendous push toward further strengthening and development. The prince of Muscovy decided to challenge Mamay not at his own frontier but in a wild field where he defended not only his principality, but all of Russia. In meeting and repelling the enemy pressure, Dmitriy Donskoy displayed the kind of strength which put him naturally at the head of the entire Russian people, above all other princes. Moscow became the obvious center of popular unity, while the Moscow princes inherited the task of rallying the divided Russian lands within a single entity. The Tver' and Ryazan' principalities, and the lands of Smolensk, Pskov, Velikiy Novgorod and others awaited the time for the reunification with Moscow.

The universal-historical role of the Kulikovo battle derives from its national importance to Russia. The sinister specter of the insurmountable threat and cruel invasion of the nomads from the steppe was banished once and for all. News of the battle spread to Rome, Constantinople, Paris and London, and everywhere the people admired the victory of the Russian soldiers. Half a century after the pressure from Batyya, once again Europe owed a debt of thanks to Russia, which had created an unbreachable wall to block the Eastern conquerors. The days of the Golden Horde were numbered and it was never able to recover fully after the Kulikovo battle.

The memory of this greatest of battles has not faded from the minds of the people. The Kulikovo battle is an example of noble patriotism, selfless courage on the part of the Russian troops, and the triumph of the just people's cause.

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FIVE YEARS ALONG THE PATH OF HELSINKI

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[Article by Yu. Rakhmanov]

[Text] Five years have passed since the heads of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada solemnly signed in the Finnish capital the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Summing up the inevitable political results of World War II, it was as though the conference put together the positive changes which had taken place over the past 10 to 15 years in relations among European countries. It marked the beginning of a new stage in detente by adopting a long-term program of action aimed at converting Europe into a continent of lasting peace and fruitful cooperation. The Helsinki agreements are a real charter of peace and European security which, as assessed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "as well as the United Nations Charter, facilitate the reaching by human civilization of new and higher levels in international relations." That is why the anniversary of the signing of the Final Act could be marked with full justification as "Europe Day"--a memorable holiday and a call for the assertion of a durable peace.

In the past five years the foundations for peaceful relations and mutually profitable cooperation in Europe have strengthened quite tangibly. Substantial progress was achieved in the development of political, economic, cultural and other relations between European socialist and capitalist countries. The role of the European continent as a factor of peace and cooperation was correspondingly enhanced on a worldwide scale. Detente, wrote the French newspaper LE MONDE, enabled Western Europe to establish "broad economic relations with the East and expand its political freedom of action. Quite obviously, such advantages should not be scorned." The broad European masses were convinced, through personal experience, of the benefits of detente and the usefulness of the Helsinki agreements.

As recent experience has indicated, Europe has now reached a level in insuring its security at which it would not be quite so easy to turn the

course of events back to the times of the cold war, however great the efforts which imperialist militaristic circles might be making in this respect. Despite all the tests to which these circles have subjected detente on the European continent this year, it continues to exist. In this connection the Final Act, which is stemming the tide of the cold war like a strong breakwater, plays an important role.

The convening and successful conclusions of the European conference were, above all, the legitimate result of the increased international prestige of the socialist countries and the impact of their coordinated policy on the course of the struggle for peace and cooperation. At the same time, this was also the result of the adamant efforts of the broad public circles of the Western countries and, above all, of the working class and its political vanguard, the communist and workers parties, in insuring European security. This was also a clear confirmation of the more realistic approach adopted by a number of Western countries toward the problems of war and peace.

The peoples will never forget that it was precisely the socialist Warsaw Pact members who launched in the 1960s the historical initiative of convening a European conference. The noticeable improvement in international circumstances in the past period has been organically linked with the tireless struggle waged by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the implementation of the Peace Program of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, and of the foreign political programmatic stipulations of the fraternal parties. One of the main tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress was the active pursuit of a line of full implementation of the Final Act of the European conference and the development of peaceful cooperation in Europe.

After considering the international situation, the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum gave it a profound and comprehensive Marxist-Leninist assessment and earmarked specific constructive measures aimed at strengthening the peace.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are in the vanguard of the struggle for the intensification of detente, the implementation of the Helsinki agreements, and the adoption of real measures to insure military detente and disarmament in Europe. The bilateral and multilateral meetings among heads of fraternal parties and states are important landmarks along this way. Problems of military detente and of strengthening European security have been invariably in the center of attention of the conferences of the Political Consultative Committee (PKK) of the Warsaw Pact members.

The foreign political activities of the Warsaw Pact members and their increased joint contribution to the process of strengthening the peace indicate that the multilateral alliance among socialist states is the biggest factor for peace in Europe and throughout the world. Once again this was strongly confirmed by the decisions adopted at the PKK conference of

Warsaw Pact members held in Warsaw on 14-15 May. The conference formulated a broad program of action with a view to rechanneling the overall development of international events to a healthy bed, strengthening peace and European security, and promoting through practical measures the cause of military detente and disarmament. The dangerous course charted by NATO of accelerating the arms race was countered by the Warsaw Pact members with a principled line which combines a firm rebuff to the aggressive policy of force with the formulation of new major initiatives aimed at insuring European and universal peace.

The actions of mass organizations such as trade unions and professional associations of scientists, men of culture, and so on, and of women's, youth, sports, religious, and other associations, some parliamentary associations and political groups in support of detente are having an increasing influence on resolving problems related to strengthening the peace. The Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class are in the vanguard of the struggle for peace. The April Paris meeting of communist and workers parties of Europe to discuss peace and disarmament was a significant event and an important factor in the energizing of all antiwar forces. The communists appealed to all peace-loving political and social circles of Europe to energize the struggle for the prevention of a new round in the arms race and to move ahead in the practical implementation of the stipulations of the Final Act.

Peace in Europe, as throughout the world, largely depends on the development of mutually profitable bilateral relations among countries with different social systems. In this respect, following the course charted at the Helsinki conference, the Soviet Union is developing such relations with France, the FRG, Italy, Finland, Austria, Sweden, Spain, Greece, Belgium and other Western countries. The practice of meetings of heads of states which participated in the European conference and of holding political and other consultations among their representatives at different levels contributes to the growth of international trust, increased reciprocal understanding and is creating in Europe a system of broad foreign political cooperation.

The heads of the socialist countries which signed the Warsaw declaration of the PKK called for all European countries to join efforts with a view to putting an end to the growth of tension so that the exchange of views, ideas, and considerations on topical European and world problems may be continued within the framework of political contacts and consultations among them. In this connection, it is important to emphasize that despite Washington's current irresponsible actions, undertaken with a view to spoiling relations between the Western European countries and the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, the dialogue on problems of preservation of the peace and development of detente in which they are engaged is continuing. Particularly important in this connection were the meetings

between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on the one hand, and French President V. Giscard d'Estaing and FRG Federal Chancellor H. Schmidt, on the other. In the present complex circumstances these meetings played a considerable positive role, proving the importance and usefulness of talks aimed at eliminating tension. The numerous statements made by various Western European political leaders indicate that the policy of detente is still rooted far more deeply than is the course of its opponents aimed at aggravating international circumstances. That is why it has all the opportunities to remain the leading trend in relations among European, and not only European, countries.

To a considerable extent the historical significance of the European conference was that a set of basic principles were agreed upon at the conference consistent with the requirements of the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, principles which define the basic norms of the foreign political behavior of the countries which signed the Final Act. It was thus that, for the first time, a major step was taken on a European scale on the way to restructuring international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The systematic observance of these principles could bring about a reorganization of intergovernmental relations in which the use of force or the threat of force would be excluded as an instrument of foreign policy. Trust among countries and peoples and confidence in the possibility for the free and independent development of each country would be created and strengthened.

Acting in this direction, over the past period the Soviet Union has codified the principles of the Final Act in treaties and other international documents signed with France, the FRG, Italy, Greece and other countries.

The biggest event which provides a most impressive example of the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence under contemporary international relations was the adoption of the new USSR Constitution which codified the principles of the Final Act as a foundation on which the Soviet Union is building relations with countries with a different social system. Unquestionably, this fact will continue to influence international life.

Progress toward the development of a system of intergovernmental economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other cooperation on the scale of Europe is a major direction of activities which contribute to insuring European security. In the past 5 years substantial results were achieved on the continent in the fields of trade, economics, science, technology and environmental protection. A promising form of economic relations such as industrial cooperation, which includes the implementation of big projects, including compensation deals, has been developed. This sets prerequisites for the conversion of economic relations between West and East to a stable long-term basis.

The broadening of economic cooperation creates a material foundation for European security. It is one of the methods for guaranteeing the peace, and for giving it greater reliability and durability. The comprehensive development of economic and scientific and technical relations, the Soviet Union believes, has become an important factor contributing to the strengthening of the positive political changes in the international arena and the creation of objective prerequisites for a durable peace. The proposals of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact members on holding European congresses on transportation, energy and environmental protection are consistent with the spirit of the Final Act. A European conference on cooperation in the field of ecology was already held in Geneva, in November 1979. Decisions were made contributing to the protection of human health and the more rational utilization of natural resources. Preparations are underway for convening a similar conference on energy.

Useful results have been achieved in promoting cooperation in the humanities and other areas contributing to the consolidation of the peace, reciprocal understanding among nations and spiritual enrichment of the individual. In accordance with the Final Act the Warsaw Pact members are favoring extensive and comprehensive cultural exchanges and contacts among institutions, organizations and individuals, using the favorable conditions created to this effect by the detente process. The socialist society is an open society and the doors of the socialist countries stand wide open to anyone coming with good intentions. Contacts and a variety of relations are developing and encounters are taking place among representatives of public organizations such as trade unions, women's, youth, religious, and others. Cooperation is expanding in the fields of education, tourism, sports and the exchange of information.

At the same time, it is important to note that the pace at which the stipulations of the Final Act pertaining to economic cooperation, cultural exchange, and others are implemented largely depends on the overall level of political detente and on the condition and development of bilateral relations among member countries. This means that those in the West who are now trying to turn the clock back and restore the political mores of the cold war are hindering activities on the implementation of the stipulations of the Final Act. The decision of the United States government and the governments of some Western European countries to prevent the participation of their athletes in the Olympic Games in Moscow and break off the development of contacts along other lines of cooperation is a clear violation of the Helsinki agreements.

The continuation of the multilateral process initiated in Helsinki should become a major contribution to strengthening the security and development of cooperation in Europe. The Soviet Union attended the first post-Helsinki meeting of representatives of members of the European conference held in Belgrade between October 1977 and March 1978 with a feeling of great responsibility. Together with the other fraternal countries it formulated

a set of suggestions aimed at the implementation of the agreements codified in the Final Act. Their nucleus consisted of proposals related to military detente and to strengthening the security of and developing further cooperation in Europe. However, not all delegations came to Belgrade with the intention to strengthen the peace and contribute to improving mutual understanding among countries. In particular, the United States delegation tried to use the meeting for the purpose of aggravating relations with the socialist countries and promoting "psychological warfare" against them. Even though because of the obstructionist actions of the U.S. delegation no substantial decisions could be adopted in Belgrade, nevertheless, the absolute majority of participants did not follow the American representatives. As a result, the desire to protect and support detente prevailed and, as a whole, the meeting ended on a positive note: its participants asserted their readiness to continue the comprehensive process initiated in Helsinki.

Currently, by virtue of the existing international circumstance, the successful holding of the next meeting among the representatives of the signatories of the European conference, which will take place in the autumn of 1980, in Madrid, assumes particular importance. The decision to convene a European conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe would make this meeting particularly important. Such a conference, to be held after the Madrid meeting, given the existence of the necessary political desire, would constitute a most important contribution to the extension and the development of detente on the continent.

The Warsaw Pact members favor the holding of a constructive meeting in Madrid and the achievement of substantial results. This would have a beneficial influence on the overall international atmosphere as well. To this effect they are ready to intensify their exchange of views with the other members of the European conference with a view to reaching a general agreement on each section of the Final Act with regard to problems on which agreement could be reached in Madrid. This would contribute to the success of the meeting. Such an approach is shared by other members of the European conference which let us trust in its effectiveness. In the view of the Warsaw Pact members, good preparations for the Madrid meeting and progress in coordinating its decisions could provide a basis for the participation of the ministers of foreign affairs at its concluding stage. The ministers would try to interact with all interested countries so that practical steps may be formulated in Madrid on the military and political aspects of European security and on the development of cooperation in Europe.

Unfortunately, Washington prefers to sail against the current and is continuing to prepare for the Madrid meeting on the level of treating it as an act of confrontation and "psychological warfare" against the socialist countries. Naturally, such a policy is not consistent with the realities of today and is doomed to failure, for virtually all participating countries are unwilling to threaten the achievements of detente for the sake

of the circumstantial interests of the electoral struggle in the United States. The national interests of the United States itself and the international obligations it has assumed demand the observance of the spirit and letter of the Final Act it has signed. The development of normal and stable relations between the United States and the USSR is of great importance in insuring a lasting peace and promoting international cooperation.

As we know, the current sharp turn in international relations is the direct consequence of a course toward increasing the arms race and aggravating international relations in the spirit of the cold war, hostile to detente, adopted 2 years ago by the leading circles of the United States and some other NATO countries. It did not begin with the Afghan or Iranian events, as imperialist anti-Soviet propaganda is claiming, but was triggered by a general turn in Washington's policy culminated by NATO's decision to deploy in a number of Western European countries a new American medium-range nuclear missile. This decision, which is a gross violation of the Helsinki Final Act, is an attempt to insure NATO military superiority over the Warsaw Pact members and to violate the achieved military balance, which is one of the material foundations of detente. NATO's decision directly and seriously threatens the security of the European peoples, the peoples around the Mediterranean, and the populations of other areas on earth.

Naturally, the ambitious plans of U.S. militaristic circles aimed at gaining military superiority over the Warsaw Pact members are unrealistic. Previous such attempts have been groundless. Today, when the fraternal socialist countries have a considerably greater economic and scientific and technical potential, such attempts become even less promising and more adventuristic. The military-strategic balance reached between the socialist and capitalist worlds is a factor which restrains the aggressive imperialist attempts, thus meeting the most profound interests of all nations. However, NATO's present course toward a new spiral in the arms race is fraught with dangerous consequences to the security of the peoples and could increase the danger of a nuclear war, a danger which has been pushed back in recent years.

Today the problem of military detente and disarmament on the continent plays a central role among the problems which determine the strengthening of European peace. Achieving progress in military detente in Europe is an objective and most urgent requirement. The socialist countries favor the implementation of a broad range of proposals governing all aspects and lines of the disarmament problem. It is entirely clear that progress along this way would provide new substantial material guarantees for international and European security. Anyone who disrupts and hinders the solution of disarmament problems assumes a heavy responsibility toward his nation and all mankind. In an age of rapid scientific and technical progress we cannot ignore the time factor: According to the experts, unless the continuing arms race is stopped in the immediate future, disarmament agreements would become far more difficult to reach following the appearance of new types of armaments.

Therefore, today, essentially, the world is at a crossroads. One road leads to the intensification of detente and the expansion of peaceful cooperation while the second leads to a dangerous aggravation of international tension. The Warsaw Pact members have always favored the development and intensification of the detente process and the radical improvement of the international political climate. They express the hope that their peaceful initiatives will meet with the understanding and support of Western public opinion, nations and governments.

With the combined efforts of all peace-loving forces, as available experience indicates, it is entirely possible not only to strengthen detente in Europe but to extend it to other parts of the world. Europe, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "could become an important link in the system of inter-governmental relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, effective security and equal cooperation."

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, it would be useful to recall that its participants set themselves the aim of providing conditions under which the peoples could live in the circumstances of a real and lasting peace, protected from any threat against or attempt on their security. Any sincere supporter of insuring universal peace and stable international relations must dedicate his efforts to this noble objective.

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WASHINGTON'S CALCULATIONS AND MISCALCULATIONS

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[Article by Yu. Zhukov, PRAVDA political commentator]

[Text] These summer days of a year saturated with important events will be long remembered by any observer of political life on earth. We are the witnesses and participants in events whose outcome will largely determine the future of all mankind. It has been a long time since the confrontation between two directly opposite courses followed by the socialist and the capitalist worlds has been made apparent to mankind so vividly and clearly.

The socialist world is following its path of peaceful construction adamantly and industriously. The June CC CPSU Plenum passed the decision to convene the regular 26th Party Congress which will analyze our accomplishments, open new horizons, and define the strategy and tactic of the struggle at the forthcoming stage in the building of communism. These days the fraternal socialist countries are also summing up the results of their current five-year plan of peaceful construction and are earmarking their future tasks. The decisions of the Prague CEMA session defined the prospects for the peaceful development of our comity for 1981-1985. The already traditional summer meetings in the Crimea between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on the one hand, and the heads of the fraternal socialist countries, on the other, have assumed major significance.

The young countries which gained their national independence after an adamant struggle against imperialism are linking ever more closely their destinies with the socialist way of development. Major changes have taken place throughout the world over the past decade.

The capitalist world is desperately trying to hold back these processes. Its leaders, the leaders of the United States above all, stubbornly laying claim to world domination and unwilling to take into consideration the changed ratio of forces in the world arena, are trying ever more energetically to mount a counterattack on the gains achieved by the peoples in

the 1970s. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated at the June CC CPSU Plenum, "The imperialists have clearly set themselves the task of testing the will of the people for peace, our goodwill, comrades, and our resolve to follow the path of detente and good-neighborly relations. No single day can pass without Washington making an attempt to restore the cold war spirit and rouse militaristic passions."

What Is the Aim of the Imperialist Forces?

Their counteroffensive has been mounted under the false pretext of fighting an imaginary "Soviet menace." This is justified by persistently promoting the slanderous version that the internationalist aid given Afghanistan, at the request of its legitimate government and fully in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan Treaty and the United Nations Charter, represents "intervention," "occupation" and even "annexation." The people who disseminate such delirious fabrications know perfectly well that they are lying. They cannot conceal the main thing: The anti-Soviet and anticommunist crusade began long before the Afghan events. The scale of this crusade clearly proves that the intent of its organizers is considerably greater than their concern for the restoration of a feudal system in a small country located in a vast continent.

What were the ideas driving Washington to make a dangerous turn in its foreign policy? The point is that the far-reaching plans of American imperialism concerning the period of detente suffered complete failure. The plan concocted by the promoters of the notorious "convergence" failed. They realized that they would be unable to turn the socialist countries to the capitalist way. The policy of "bridge-building," whereby bourgeois ideology was to be promoted within the socialist world influencing, above all, the young people, failed as well. Nothing came out of attempts to pit one fraternal socialist country against another and to promote quarrels among them. The national-liberation struggle as well continued to increase under the conditions of detente. Internal contradictions became aggravated in the capitalist camp and opposition to the arms race grew. Many countries began to show an ever-increasing interest in mutually profitable and reliable economic partnership with the USSR and the other socialist states.

Such an international development triggered concern among the ruling U.S. circles and, soon after the signing of the Final Act of the European Conference, which was a real charter of detente and peaceful coexistence, Washington sharply pressed the brake pedal and, subsequently, began ever more noticeably to deviate from the norms of international relations as proclaimed in Helsinki. Engaging in a new foreign political turn, the United States froze the ratification of the Soviet-American SALT II Treaty, concluded in Vienna in the summer of 1979 after 7 long years of talks. Blocking all roads to disarmament, intensifying the arms race, increasing the tension, and trying to implement a truly delirious plan of isolating politically and blockading economically the USSR, and breaking cultural

and scientific relations, the American administration clearly hoped to deflect us from the peaceful course charted by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, bury detente and resurrect the cold war.

Thus, the sharp turn made by the United States and, to a certain extent, by the entire capitalist West away from detente was a class reaction to the strengthened positions of socialism, the successes achieved in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, and the growth of democratic and progressive forces in the capitalist world itself. It was an attempt to turn in its favor the course of events and, using the threat of force, stop or even merely slow down historical progress.

The counteroffensive was mounted along a broad front. It included the feverish rearming of NATO members, the hastily developed political and military cooperation with China, and the ever more active military intervention in Asia and Africa. The result was the appearance of new conflict hotbeds: China attacked Vietnam, a dangerous situation developed with Iran, and an undeclared war against Afghanistan broke out. The clear intent was to rally around the United States its NATO allies and involve them in an anticommunist crusade. The idea that Washington should play a "leading role" throughout the world, prescribing to the nations how to build their lives, an idea which had gone bankrupt toward the 1960s, was brought back. In his 29 May speech at the West Point Military Academy, U.S. Defense Secretary G. Brown openly stated that, "We cannot give up the position of world leader which we must hold by virtue of our power."

Such were Washington's far-reaching calculations. However, present times are far different from what they were in the 1940s and 1950s, when Dulles, the anticommunist fanatic, was pursuing his notorious policy of "balancing on the brink of war," in the hope that in a tense situation the U.S. allies would be easier to control and the peoples easily frightened. If the attempts made at that time to pressure the Soviet Union and the positions of socialism at large and to "throw back communism," to use Dulles' expression, failed, what could they hope for now, when our economic and defense power has been increased immeasurably, and when the moral and political unity of Soviet society has become even stronger?

The Deep Roots of Detente

The mad hysterics of the leaders of the capitalist world are countered by the true Leninist restraint, composure, firmness, and principle-mindedness of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Our leaders did not allow themselves to be deflected from the course defined in the decisions of the 24th and 25th Party congresses. The decree "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union," promulgated at the June CC CPSU Plenum, based on Comrade A. A. Gromyko's report, offers convincing proof of this fact. Our party and Soviet state are systematically struggling against slipping toward a cold war and for normal peaceful coexistence and the prevention of the danger of a global

thermonuclear conflict. "The way to the solution of this problem," the plenum stated, "is one of talks based on the strict observance of the principle of equality and identical security."

Washington's fierce opposition notwithstanding, this stand is gaining an ever larger number of supporters not only among the people's masses but among government leaders, including those of Western countries. The numerous international and bilateral meetings, particularly the talks between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on the one hand, and French President Giscard d'Estaing and FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt, on the other, proved that however hard Washington's politicians may be trying to wreck detente, it has sunk deep roots and that a real possibility exists for preserving and strengthening this positive process.

This is understandable, for detente is the legitimate result of the new ratio of forces which developed over the past decades in the world arena. The military-strategic balance reached between the socialist and the capitalist worlds is a major gain of historical significance. This precisely is the restraint upon aggressive imperialist aspirations. "The Soviet Union," wrote the influential American newspaper THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, "has reached military parity with the United States and can no longer be frightened." Yes, precisely! Let us add to this one more thing: In the past as well we were not among the timorous and any hope to disturb the parity which was achieved was doomed to failure. Naturally, achieving such a military-strategic balance and retaining it was no easy matter. It demanded tremendous efforts on the part of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries. However, returns from this accomplishment have been hundredfold.

The calm and confident force of the policy pursued by the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries, based on the unflinching support of the peoples, and meeting with the understanding and respect of sensibly thinking people the world over, is in sharp contrast with the ever twitching, truly hysterical, thoughtless and fluctuating behavior of the American administration. The unpredictability of its actions frightens U.S. allies and the American people who, only yesterday, under the influence of militaristic propaganda, had been stupefied by the intoxication of chauvinism but are suffering from a big hangover today. The miscalculations committed by those who planned and implemented the zigzags in U.S. foreign policy are being felt ever more clearly.

Let me cite a few examples. Recently, addressing the so-called League of Women Voters, Carter stated that peace must be based on "force, force whose existence does not have to be especially proved, force which simply exists, force acknowledged by other countries and other people, force of which we ourselves are aware." The reader can see how Carter used, within a single sentence, the word "force" five times. However, apparently he failed to convince his audience, for he was immediately asked the question: "What

are the government's plans on activating the debate on the SALT II Treaty?... We are quite concerned with the impact of military expenditures on our budget." The President had no answer to this question, for he himself had frozen the decision on the ratification of the SALT Treaty by the congress.

Some time after that the President was interviewed on CBS television. However, here again new and very sarcastic and dangerous questions awaited him. "Mr President," journalists asked Carter, "during the 1976 election campaign you said that Ford, your predecessor, should be ashamed for leaving 7.5 million people without work. You also said that unemployment and inflation are a very serious accusation leveled against the Ford administration. Today there are nearly 7.3 million unemployed (subsequently the unemployment figure rose by approximately another million--the author), while inflation today is worse than it was then. Why is this not an equally serious charge leveled against your administration?" "This is a grave problem," Carter admitted grudgingly and immediately tried to extricate himself by saying, "We are expecting good results in the summer."

He was then asked another question: "Mr President, you have made such positive forecasts in most of your recent statements.... However, the level of unemployment is continuing to rise. The latest economic indicators are the worst ever published. Most economists say that we are facing a severe recession. Why do you keep speaking of this in such an optimistic way? Are you not afraid of undermining your credibility?"

Fatal Consequences of An Unrealistic Policy

It is hard for the President to answer many of the questions coming to him from all sides. Naturally, however, he knows that the economic crisis in the United States, largely caused by excessive expenditures for the ever-intensifying arms race, will continue to worsen. Information published in the press indicates that reality is exceeding even the worst assumptions of pessimistic economists. "Nearly every day Americans are hearing that automobile plants are being closed down, metal workers laid off, or construction work stopped," the journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT wrote recently. In a 12-month period which ended last May automobile sales in the United States dropped 42.8 percent (almost one-half!). Last year United States Steel, the steel-producing corporation, closed down 13 plants. Recently it closed down three more furnaces at its Gary plant.

In its 16 June issue the American TIME magazine carried an article entitled "The Bad News Gets Worse." In particular, it states: "Some economists call it a free fall. To the 1.7 million people added to the jobless rolls in April and May (author's note: already totaling 8.2 million people with economists predicting a further increase in unemployment to 9-10 million!), the U.S. economy may well seem to have toppled from a cliff or been sucked into a black hole. Whatever the metaphor, the numbers that came out last week left no doubt: Not only has the long-feared recession begun but it

is already shaping up as one of the worst slumps since the Great Depression of the 1930s." Unemployment is also growing in the other capitalist countries dragged by the United States into a mad arms race. In May, for example, over 6 million workers--7.7 percent more than in May 1979--were jobless in the nine members of the European Economic Community.

Under those circumstances, the heads of the seven biggest capitalist countries--the United States, the FRG, Japan, Great Britain, France, Italy and Canada--met on 22-23 June under tight security in an old monastery on San Giorgio Island in Venice, to submit their reciprocal accounts for their "ills, annoyances and insults." Such meetings have been held annually since 1975. Their practice, however, indicates that under the anarchic conditions of the capitalist economy attempts to smooth over the conflicts among the members yield no practical results. This may have been the reason U.S. President Carter, who claims the role of conductor of this out-of-tune orchestra, decided to push back insoluble economic problems and take up politics, and try, yet once again, to restore the disturbed unity among capitalist countries under the pretext of protecting them from an imaginary "Soviet threat," and, at the same time, raise his prestige in the country. As the NEW YORK TIMES wrote in its 25 June issue, at that time only 30 percent of the voters approved of Carter's handling of the job, and no more than 25 percent of the American people approved his foreign policy. Yet, new presidential elections will be held on 4 November in the United States and Carter would like to be president for yet another term! That is precisely why he decided to saddle the same old worn-out horse with the imaginary "Soviet threat" and, before his flight to Venice, told newsmen that the allies will have to "act as a single front toward the USSR." In order to advertise to the maximum his political operation he added to the Venice trip visits to Italy, the Vatican, Yugoslavia and Portugal.

What Happened in Venice?

The organizers of the great political show in Venice failed to consider the most important factor: the "allies and friends" of the United States, even though remaining loyal to the class discipline binding them to the United States as the militarily strongest country in the capitalist world, were not burning in the least with the zeal to pull for its sake the chestnuts from the fire. Here is what the American magazine NEWSWEEK wrote in the article "Why They Lost Faith in the United States," in a study of relations currently developing between the United States and its allies: "...The Western alliance is in ruins. Since the 1956 Suez conflict relations between the United States and Western Europe have rarely been so bad. Even Japan is beginning to look askance at its main benefactor and protector. The reasons for the discontent within the alliance are obvious: The allies are puzzled by Jimmy Carter's incoherent foreign policy; they question the judiciousness of actions as varied as trade sanctions against Iran, the boycott of the Olympic Games and the Camp David accords; they are dissatisfied with the unchecked consumption of energy in the United States and with its inflationary economy. They are beginning to ask a few

uneasy questions: Could the United States serve as a model as in the past? And is it worth following its leadership blindly?"

These are curious admissions even though, naturally, the reader may have already noted that NEWSWEEK is cleverly ignoring the main question: the dangers and adventurist anti-Sovietism shown by Washington, which frightens more than anything else the U.S. allies who are unwilling to break mutually profitable relations with us established in the period of detente. The Paris journal LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR made a clearer statement on this subject. Here are its views published following the Venice meeting: "America has become impatient and nationalistic. It has lost to a considerable extent the ability to understand its opponents and even its allies. It no longer tolerates any arguments and tends to see in every European a potential deserter.... America's new tone could only encourage Western Europe to engage in a separate search for a certain 'reinsurance' which would presume the preservation of good relations with Moscow." Here, as the saying goes, all the "i's" have been dotted.

Naturally, such deliberately dramatized statements made by the bourgeois press should be taken at face value, for such articles published in American and Western European newspapers and periodicals are a kind of haggling between the United States and its allies. We must not forget that the capitalist countries allied to the United States are linked by common class interests and that their bloc has its discipline extending not merely to military affairs but to the political and economic areas as well.

Nevertheless, we should not take a simplistic view of what is happening today between the United States and its allies, the conflicts with whom are becoming ever more apparent. This was quite convincingly shown at the "big seven" meeting in Venice and in the subsequent events. Here is how the biggest Western press organs assessed its results: The French newspaper LE FIGARO of 25 June: "The Venice conference turned out to be a mountain that gave birth to no more than a few mice." The American journal NEWSWEEK, 30 June issue: "Venice: Attempt to Bridge the Gap with Paper." The Japanese newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN of 25 June: "Differences are apparent between the United States and Western Europe in connection with the problems of Middle Eastern peace, the Iran and Afghanistan circumstances, and problems related to detente. No results whatever were achieved on economic problems."

What about Carter? Satisfied with the official resolutions supporting anti-Soviet American policy, passed by "the seven," he went on "galloping around Europe." Everywhere, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, "he systematically pursued one topic. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, he said again and again, is a threat to all Western democracies, demanding a united and unequivocal reaction."

At the same time, U.S. Secretary of State Muskie, who accompanied Carter to the Venice conference, made another trip. On 25 and 26 June he attended the meetings of the NATO Council in Ankara. Having replayed the worn-out record of the imaginary "Soviet threat," and having dictated yet another inflammatory resolution, Muskie flew to Malaysia for the ASEAN conference. In Kuala-Lumpur he did everything possible to aggravate relations between the countries of Southeast Asia and Kampuchea and Vietnam. Reaching Tokyo, he discussed with Japanese leaders the situation in South Korea where the puppet regime implanted by the United States is raging.

Those days Secretary of Defense G. Brown, another member of Carter's cabinet, was also engaged in heavy traveling. He visited Italy, Britain, the FRG and France, asking the allies to agree to a new increase of their contributions to the NATO budget and to adopt the American idea of "dividing" the military functions. It was a question for the U.S. allies to set up additional armed forces which could replace the American divisions in Europe should they have to be moved to the Middle East or anywhere else for military operations against countries whose actions displease the United States.

Naturally, it was not for their pleasure that the Washington politicians plunged into feverish activities last June, leaving behind domestic affairs and rushing to Western Europe and Asia. Realizing that Carter's course of securing the United States a leading role throughout the world was experiencing one failure after another, they tried to restore the discipline in their military camp by twisting the arms of their allies and frightening them with the imaginary "Soviet threat." The subsequent development of events indicated that even though they were unable to achieve their objectives they are continuing to persist, accelerating the arms race and heating up war hysteria. Presidential Directive No 59, whose essence may be reduced to the doctrine of the so-called limited nuclear war, was a new step along this dangerous adventurist way.

Sober Views

Such feverish activities notwithstanding, the growing aspiration not only of the broad masses but of the ruling circles of Western Europe and Japan to put an end to the truly adventurist political course charted by the United States of undermining detente and the various mutually profitable relations with the United States and the other socialist countries is becoming ever more apparent. We cannot fail to note a number of important events in which Western European governments, while supporting this course in their speeches, in fact have shown open disobedience to the United States.

Let us recall the meeting between French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and L. I. Brezhnev in Warsaw, which was an extension of the traditional

summit dialogue between our countries. As the American newspaper THE BALTIMORE SUN wrote, "High governmental officials were enraged by the Soviet-French summit meeting." Washington tried to admonish France. The firm answer which came out of Paris, however, was that France had no intention of asking permission from the other side of the ocean about where its representatives were to meet and with whom.

This was followed by the visit which FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt paid to the Soviet Union. This time, taking the existing circumstances into consideration, Washington not only did not condemn publicly but, conversely, supported Bonn's initiative, stating that it had been coordinated with the United States and the other NATO allies. However, the scandalous story of the rude personal message which Carter sent Schmidt, received by the FRG as an "insult" to the chancellor, followed by a 2-hour explanation between them in Venice, gives no reasons for looking at such "coordination" in a rosy light.

As J. Anderson, the independent U.S. presidential candidate, stated on 24 July, returning from a visit to Western Europe, relations within the Western alliance are now at a "critical crossroads." The U.S. NATO allies, he pointed out, seriously question the ability of the United States to assume leadership or even simply sensibly to participate in the formulation of joint policy.

This equally applied to U.S. attempts to block trade between its allies and the USSR. In answer to Washington's demand to reduce to naught economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, the Western European countries not only did not stop but increased their volume of trade. In the course of the ninth session of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation, held at the beginning of the summer in Bonn, it was pointed out that between 1976 and 1980 trade between the two countries will have doubled compared with the previous 5 years and that the FRG has assumed a leading position among our Western trade partners. On 4 June von Amerongen, president of the West German Trade and Industry Association, stated that, "Economic relations with the Soviet Union should be developed without obstructions, as much as possible, and political conflicts should not be allowed to influence them." He quite bitingly added that, "It would be wrong to use economics as a 'halfback,' as is done in soccer, if no political answer is provided to a political challenge."

In the course of the FRG chancellor's visit to Moscow an agreement was signed on the further development of bilateral economic cooperation in accordance with a long-term program for economic relations planned for the rest of the 20th century.

Despite the opposition of reactionary forces, economic, scientific, and cultural relations between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and France, Italy, the Netherlands, and other Western European NATO members are developing successfully. The U.S. allies, the American journal U.S. NEWS AND

WORLD REPORT noted, "have not the slightest intention of sacrificing their reliance on trade with the Soviet Union, particularly in connection with the increased global recession. West Germany, one of Russia's main Western trading partners, exported to the Soviet Union in 1979 goods worth \$3.5 billion; the Japanese exported goods for \$2.5 billion and the French for \$1.8 billion. In addition to trade, Italy has advantageous big contracts for the building of enterprises and is receiving from the Soviet Union over 20 percent of the natural gas it consumes."

How could we forget, at this point, that as early as 1921, when the Western countries were trying to organize a blockade of Soviet Russia, V. I. Lenin issued the following warning addressing the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets: "As to the blockade, experience has indicated that no one knows who suffers from it more: those who are blockaded or those who blockade" (Poin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 44, p 301).

As the events indicate, a substantial sobering up started in the West in the middle of May. At that time I happened to be in Brussels attending the Fourth Interparliamentary Conference on Problems of Cooperation and Security in Europe and I had the opportunity to observe from within, so to say, the development of events. The conference opened on 12 May against the background of the regular cascade of militaristic anti-Soviet propaganda: It was precisely then that the NATO military planning committee was meeting in Brussels, attended not only by the bloc's ministers of defense but of foreign affairs as well. As usual, the U.S. representatives tried to twist the arms of their Western European partners, asking that they increase their military expenditures and accelerate the arms race. All this was accompanied by a monstrous disinformation campaign regarding the peaceful policy of the USSR. This kind of slanderous campaign influenced the behavior of the bourgeois parliamentarians attending the conference. Some of them clearly wished to use it to attack the socialist countries. Naturally, the representatives of the socialist comity firmly rebuffed the slanderers.

However, the circumstances at the congress began drastically to change for the better when the news reached Brussels of the opening in Warsaw of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members. The new constructive decisions of the committee, aimed at terminating the arms race and strengthening the peace, were in sharp contrast to the militaristic hysteria prevailing in NATO's sessions.

An even greater awareness was gained by the bourgeois leaders following the Warsaw meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor H. Schmidt's decision to visit Moscow. As a result, despite the complexity and sharpness of the debates at some points the Fourth Interparliamentary Conference unanimously adopted a final document which emphasized that there is no alternative to detente and that it is the duty of all parliamentarians to help to eliminate the damage caused to detente and to restore the trust and cooperation among countries.

New Initiatives

The 30 June-1 July talks held in the Kremlin between the leaders of the USSR and the FRG opened new possibilities for the struggle against the dangerous negative line pursued by the United States in the international arena and for the preservation and the strengthening of detente. As the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers noted, the results of these talks are a major contribution to strengthening peace and security, improving the international climate, and insuring the further development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG.

Relations between the USSR and the FRG hold an important position in international life. The tension which existed between the FRG and the socialist countries in the past substantially influenced the circumstances in the rest of Europe. The easing of this tension 10 years ago, as a result of the conclusion of the treaties between the FRG, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, on the other, contributed to the appearance of a climate of detente in Europe, a climate which developed so beneficially in the 1970s. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in the Kremlin on 30 June, "We are far from presenting everything related to Soviet-West German relations in some kind of ideal light. Of late and, we should say, not by our fault, some difficulties have occurred." Nor do our views coincide entirely on most important international problems. Since, as a member of NATO, the FRG aligns itself with the positions of the United States on a number of questions. This was confirmed by H. Schmidt in his speech in Moscow. At the same time, however, he deemed it necessary to state that, "Located in the center of Europe, we could lose everything in a new war and gain nothing. The people of our country know this."

In the course of the Moscow talks the leaders of the Soviet Union and the FRG agreed on the main thing: preventing any harm to be caused to the policy of detente. In their final joint communique the two sides stated that they considered detente necessary, possible, and useful, and expressed their desire to contribute comprehensively to turning it into the leading trend in international relations. "There is no sensible alternative to peaceful and equal cooperation among countries," the document states.

The great importance of the cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in the interests of detente and peace and the good of both nations was re-asserted in the messages exchanged between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and W. Brandt, president of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the treaty between the two countries.

The people throughout the world, with the exception of extreme reactionary circles intending to bury detente, welcomed the constructive results of

the meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the FRG. Great interest was displayed everywhere in the new ideas and initiatives formulated in the course of the talks by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on behalf of the Soviet Union, aimed at reaching agreements on problems of strengthening the peace and international security, restraining the arms race, and resolving disarmament problems.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's proposals related to intermediary-range nuclear missiles drew particular attention. As we know, the Soviet side, having reasserted its previous position on the best ways for resolving the problem of this weapon in Europe, called for discussing it simultaneously and organically linked with the problem of American advance location nuclear armaments, i.e., all the nuclear armaments which the United States has already deployed on the territories of Western European countries. Naturally, possible agreements on such matters could be achieved only after the enactment of the Soviet-American SALT Treaty. A number of specific considerations were expressed by the Soviet side also in connection with the Vienna talks on reciprocal reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, with a view to providing a new impetus to the formulation of mutually acceptable solutions.

Presenting in the Bundestag a government declaration on the results of the talks, the German chancellor pointed out that he had given the new Soviet proposals their proper due and expressed his confidence that they would be studied closely. In turn, President Carter stated that the Soviet proposals "are worthy of consideration" and that "the United States will be ready to begin talks should an acceptable agenda be drafted." Subsequently, however, ever more loud voices began to be heard in Washington imbued with pessimism. For the time being, no practical steps are being considered there on organizing such talks.

One way or another, Washington's political strategy aimed at the creation of artificial deadlocks in international relations and blocking all initiatives aimed at their normalizing is suffering one failure after another. The fifth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the European conference in Helsinki, which has entered history as the great charter of cooperation among countries belonging to different social systems, noted by all nations, has reminded them that the future belongs not to the "hawks" and "cold war," but to forces favoring peaceful and mutually profitable cooperation.

The international events on the eve of the new decade of our century are following a complex path. "Despite the fact that international life presents a number of complexities, we could justifiably consider the present period of historical development great," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has stated. Despite the hardening of imperialist and reactionary forces, one after

another mankind is climbing the steps to a lasting peace. The nations' craving for equal cooperation and progress is growing."

The desire for peace is the biggest force of our time!

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CSO: 1802

NEW PHENOMENON IN THE ECONOMICS OF CAPITALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 98-107

[Article by Yu. Zhilin]

[Text] New phenomena in social developments in general and the development of capitalism in particular have always held the center of interest in creative Marxist-Leninist thinking. Considering the last 20 years and somewhat oversimplifying the picture, we could say the following: As far as contemporary capitalism is concerned, in the 1960s the main channel of scientific research covered a set of problems related to its adaptation to the new circumstances in the world and to the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the confrontation with socialism.

In the 1970s the center of gravity of the research conducted by Marxist scientists in this area shifted, reflecting the objective course of events, to a relatively new problem which could be defined most generally as follows: The crisis of said policy of adaptation as one of the manifestations of the contemporary aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. This crisis is manifested in various areas and in a number of aspects which continue to be the subject of an ever more profound Marxist-Leninist analysis. An important contribution to this study was made, in particular, by the international theoretical conference on "The Scientific and Technical Revolution and the Intensification of Economic and Sociopolitical Contradictions Within Capitalism at the Contemporary Stage," sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations between 21 and 23 May 1979. The summarized description of the reasons and consequences of the phenomena discussed here was provided in the opening speech at the conference delivered by Comrade B. N. Ponomarev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and CC CPSU secretary.

The crisis of the policy of capitalist adaptation to the new circumstances in the world does not mean in the least that the real processes it triggered have been "discounted." They have penetrated quite profoundly within the capitalist system. The crisis of the policy of adaptation is being manifested, in our view, not in the occurrence of a break with the policy

itself, since this cannot take place today for objective reasons. The calculations related to this policy are failing, and so, mainly, is hope that it would make it possible to surmount the contradictions within the capitalist system or, at least, to abate them.

The crisis of this policy has been manifested in a number of phenomena in the capitalist economy which reflect the intensification of its contradictions and, in turn, stimulate this intensification. Let us note that it is a question of phenomena which appeared precisely under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the struggle between the two systems--the very conditions to which capitalism has been trying to adapt. This dialectics of the contemporary evolution of capitalism is the latest confirmation of its historical doom. Actually, this development was anticipated by the Marxist-Leninist analysis made in the 1960s. "The farther imperialism goes in its attempts to adapt to the circumstances, the deeper will its internal socioeconomic antagonisms become," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the international conference of communists and workers parties, held in Moscow on 7 June 1969. These attempts and their bankruptcy are not separated by a "Chinese wall," any more than the 1960s are separated from the 1970s. The phenomena in the capitalist economy which have drawn particularly close attention to themselves in the last decade were present previously as well, in a concealed or more or less visible way. Retrospection simply enables us to single them out more clearly. However, the scale of the "self-expression" of these phenomenon in the 70s gives us substantial reasons for noting their new aspects as well.

How have new developments been manifested in the realm of economics? Above all, by the intertwining of crisis processes of a cyclical order, on the one hand, and of a structural order, on the other. It is a question, in particular, of a coincidence between a drastic reduction in the production process and the growth of unemployment and major upheavals affecting the global capitalist economy such as, for example, the energy, raw material and monetary crises. The coincidence and the interweaving are among the reasons for the aggravation of the processes of both kinds. "Inflation has made the crisis particularly grave," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "Heated by steadily rising military expenditures, it has reached unparalleled volume for times of peace."

The heart of the matter is that the history of the cyclical crises of capitalist production shows that declines or rises in output have been paralleled by the lowering or raising of prices. Naturally, wars and their economic consequences have led to certain departures from this pattern. With this exception, however, as a whole, this has been the pattern: Over the long period of existence of capitalism overproduction crises have been incompatible with inflation. What is happening today? Today the growth of prices and inflation are continuing and even increasing in periods of production declines as well. Unquestionably, this is an essentially new phenomenon.

"...The present crisis is unusual," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 25th CPSU Congress. This assessment does not apply simply to the specific characteristics of the 1973-1975 economic crisis. In addition to everything else, it applies to the phenomenon of the unusual role of inflation in the cyclical development of capitalism. The new feature is striking precisely because of the gravity of the 1973-1975 crisis. In the 1960s inflation had already become a chronic ill afflicting a number of capitalist countries. During that decade as well periodical production declines had taken place. However, the crisis of the mid-1970s proved to be the gravest in the postwar period, surpassed only by the "Great Depression" of 1929-1933. Furthermore, it was paralleled by most intensive inflation.

The same assessment applies to another new feature as well. Previously, the army of the unemployed increased during periods of decline while declining in periods of animation and production recovery. Today its size remains either stable or even increases even during the phase of the cycle which could be described as animation.

Therefore, paradoxical though it might seem from the viewpoint of previous concepts, today inflation and unemployment accompany each other, to begin with. Secondly, they either remain stable or tend to rise to a certain extent regardless of cyclical production fluctuations. These, like other new phenomena in the development of contemporary capitalism, introduce new aspects into the objective conditions of the labor movement and the class struggle, not applicable to the economic area alone.

The combination of cyclical crises with mass unemployment and inflation is identified in the West by the composite word "stagflation." This term synthesizes the concepts of stagnation and inflation.

The theses prepared by the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, drafted for the conference we mentioned, justifiably note that "K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin considered the main source of intensification of contradictions within the capitalist system and, in the final account, its doom not stagnation or the blocking of production forces but the further aggravation of the conflict between production forces and production relations within capitalism in the course of their development." The theses emphasize the importance of this approach at the present time as well. This view seems to be shared by all Marxist-Leninist economists. Therefore, the category of "stagnation" is hardly always a proper reflection of the condition of the capitalist economy and never able to reflect its dynamics. Having made this stipulation, we can see no particular objections to the term "stagflation," since it aptly describes this new phenomenon, a phenomenon different from the familiar classical mechanism of the economic cycle, a phenomenon which could not be briefly described otherwise.

The set of problems related to stagflation is the subject of the book by S. M. Men'shikov "Inflyatsiya i Krizis Regulirovaniya Ekonomiki" [Inflation and Crisis in Economic Control] (Mysl', Moscow, 1979, 367 pages). This is one of the most substantive works on this topic, leading to a number of theoretical and methodological considerations.

The author considers stagflation as the result of a modification in the effect of the laws governing state-monopoly capitalism. K. Marx pointed out in "Das Kapital" that the laws of capitalism could be modified by a number of factors. In each individual case, however, including the one applicable to the problem under consideration, specific circumstances demand a specific analysis. The theoretical difficulty is that stagflation itself, as the author notes, is a multiple-factor phenomenon (p 3) and the result of the interaction of forces and objective changes of a different nature. The author undertakes their study with a consideration of the external factors which influence reproduction in the capitalist countries: the increased power of the world's socialist system, the new ways of economic development in the developing countries, and the struggle waged by the socialist and developing countries for a radical reorganization of international economic relations.

These factors mark the abolishment of the unchallenged political and economic domination of imperialism over the world. In other words, they limit, they block the trend stemming from the inner nature of monopoly capitalism; they reflect the fact that today imperialism can no longer determine the nature of the age, while the general conditions of the age influence the manifestation of the laws of imperialism. Let us add to this that the new ratio among class forces within the individual capitalist countries is also largely the product of the very fact of the existence of real socialism and of its influence on the workers movement. In other words, this type of international conditions exerts its influence through strictly internal channels as well, manifesting itself within the capitalist countries.

As to the direct reasons for a phenomenon such as stagflation, according to the author "Deep internal structural changes in the economies of the most industrially advanced capitalist countries were the most important factors" (p 70).

It is obvious, however, that a profound and specific study of such multiple-level phenomena presumes not only the enumeration of the individual factors which create it but their hierarchy as well. In this area, the author has found the interrelationship among such aspects, studied it and determined its "individual style." We believe that the viewpoint adopted by S. M. Men'shikov (which does not exclude other approaches) is interesting and, in many respects, quite fruitful. It could be substantiated by the fact alone that the attempts themselves on the part of capitalism to adapt to

the new circumstances "have a rather limited range." The range is limited by the "interests of the ruling monopoly leadership which is quite unwilling to part with conventional ways and means of domination" (p 10) and the growing economic and political contradictions within the capitalist world.

Focusing his attention on the internal aspects of stagflation, the author has been able to answer the very difficult question of why and how--precisely on the basis of contemporary capitalism and without contradicting its inner nature--has the classical mechanism of the economic cycle changed and why and how did a shift occur from classical to contemporary inflation. He considers stagflation itself the result of the combination of these twin processes. Each of them is studied in the book both separately and in combination with the other.

In answer to the question of why has the cycle changed, the author draws our attention to changes of a triple nature: First, the growing role of private monopolies and the state; second, the characteristics of the manifestation of the scientific and technical revolution in the capitalist economy; third, the qualitatively new stage of development of the conflict between the highly organized working class and private monopoly capital relying on the support of the state (see p 70).

In terms of these changes, the following considerations are of particular interest: "Despite the existence of a trend toward technical stagnation, the countertrend of accelerated technical progress in the big concerns has increased considerably. This is mainly due to changes in the nature and the aggravation of the competitive struggle among monopoly associations" (pp 86-87).

The nature of these changes may be reduced to the following: Characteristic of the old type of monopoly control was a combination of a system of high prices in good periods with "open price war in worsening periods. The new type of control, conversely, is distinguished by the unanimity of the rivaling monopolies in maintaining high prices. The center of gravity of the struggle shifts to lowering production costs, introducing new goods, engaging in their constant changes and improvements, and upgrading their quality or attractiveness to the consumer." With such methods of monopoly competition, the spending of considerable funds on research and scientific and technical development is "an urgent need for the big concerns, a question of life or death in the competition" (p 87).

The author traces in detail the gradual growth and expansion of state-monopoly control between the 1930s and the 1960s, whose purpose was to reduce the amplitude of the economic cycle and the instability of capitalist reproduction. Under the influence of this and other factors the mechanism of the cycle changed whereas the periodical nature of overproduction cycles remained.

Noting the new aspects in the development of the inflationary process through the example of the United States, the author shows that in that country, compared with the previous decades following World War II, "there were even almost no short periods of a general drop in prices." He also points out that "after several fluctuations, not necessarily related to the economic cycle, long-term price increases were resumed" (p 150).

What are the reasons for the current inflation which could be described as "steady" and "unabating?" The book provides the following answer: They are the result of the combination of several most important processes. Above all, once again, it is a question of the stronger ruling or even domination by the monopolies and the related decisive fact of the mechanism of monopoly price-setting. Further, it is a question of the systematic violation of reproduction ratios as a result of governmental interference, the most odious manifestations of which are the processes of militarization of the economy. Finally, it is a question of the intensification of the mechanism of shifting the inflation from one country to another, reflecting the typical imperialist trend of international expansion, i.e., essentially, the same old fact of the growing dominance of the monopolies, this time on an international scale.

From the theoretical viewpoint the first of these factors is of particular interest. The following is important here: Even though a situation in which not one but several corporations operating on a parallel basis is typical, the price-setting mechanism does not lose the characteristics inherent in monopoly prices or come closer to the laws of free competition. Naturally, as the author proves on the basis of a mathematical analysis, the relative level of the market price depends on the extent to which a given sector has been monopolized. However, the mechanism of the contemporary monopoly competition has its specifics: "...The struggle waged by the monopolies to lower production costs is manifested to a greater extent in the increased amount of goods on the market rather than the lowering of market prices; both the individual monopolies and the monopolies engaged in a competitive struggle rely on shifting the burden of production costs to the customer...." (p 185).

Such is the mechanism of one-sided price increase inertia, inherent in the contemporary capitalist economy. Its main foundation is the ability of the monopolies to raise prices by limiting their output, holding back the growth of production capacities, hindering the introduction of new less expensive products, and channeling technical research into the development of commodities and technologies which not only do not reduce but even occasionally increase production costs (see p 230).

Current inflation is largely related to excessive military expenditures. This relation is clearly shown in the book even though the author could have paid greater attention to it. At the same time, the author notes that today inflation has become a permanent phenomenon even in countries whose

share of military expenditures is relatively low, as well as in periods of relatively small increase in military expenditures.

This means that it is precisely monopoly domination that has created the trend toward a steady price increase even in periods of relative surplus of commodities. It is precisely the monopolies who initiate price increases by virtue of their internally inherent tendency to restrict production for the sake of earning maximum profits.

Let us add to this the role of the bourgeois state as well. The author describes the dialectics of development of the capitalist economy: Greater state controls have led to even greater inflation. The profound reason here is that such controls have not changed the foundations of the capitalist system, which has always been directed, one way or another, toward protecting the common interests of the monopolies.

Discussing the class nature of governmental price controls under capitalist conditions, the author points out that it arose only with the growth of capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism (see p 305). What is important here is that direct price controls, as a rule, have included wage controls. The decision to set maximum limits to price increases, combined with maximum wage increase limits was described as "income policy." "This terminology," the author writes, "presumes the existence of an allegedly even-handed approach to controlling the income of the main classes in contemporary capitalist society" (p 307). In reality, as the book shows, the incomes of workers and employees are controlled directly whereas the incomes of the capitalist class, i.e., the profits, above all, are controlled only indirectly, through prices. A number of methods are available for the nonproportional increase in profits compared with wages. "Since it is far more difficult to control prices than wages, in practice a freeze entails a lowering of real wages" (p 308). The bourgeois state, the author concludes, "is waging its struggle not against 'inflated prices' but 'inflated' wages" (p 310).

The most interesting part in the book is the study of the stagflation mechanism. The author proves how, starting with 1969-1970 and, particularly, in 1973-1975, price rises during crises increased sharply rather than declining.

What is the main reason for changes in price cyclical dynamics?

The author compares the typical reaction to overproduction by nonmonopoly entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and the monopolies, on the other. The former react by "predominant price decreases and minimized output." The second react by reducing the production and supply of commodities to the market for the sake of protecting the market price at all costs.

With the help of numerous examples the author proves how in times of crises monopolies manage to raise prices regardless of the impossibility to market the goods. Therefore, stagflation reflects the increased degree of monopoly control over the economy of the main capitalist countries and the dissemination of a variety of governmental-monopoly instruments for maintaining market prices.

Inflation adversely affects the development of the economy both in times of crises and between crises.

Thus, between 1976 and 1978 it was one of the reasons for the lengthy stagnation of capital investments in all leading capitalist countries.

In 1979-1980 it contributed to the outbreak of a new production decline in the United States and Japan and to a sharp reduction of economic growth in the other capitalist countries. The new economic crisis broke out only 6 years after the end of the previous one. Once again the initial stage of the crisis was characterized by a sharp rise in inflation.

Stagflation contributed to the intensification of trade-economic and financial conflicts among the imperialist countries and to worsening the situation of the developing countries in the world capitalist markets. The international mechanism of the struggle for income distribution and redistribution, particularly between developing and industrially developed capitalist countries, is influencing global economic progress ever more noticeably. The attempts of the leading Western countries to resolve financial difficulties by introducing "floating" exchange rates intensified the monetary chaos.

The combination of crises with inflation caught the ruling circles unawares and deadlocked state-monopoly economic control. Here again an objectively conflicting situation developed: The traditional means used by the bourgeois state to fight inflation lead to the intensification of economic crises while the adoption of anticrisis measures lead to increased inflation.

Actually, starting with the 1930s, an increase in government spending has been considered the most effective anticrisis instrument in the arsenal of fiscal policy (in order to stimulate overall public demand). A more effective anti-inflationary measure in the same arsenal was reducing or restricting to a minimum governmental spending (with a view to reducing or stopping the growth of overall public demand). "It is obvious that, unlike the situation of a conventional crisis and conventional inflation, stagflation could not be fought through the simple manipulation of governmental spending" (p 320). This is one of the reasons for which the Western state leaders, facing stagflation, became confused in their search for a proper economic policy, fearing the use of traditional measures. During the 1973-1975 crisis and after it the struggle against decline, stagnation and

inflation was either not waged at all or was waged on a very limited basis. The results of this "policy of inaction" was the retention over a number of years of mass multimillion-strong unemployment, a recurrent inflationary rate exceeding 10 or, occasionally, 20 percent per year, and a general slowdown of the pace of economic development of leading capitalist countries.

The policy of the present American administration is marked by vacillating governmental controls in the face of stagflation. "Before the elections (1976--the author) Carter bowed in the direction of circles which required an effective restriction of inflation.... After winning the elections but even before becoming president, Carter held a conference with a restricted number of selected representatives of leading industrial monopolies. The outcome of the conference was that Carter entirely abandoned his previous promises to control prices. His program on the "struggle against inflation" contained an even lesser number of factual measures compared with Ford's program. Carter limited himself to the creation of a joint advisory agency of representatives of the monopolies and the trade unions, assigning them the difficult problem of how to cope with inflation. The activities of this agency, as was to be expected, bore no results" (pp 317-318).

As the author proves, all main directions and schools of bourgeois economics, such as Keynesian, monetarist, or conservative, proved their total bankruptcy in the face of stagflation. None of their subtleties goes beyond the limits of a more flexible utilization of the levers of the tax and credit-monetary policy and, above all, the use of mass unemployment and attacks on the wages of the working people within the framework of an improved "income policy."

The lengthier and deeper stagflation becomes, the more pessimistic become the forecasts. Today the majority of Western forecasters have begun to believe that in the 1980s the average growth rates of output in the main capitalist countries will be lower than those of the 1970s, not to mention the "great" 1960s which were clearly considered unattainable. Many economists and politicians raise again the question of a possible recurrence of a world economic crisis on the 1929-1930 scale, clearly encouraged by a new decline coinciding with its 50th "anniversary."

The book under review contains data on the interpretation of this question as well.

As the author points out, in recent decades substantial structural changes have taken place in the capitalist economy, changes making a more or less precise repetition of the 1929-1933 events unlikely. The degree of economic monopolization in the main capitalist countries and of their global economic relations has increased considerably. State-monopoly control of the capitalist economy has been developed extensively and the role of the bourgeois state in the public reproduction mechanism has increased. These

reasons make quite unlikely a considerable production decline whose scale would outstrip the 1973-1975 crisis, combined with a sharp decline in prices, similar to what took place 50 years ago. Most likely, new overproduction crises will be combined with continuing and even stronger inflation.

Under contemporary conditions a sharp absolute drop of output in the developed capitalist countries is not excluded in the least. This was confirmed by the 1973-1975 events as well. However, as in 1929, such a decline could hardly appear only under the influence of conventional cyclical processes. The following possible epicenters of new economic upheavals could be pointed out:

The growth of the inflationary process into "hyperinflation" which will lead to a growing reduction in the real incomes of the working people and to interruption and disorganization of output;

New outbreaks of the energy crisis, leading to painful breakdowns in an economy based on inexpensive fuel and waste of natural resources;

Monetary panic such as, for example, an attempt to convert hundreds of billions of surplus paper dollars into gold;

Mass bankruptcy in the area of international credits (this threat is presented by the developing countries).

A major crisis is the result of uncontrollable chain reactions in the reproduction process and the snowballing growth of crisis shocks. In recent decades such processes have frequently come up against barriers erected through state controls. At the present time, however, such controls themselves are in a state of shock. This creates additional possibilities for the recurrence of major economic crises today.

Yet, if we draw a parallel between the present and the past we must be able to see yet another essential difference. As Comrade B. N. Ponomarev has written, "Unlike the situation at the beginning of the 1930s the size, nature and level of organization of the forces currently opposing imperialism make it possible to prevent a reactionary "solution" to the crisis, to defend the already gained rights and freedoms of the working people, and to insure a solution to the crisis which would factually mark progress toward true democracy, lasting peace and socialism."

The author pays the necessary attention to the social consequences of this new phenomenon in the capitalist economy. The book indicates that as a result of the combination of a number of factors (changes in the growth rates of output, labor productivity, able-bodied population, and so on) in the 1970s a turn was made by all capitalist countries toward a relative or absolute lowering of demand for manpower, expressed in the stable trend

toward higher unemployment. At the same time, as a result of a considerable rise of inflation the growth of real wages has been curtailed and, in a number of cases, stopped entirely. The tax burden has risen as well, as the result of a purely nominal growth of income subjected to higher tax rates and as a result of the introduction or increase of social security taxes directly withheld from wages.

In a number of respects the combination of the crisis with inflation is considerably worse and more difficult for the toiling masses compared with past crises. Inflation lowers the real income of workers, employees, farmers and middle classes even under conditions of unstable economic growth. Meanwhile, the crises of reduction of nominal incomes and growth of unemployment are worsened by a decline in the real income of the employed population. The long-range trend toward reducing employment in material production is intensified. The measures taken by the bourgeois governments to fight stagflation are focused on limiting employment, curtailing the income of the working people and reducing governmental expenditures in the social areas.

The author's entirely logical general conclusion is that the solution of the problems of crises, unemployment and inflation is beyond the range of state-monopoly capitalism (see pp 354-355). "...The most radical solution of the stagflation problem would require the total elimination of the capitalist system and the building of a socialist society. However, real progress toward the elimination of crises, unemployment and inflation is possible even before a transition to socialism through profound democratic changes which are of interest, above all, to the toiling masses and to all social strata suffering from the consequences of the domination of monopoly capital" (p 355). The author describes the general outlines of a program for such changes supported by progressive circles in the capitalist countries as a democratic alternative to the existing situation while abstracting himself somewhat from one or another characteristic related to the place and time of formulation of corresponding measures and suggestions. This, however, is a separate topic which, clearly, exceeds the limits of the basic theme of the work.

Throughout the work the author repeatedly uses mathematics in analyzing the mechanism of the capitalist economy. He uses models of economic cycles, stagflation, state controls, monopoly competition, price setting and others. We consider the use of such methods in the study of the changes occurring in the capitalist economy to be a fruitful and promising trend in the science of economics.

Not everything contained in S. N. Men'shikov's book could be considered uncontroversial. Some questions have been raised by the author only as an outline and others as a topic for discussion. Life is continually introducing many supplements and amendments to the study of stagflation. What is important, however, is that the book provides a study of the most urgent and most essential problems of contemporary capitalism. The thoroughness

with which they have been presented makes the book one of the profound and thorough Marxist studies of this area.

The book will provide rich materials for consideration by readers interested in new phenomena in the capitalist economy and trying to understand their inner reasons.

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LETTERS FROM THE FIERY YEARS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 108-111

[Review by Hero of the Soviet Union Yu. Zbanatskiy of the book "Velikaya Otechestvennaya v Pis'makh" [The Great Patriotic War in Letters] (compiled by V. G. Grishin). Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 288 pages]

[Text] A great deal has been and is being written about the Great Patriotic War.... We consider its memory sacred. However, other views on this subject may be found as well. A number of Western scientists, military specialists and politicians, distorting the true facts and events, are trying to develop a historical version they consider suitable, and to suppress the role of our country and army in the defeat of the fascist military machine.

Soviet historical science has provided the true and truly scientific interpretation of the past war. Guided by Marxist-Leninist methodology, our historians have made a comprehensive and profound study and analysis of the events of those days, and shown the motive forces which led mankind into a bloodletting slaughter of unparalleled scale.

In addition to a number of scientific works written in the postwar decades, a number of memoirs have been written of invaluable historical significance: books by outstanding Soviet military leaders and commanders--people who headed operations of the greatest significance and scale, and winners of universally famous victories of Soviet arms. Books have been written by statesmen, economic managers, scientists, writers and journalists or as the testimony of the direct participants in the war--front line diaries and letters.

"Malaya Zemlya," an outstanding work by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, one of the best works of its kind ever published, has played an exceptional role in the life of the Soviet people. Leonid Il'ich was at the front from the first to the last days of the war, conducting tremendous party-political work directly among the soldiers' masses and always in the most active

battle sectors. No one else has been able to describe so vividly and profoundly the heroism of the Soviet people and their historical accomplishments as has the author of "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. These works spread around the world and are still marching around the planet, clearly presenting to the peoples of all continents our party truth on the nature of war and peace and the ideas professed by the Soviet people entirely dedicated to the cause of the building of communism and the peace. It seems to me, however, that the most important opportunity offered by L. I. Brezhnev's work is that of learning about the character of the Soviet person totally loyal to the ideals of free toil, respectful toward other peoples, a person profoundly hating injustice, evil, violence and exploitation.

In their works the Soviet writers have described the greatness of the soul of the Soviet person. The novels, tales, stories, poems and plays by M. Sholokhov, A. Tolstoy, A. Tvardovskiy, P. Tychina, I. Erenburg, K. Simonov, Yu. Bondarev, O. Gonchar, M. Stel'makh, A. Korneychuk, V. Vasilevskaya, S. Smirnov, A. Kuleshov, V. Bykov, A. Malyshko, P. Zagrebel'nyy, Ch. Ayrmatov and many other Soviet writers have compiled the artistic chronicle of the Great Patriotic War which depicts in its full scope the great character of the Soviet soldier--liberator and builder.

It may seem that everything has already been told and that nothing could be added on the subject of the great battle for the happiness of mankind. Life proves, however, that this is essentially an inexhaustible topic. This is confirmed by the collection "Velikaya Otechestvennaya v Pis'makh," which was published this year.

Unquestionably, this work will excite the readers of all ages and generations, both the direct participants in the war and their offspring. Thousands and thousands of Soviet people will feel very close to the people it depicts.

The book has put together with a staggering impact the testimony of people who recorded it in periods of combat, on the front line. Frequently, the thoughts and words they expressed were the last before their deaths. In publishing this entire priceless material, PRAVDA created a unique story of national heroism.

"Centuries will pass but these living human documents will not lose their powerful impact. Amazingly simple and written from the heart, they vividly reveal the greatness of the exploits accomplished by our people, their love for the homeland and the communist party, and the firmness, courage, modesty and nobility of the Soviet person" (p 3). These words in the preface clearly indicate the type of data compiled in the book.

Those who toiled on the book have done a noble and painstaking job. They closely reviewed the yellowing pages of PRAVDA, from the very first

days of the war to the present, selecting the most vivid features characteristic of the nobility and greatness of the spirit of the Soviet person at the front and the rear, in Soviet areas occupied by the enemy and far from the homeland, in fascist slavery. The collection contains the live testimony of different people, starting with a veteran and ending with a child who had barely become aware of what life is yet was already able to hate fascism.

The diary of Tanya Savicheva, a girl in besieged Leningrad, has toured the world. At the Nuremberg trials it was used as a prosecution document. Simple working people and presidents of states have honored the memory of the small Tanya. No more than a few lines written in a childish handwriting may be found in this staggeringly powerful document: "Zhenya died on 28 December.... Grandmother died on 25 January.... Leka died on 17 March.... Uncle Vasya died on 13 April.... Uncle Lasha died on 10 May.... Mother died on 13 May. The Savichews died. Everyone has died. Tanya alone remains."

No more than a few sentences scribbled in a notebook cover not only the fate of the Savichev family but of the entire inflexibly firm, great tolling family of the people of Leningrad, encompassing the entire tragedy of the people, expressing a merciless and just condemnation of fascism, imperialism and war.

On virtually every page of the collection we come across similar texts--brief in form and most profound in content.

The fate of a person at war is unexpected, regardless of the nature and type of circumstances in which he becomes involved in it.

Recently I had the opportunity to read the memoirs of the private and, subsequently, political worker in the Soviet army Semen Prokof'yevich Serykh, who spent the war in the ranks of his battalion. In one of the battles he received 10 wounds. According to the report, he died in the course of being evacuated to a medical battalion. A death notice was received by the soldier's family. Yet, it turned out that he was alive. It also happened that on two other occasions his relatives received news of his "other" deaths. Political Instructor Serykh received 24 wounds in the war and each time he pulled free of the clutches of death and returned to the ranks. Semen Prokof'yevich was in the ranks of those who liberated one half of Europe. Together with his battalion he held the bridgehead at Budapest and was made Hero of the Soviet Union. As is the custom, today we would have liked to add in describing him the words "in good health" to the word "alive." However, the wounds suffered at the front were no scratches. Yet, Semen Prokof'yevich is working in Kiev, conducting extensive educational work among the youth....

"Our cause is just!" were words which became inspiring. Our people knew from the very first day of battle that the war would end with the victory of Soviet arms. This is precisely the title of the first section of the collection containing warm letters full of faith in victory written in the first days of the war by a variety of people such as writer Leonid Sobolev, a group of workers at the Moscow Brakes Plant, and workers at the Krasnyy Proletary Plant and by the tractor drivers of the Pukhovskaya Machine Tractor Station in Voronezhskaya Oblast.

It is impossible to read without emotion the letter by the famous flyer M. V. Vodop'yanov to his son, also a flyer: "My dear Vasya! You have grown and matured. Your muscles are swollen with the strong and powerful force of the Russian soil. You have eagle eyes. You have grown up together with our dear and precious fatherland where there is no oppression of man by man, where there is no poverty and ruination, and where there is no force which would make you abandon the controls or force our homeland to sink down on its knees.... I, your father, give you my blessings, wishing you heroic exploits for the homeland and for the happiness of our people. Remember that I'm always with you in all battles."

With similar or different words, extensively or briefly, fathers, mothers or teachers bless their children or students for their exploits. The answers from the front were sparing yet equally exciting. "We swear to fight the fascist cannibals to our last drop of blood, to our last breath," writes Red Army man V. Ryabov.

"My dear teachers! Many thanks for everything you have taught me at school," wrote Rita Khokhlova to her schoolteachers. "The training I received was useful in the combat order of the rifle subunit with which I served with the others from the Volga to the Don, Donets, Dnepr, Bug, and Vistula."

Our Leninist party was the organizer and inspirer of all combat and labor initiatives both at the front and the rear, and the party members gave the example in everything. One of the book's sections is entitled "Communists, Forward!" Each of the letters published by or about party members is an outstanding example of self-sacrifice for the sake of victory, courage and clarity of mind, and the ability to use one's great right--to be the first to rise to the attack and the last to terminate the battle.

"...There were 30 of them. The Germans chased all of them into the gasoline storage depot with their rifle butts and began to seal the entrance with bricks and cement. The people, who were doomed to suffer a horrible death, loudly broke into the 'International'...."

Yes, such people could be immured alive but not defeated. The main thing was that new fighters immediately took the place of the dead: When a party member would fall in combat petitions for party membership would be submitted by his fellow fighters. It was thus that Pavel Grigor'yevich Tychina, the outstanding poet of our time, joined the party ranks during the war.

"All this time I am aware of one thing only," he wrote to PRAVDA: "The awareness that the VKP(b) Central Committee has accepted me as a member of Lenin's party. This entire time I have the feeling that my youth has returned. ...Now, ahead of me lies the entire world with its stormy sea. The fascist aggressors would like to flood the gardens of progressive mankind with their poison and filth.... I wish to answer them with millions of strikes, for all the destroyed cities and villages, for the murder of peaceful Soviet citizens, and for driving our young people into slave labor."

With his powerful words, words strong as a bayonet, boldly and firmly Tychina, the poet-party member, struck at the enemy, driving an aspen stake into his grave.

A very attractive feature of the collection is the fact that it has carefully collected documents on the exploits of the working people in the Soviet rear, the people who hammered out the victory in factories and plants, kolkhoz fields, and Soviet cities and villages. The enemy had already reached the walls of the cities but the Yenakiyevo steel smelters were still smelting metal and it was virtually under fire that they dismantled and evacuated their plant to the east. Soon afterwards this most precious armor steel mastered by the Yenakiyevo metallurgical workers was pouring into the buckets of the Magnitka....

Also noteworthy is the fact that the main characters in the toiling rear were the great Soviet women who replaced their husbands, brothers, and fathers in the plants and fields. Elderly people and adolescents took up the work and accomplished real miracles in their jobs.

"...There is no front and rear in our country. We shall dedicate all our forces and energy to replace you at work and supply you with everything you need. If necessary we shall work day and night. If necessary, we shall help you arms in hand." These are excerpts from a letter by workers of the Moscow Brakes Plant to soldiers at the front.

The initiative of kolkhoz member Ferapont Petrovich Golovatiy who paid for the building of an airplane out of his personal savings and presented it to his fellow-countryman Major Yerebin was taken up at thousands of enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, cities and villages. This initiative became a nationwide movement which spread among the patriots even on Soviet land temporarily occupied by the enemy.

"All forces for the front!" This was the slogan under which the Soviet working people lived in the rear, as has been vividly and impressively revealed in the collection.

One cannot read materials published in the section "Ordinary Fascism" without a shudder and deep emotional pain. A great deal has been written about the beastly face of fascism and its crimes have been recorded in photographs and documentaries, exposed at the Nuremberg trials, and described by writers and journalists. However, the letters contained in the collection are unique documents of a different kind. They shed light on the incalculable suffering of individuals. It is terrible to realize that millions of totally innocent men and women, children and old people, killed by the fascist monsters, experienced even worse things.

"I shall not die, Mama....," writes Pavel Yablochkin, awaiting his death in a fascist jail.

Wise words. Not one of those who were tortured or killed by the fascists has died in the memory of the living.

To this day PRAVDA and other newspapers publish recollections found by pathfinders or researchers in accidental excavations or forgotten archives. Even though a great deal has already become known about military subunits, partisan campaigns, or clandestine workers, the book turns new pages, describing amazing stories. The readers become participants in the war ferment.

The variety of topics in the collection is so rich that it would be difficult to find an event or aspect of human activities in the Great Patriotic War that has been ignored. We read here of the unique exploit of Leningrad and the heroism of Moscow, the life of the peoples of our entire Soviet homeland, the international unity of Soviet soldiers and partisans, and the suffering of little children torn away from their homes....

Together with the soldiers, men of culture heroically fought in besieged Leningrad, gripped in the vise of the blockade and hunger: Dimitriy Shostakovich wrote his famous Seventh Symphony; Nikolay Tikhonov, Olga Berggol'ts and others wrote impassioned war poems. Their works as well were a contribution to the heroic defense of the city on the Neva.

At the front, always ready for battle, far from home, family, and peaceful people, suddenly soldiers would receive mail: from an unknown friend, from a girl, from a school child, from women their mothers' age. What great happiness, warmth, good feelings and strength brought such marks of attention to the soldier's heart....

Proper attention has been paid in the collection to the troops of all the armed services.

Eighteen-year-old Masha Logunova replaced her dead brother at the front, and not simply replaced him but became the driver of a dreaded tank, a terror to the fascist invaders. Her story is described in the section "Let Me Tell You About My Friend."

How many such unforgettable, unusual, unique events occurred in the war! Over one-third of a century has passed since Victory Day and the veterans have still not exhausted their recollections. Many interesting and factual events may be found in the book.

No one can remain indifferent reading the final section. Victory! The roll call of all those who were involved with this universal-historical event. The roll call of the living and the dead. Of those who reached Berlin and those who lay down in the earth forever, liberating it from the brown plague. The roll call of known and unknown heroes, a summary of lessons in courage, a final honor and unfading memory. The story of the Soviet soldier who brought freedom and the right to life to the enslaved peoples of Europe is interesting and intimate. There are descriptions of encounters and of the happiness of tortured people subjected to jails, slavery or the yoke of the occupiers....

A portrait of Il'ich was found in Berlin, preserved by communist workers, by martyrs of Hitler's concentration camps, as a symbol of the liberation of the German people themselves, as the hope of honest Germans for a happy future.

A great deal more could be said about this outstanding book published in the days of the 35th anniversary of the victory. The book itself, however, could tell far more. This is a needed, noteworthy and, above all, truthful book about human immortality, infinite as life itself.

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PANORAMA OF LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 111-117

[Review by G. Reznichenko of the yearbook "Shagi" [Steps] issue No 5. Compiled by V. A. Bogdanov, A. M. Veryuzhskiy, A. P. Zlobin and B. B. Kholopov. Izvestiya, Moscow, 1979, 400 pages]

[Text] The yearbook "Shagi" is a noteworthy phenomenon in literature, an initiative of the USSR Union of Writers, warmly and gratefully welcomed by the broad public. Its purpose is to present to the reader the best creations of our publicists and essayists over the past year, and to encourage writers and journalists to study life profoundly, develop new broad topics, upgrade the operativeness and militancy of their writing, improve the artistic and ideological-political qualities of their works, and reach new heights in literary skills.

Reviving under new conditions the tradition of Gor'kiy's almanacs "Year XVI," and "Year XVII," the editors and compilers of "Shagi" have tried to provide an idea of the entire range of activities in the field of Soviet journalism and all its genres: essay, problem article, travel notes, reportage, and so on. They have accurately proceeded from the fact that "Our journalism is a sea of public, social, domestic, pedagogical, and spiritual problems raised in the press, related literally to all aspects of our life...." ("Shagi," No 1, Izvestiya, Moscow, 1975, p 5).

In the five years since the publication of the first issue, a number of interesting and meaningful works have been published in the yearbook: Justifiably, this publication has become a kind of chronicle of our time. In fact, reading the yearbook, issue after issue--all five thick volumes ("Shagi," issues 1-5, Moscow, 1975-1979), we follow the entire Soviet Union on the great path of building a new society, seeing with our own eyes historical progress, even though to history 5 years is a short time, feeling the pulse beat of our age.

The fifth issue of the yearbook we wish to discuss in greater detail confirms, yet once again, that the "Shagi" collections are successfully coping with their tasks: The issue containing materials published in 1978

reflects the best traditions of Soviet journalism--sharpness and variety of topics, party approach to the interpretation of social processes, depth in the analysis of topical problems, and stylistic freshness and imagery.

The third year of the 10th Five-Year Plan was marked by a number of major events. The CC CPSU Plenum discussed the further development of agriculture in the USSR. The country solemnly celebrated the 60th anniversary of its armed forces. The 18th Komsomol Congress was held. For the first time, the journal NOVYY MIR published the literary-journalistic works of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land]. "Within a short time they became familiar to millions of people, crossed the borders of our homeland and reached the most remote corners of the planet, bringing the truth of the exploits of the Soviet people and increasing even further the interest shown in our socialist fatherland," Georgiy Markov writes in the article "For the People's Happiness" (p 42). In 1978 the rural workers raised and harvested a record grain crop for our country. On the eve of the 30th anniversary of CEMA three international teams of cosmonauts conducted research in orbit. The greatness and comprehensiveness of the activities of the Soviet people and their vanguard--the communists--in the shock year of the five-year plan stand behind each major event. As time passes, events become apparent in their general features, on a broad scale, so to say. What about the details? What about the essence and the meaning of recent events affecting life, people, their interrelationships, and their characters? The reader could find out and judge a great deal about them by reading "Shagi-79."

The yearbook opens with "Tselina," one of L. I. Brezhnev's books, awarded the Lenin Prize. The literary critics have said many warm and good words on these outstanding works. "Tselina," like "Malaya Zemlya" and "Vozrozhdeniye," excites and grips the people for it touches the live strings of our lives and the most important problems of our time. It is dedicated to the working people and the party, and their main character is the people. Leonid Il'ich's memoirs are filled with profound knowledge of reality and of the matters and concerns of the people in town and country, of a huge collective or a small party cell, a scientific institute or a plant shop. The book is written by a person whose career and party and governmental activities have been inseparably tied to the life of the country, to its joys and concerns and, sometimes, the complex and sharp twists in the fate of the homeland, a person who not only experienced the events he describes but who was in the very thick of them and deeply influenced their course.

Only a person who loves its endless steppes, who lives with concern for the people, the land, the grain, who shares with the readers his wise thoughts and judgments on the national exploits could describe the Virgin lands as L. I. Brezhnev has done.

"Tselina," like L. I. Brezhnev's two preceding works, is a vivid, deeply meaningful literary-publicistic canvas. Written in a live, sharp graphic style, it carries a tremendous spiritual and emotional charge and leaves the reader with an irradicable impression.

L. I. Brezhnev's recollections are of invaluable political and moral significance. They show the sources of the national exploit--the development of the virgin and fallow lands under the leadership of the Leninist party. "There is the heroism of the moment," Leonid il'ich writes. "There is the heroism of difficult times in the life of an entire people--war could be used as an example. There also is the heroism of daily living, when people consciously and voluntarily take up a burden, knowing that they could not do it elsewhere. I believe that the people of the virgin lands proved to be heroes" (p 23).

In "Tselina" L. I. Brezhnev describes a number of people he knew personally, retaining through the years his respect and great attachment to them. For example, how warmly Leonid il'ich writes about Vasilii Aleksandrovich Sheremet'yev, who was in charge of land regulations of Kazakhstan's Ministry of Agriculture: "He was a peculiar person. Summer and winter he wore no hat. He was dressed in a soldier's jacket, wore boots, and invariably carried a bag. In his long years of work in Kazakhstan he had crisscrossed the area by foot. He knew the steppes not by sight but, as they say, by feel. He was totally irreplaceable in selecting sites for central sovkhos farmsteads. I considered his field bag fabulous: From it Vasilii Aleksandrovich extracted maps, charts, and notebooks with the names of hundreds of little rivers, ravines, copses, wind-protected areas, and many names of local people, experts on this land. Invariably, he asked that they be included in the commissions in charge of setting up the new farms, and the peasant elders willingly helped us" (p 12). The description of V. A. Sheremet'yev is as simple as the simple truth accessible to anyone. At the same time, however, we find not a brief sketch but a complex, psychologically drawn up portrait, a character developed by a person made wise by life.

Let us consider the case of D. Nesterenko. He was helping his comrades to drive tractors on the ice of a steppe river when the ice cracked under his truck. No one in the sovkhos knew that Nesterenko, who had died an untimely death, was a Hero of the Soviet Union and that he had received this title for crossing the Dnepr. We see with our own eyes the heroes of the virgin lands--Kartauzov, Zavchukov, Morgun, or Moiseyev, people who had come here answering the call of the party, the call of their hearts. Put on the balance of their conscience, the task of developing the virgin lands weighed more than their personal welfare. The people knew that the future belonged to the virgin lands. They believed in the power of the party's ideas and warmly responded to its call.

More things can be seen from a distance. A look at events across the passage of time offers an accurate idea of their scale and tremendous

significance. The epic of the virgin lands created its own literature: fiction, economic and sociological studies, a series of scientific works and collections of poems, and memoirs and recollections of great interest to the readers.

Among them, L. I. Brezhnev's "Tselina" holds a central, a key position. "The books 'Malaya Zemlya,' 'Vozrozhdeniye' and 'Tselina,'" notes Georgiy Markov, "have played and continue to play a tremendous role in the country's entire party and social life, and in the systematic struggle waged by the people and the party to implement the historical decisions of the 25th Congress and the decisions of the CC CPSU plenums" (p 43).

This has been well described by O. Kuvayev in the novel "Territoriya" [Territory]: "Today is the follow-up of yesterday and the reason for tomorrow is created today." Today we are harvesting the fruits of the toil of millions of people who dedicated their forces to the development of the virgin lands. The country acquired a splendid granary. Yes, this is the consequence of the effort of yesterday, a proof of the far-sightedness and perspicacity of our party and its Central Committee. Naturally, should we try to define the single pathos, the single emotional charge carried by some 50 works on different topics included in the collection, should we try to detect the single spiritual aspiration of its seven sections "Portraits and Silhouettes," "I and We," "Problems and Views," "Man and the Scientific and Technical Revolution," "CEMA: People, Achievements, Labor Days," "Essay and Essayists," and "Again on the Road," the result will be the heroics of our days. It is precisely this that is discussed in the articles and will be discussed, above all, in this review.

...Tyumen', the Nonchernozeem, and the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline]. It is no accident that "Shagi" carries the essays "Percentage of Success" by V. Ostipov and "Khashar in the Brotherhood Fields" by I. Rakhim and the article "A Road is Being Built, Life is Being Built" by V. Perevedentsev. The people at the construction sites are one of the main focuses of the writers' interest. Ibragim Rakhim describes today's Nonchernozeem, and the selfless aid which the Russian brothers give the Uzbek people. "Land reclamation or irrigation work is not merely a profession in Uzbekistan," the author writes. "It is a heritage, an art transmitted from generation to generation" (p 178). Uzbekistan, which will never forget "Tashkent Days," and the fraternal support of all our peoples, sent to the Nonchernozeem its own people, specialists, and equipment. Today the Nonchernozeem has its "Uzbeknogorodyodstroy." The combination of words may be unusual but the meaning is quite clear. One of the characters in the essay, Utkur Rakhmanov, described his mission as follows: "Huge national union wealth lies under our feet--the land of the Nonchernozeem. We have been given the great honor of putting this wealth to the service of the homeland. That is why we are here, in the Nonchernozeem...." (p 183). These are the thoughts not of Rakhmanov alone, chief engineer at the Sixth PMK [Mobile Mechanized Column], who moved his family from the Karshinskaya Steppe

to Shuya. These are the thoughts of hundreds and thousands of people developing the Nonchernozem. Their toil, the epic of their days, is an extension of the work in the virgin lands.

The development of the petroleum resources of Western Siberia began a long time ago. There were extensive arguments as to "should one or should one not." That is precisely why in his essay Valeriy Osipov describes not current affairs in Tyumen', as this entire huge area is identified, but the past, when exploration was only beginning. The journalist takes us into the range of thoughts and concerns of Yuriy Georgiyevich Erv'ye, who was then heading the entire Tyumen' project. This was a man of truly exceptional character, business qualities, organizational ability, skills and mind. Emotionally and enthusiastically the writer describes his character Valeriy Osipov. The opening of the essay is intriguing: "To myself I call him the d'Artagnan of Tyumen'..." (p 46). Who is he, this modern musketeer? An event among many which occurred then answers the question. On his arrival in Tarco-Sale, on the Siberian River, Erv'ye found out that the self-propelling barge was not being unloaded. The stevedores had refused to work because of the heavy rain. The sailors were paying heavy fines for each hour of delay. Meanwhile, the parts and mechanisms which had just arrived were urgently needed at the derrick. So, Erv'ye, head of the Main Tyumen' Geological Administration, Hero of Socialist Labor and Lenin Prize laureate, reached the barge crossing the plank, grabbed a case and dragged it ashore. He went back for a second and then a third. The "river wolves" emerged from the crew's quarters, watched, smirked, but started unloading like Erv'ye. The news that Erv'ye was unloading the barge alone spread along the waterfront. All employees (bookkeepers, accountants, planning workers) and even two militiamen came to help.... Two hours later the barge was unloaded.

Personal example. Throughout the history of the land of the soviets thousands and thousands of people have shown models of truly patriotic and concerned attitudes toward the work and the fatherland, triggering mass heroism which is daily manifested in the Nonchernozem, the BAM, the KamAZ, Western Siberia, fields, factories, plants, and construction projects.

The essay by V. Osipov "Rate of Success" has been included in the section entitled "Portraits and Silhouettes." It is a description of the very interesting lives and characters of a great variety of people, ranging from the head of a ship-assembling brigade to actresses, and from a physicist to one of the heads of the construction workers' trade union at the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES.

Vladimir Leont'yevich Bedulya, chairman of the Sovetskaya Belorussiya Kolkhoz is a match for Erv'ye. What is particularly attractive about him? A man of the earth, it is as though he was born to manage a big collective farm. In the essay describing him "At His Own Construction Site," Yevgeniy Budinas writes the following: "Bedulya is a reorganizer. The

entire structure he has created is working to implement his planned changes. This applies, above all, to social changes" (p 68). This is a very accurate thought. The farm owes a great deal of its success to Bedulya. Thanks to the concern of the kolkhoz chairman and the party organization, a healthy moral climate has long been established in the rural collective. Bedulya has seen to it that every working person has become a co-author, a participant in the projects under implementation. The most distinguishing feature of the chairman is that, resolving any problem related to kolkhoz construction, he weighs all possible alternatives and selects the best-- the optimal for any given economic situation.

Several years ago the purchase prices of sugar beets were raised. For this reason, in the spring the kolkhoz added another 80 hectares to the area in beets. The autumn, however, was rainy and difficult for the harvest. Vladimir Leont'yevich suggested at a board meeting that wage rates for picking beets and potatoes be raised. People from the city came to the fields of the Sovetskaya Belorussiya Kolkhoz on their free days. They earned 15 to 20 rubles daily. Some of his superiors pricked up their ears but Bedulya stood firm. "We may pay a few rubles more today but tomorrow returns will be tenfold," he argued. That year the kolkhoz showed a profit of a quarter of a million rubles, net profit, while in some other farms some of the beets and potatoes remained under the snow.

This was Bedulya's optimum variant. It may not be applicable throughout the rayon, the oblast or the republic. Under specific circumstances and in a specific farm, however, it has been fully justified. Should this not be applied by leading cadres in agriculture and industry who are the closest to the production process and are resolving its specific problems? The question may be rhetorical but there is something to be learned from Bedulya such as, for example, economic daring and initiative. For a number of years there has been a question of teams producing finished goods and of an order-free wage system in agriculture. The November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum as well called for the application of the new economic management methods. Meanwhile, in his kolkhoz, Bedulya had set up finished production teams as early as the beginning of the 1970s.

In his essay "Karpov's School" (in the "Problems and Views" section) A. Radov discusses the style of management of the person who heads Zhdanovtyazhmash, a big production association. Vladimir Fedorovich Karpov is a modern director with profound and comprehensive engineering knowledge, perfectly familiar with the fine points of the production process. He acquired most valuable experience from Katerinich, under whose command he worked in Kramatorsk as chief engineer.

Everyone is interested in the director as an individual, from the worker to the minister. He, in turn, finds it interesting to work with people. Karpov works rhythmically, thoughtfully, weighing each step and word. A

minimum of gestures and no fuss. The impression may be gained that he is managing not a huge plant but a "quiet" office. His reception room is always empty and most of the time the telephones are silent. In the period of a year Karpov would issue few orders compared with other plant directors. He would hold no more than two or three big conferences monthly and five to seven small ones. Such is Vladimir Fedorovich's "school." "My job is like that of a captain of a ship. If the captain is told that there is a hole in the ship he would order it plugged. He himself would remain on the bridge," Karpov says. He controls the production process and all activities through deviations from the normal, requiring not detailed reports but only communications on where and what may be abnormal.

Each tree has its fruits and each age has its people and heroes. Managers like Karpov (and Erv'ye, Bedulya and many others) are not rarities. Read A. Zlobin's book "General'nyy Direktor. Dokumental'naya Povest' s Tremya Interv'yu" [The General Director. Documentary Story With Three Interviews] (with P. D. Borodin, director of the ZIL), or else meet A. I. Manokhin, doctor of technical sciences and general director of the Tulachermet Scientific Production Association. These are people of Karpov's caliber. Even though they are firm one-man commanders, their minds and energies are focused on the collective management of big production associations. Inherent in such managers is high-level education, as many of them are graduate scientists. This is today's feature of a captain of industry.

These people share yet another common feature. Cultural construction is underway to promote social changes. A new settlement is being built and a music school has been in operation for the past 10 years, we read in the essay by Ye. Budinas. "This leads to aid from the kolkhoz cash 'for the fourth child in the family,' free travel cards to sanatoriums and rest homes, and tourist trips paid by the kolkhoz" (p 68). This is roughly the topic of the essay "Karpov's School:" "Having become profitable, the plant began to acquire everything known today as the 'social infrastructure'" (p 203). Like most other managers of production collectives, obeying the will of the party, Karpov and Bedulya are always concerned with the social benefits for workers and kolkhoz members.

At the same time, the essays clearly promote the idea that the growth of the people's prosperity greatly depends on the people themselves, on the conscientiousness with which they do their jobs.

Interesting essays have been written by B. Prokhorov, "Ship Architects," and V. Rushkis, "Defeating the Trouble!" ("Portraits and Silhouettes" section) on people engaged in physical labor. Valov, the brigade leader of a ship-assembling brigade in Prokhorov's essay, considers that his main task is not simply to have a brigade but see to it, above all, that each of its members would have two or three skills and that the brigade, as a whole, could do comprehensive work. V. Rushkis goes into the complex psychological problems of the working person: As a young boy Vladimir Borodich

lost both hands in a labor accident. However, he found the courage to rejoin the workers' ranks. He works as deputy chairman of the joint construction committee of the award-winning Krasnoyarskgesstroy bringing the people great benefits.

In the section "Man and the Scientific and Technical Revolution" V. Il'in ("To Live a Life...") and I. Iroshnikova ("Operation in an Altichamber") write about people engaged in intellectual work and science. A brilliant essay by Danil Granin deals not only with man and scientific and technical progress but with a specific problem which at the end of the 1970s became one of the main topics in our journalism, namely that of man and his environment. The task of protecting the habitat and the rational use of natural resources and their equally rational replenishment, naturally, faced mankind with the scientific and technical revolution. Neglecting such requirements today could lead to major difficulties in the future. Private ownership, the author notes, corrupts both human relations and attitudes toward nature. The socialist society offers the possibility organically to combine the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system and the possibility for the harmonious development of the individual. In this connection the writer raises serious questions on improving educational work.

A great deal of what is happening today in our lives is related to scientific and technical progress. Valeriy Osipov is right when he says that "Tyumen' is the offspring of the scientific and technical revolution. It is its most natural consequence and its specific and tangible manifestation. Tyumen' was discovered precisely in the decade of the scientific and technical revolution--the 1960s" (p 49). Meanwhile, the people were trained and raised for it by our socialist society and communist party. It is precisely the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the high conscientiousness of the Soviet people that is enabling us systematically to develop Siberia and the Nonchernozem, and to build the KamAZ, the automotive manufacturing giant, the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the BAM and nuclear electric power plants.

Some publications and even some essays in the yearbook describe the scientific and technical revolution as an independent self-seeking value, somehow leaving the people on the sidelines. That is why we would like to see in the works of our writers first of all man and only then science and scientific and technical progress.

Man and his work. If a writer fails to observe the proportion, so to say, between man and his work, an essay on this subject could lose a great deal. Yet, everyone has his own proportions which, naturally, to a certain extent depend on the character and the circumstances in which he operates. The main factor determining such ratios in a work is the civic position of the character and the author.

interesting in this respect is the section entitled "Essay and Essayists" in which we would particularly like to single out "The Story of A Movie Interview" by Konstantin Simonov. This material is of interest to the reader and instructive to the writer and the journalist. Viktor Bogdanov and Aleksandr Benenson discuss acute problems of contemporary essay writing. In "Cooperation," using impressive examples, Yuriy Verchenko writes in a vivid and interesting manner about the creative friendship between literary journals and leading production collectives in the country and the dedicated writers' work without which today writing an essay would be simply inconceivable.

The problem essay has its specific laws governing the proportion between man and his work, as is the case with Yu. Chernichenko's "For A Potato" or the essay "Living and Dead Plow Land" by F. Abramov and A. Chistyakov in which the writers have no main characters but set themselves the important objective of drawing the attention of the broad public to certain phenomena. Naturally, the problem essay may include characters as well since everything depends on the writer's personality. There is no specific character in the essay by Yuriy Chernichenko, which is a sharply topical work analyzing the situation with the "second bread" in the RSFSR. The writer has a collocutor, Sergey Lukich, the representative of the rayon party committee. The author begins by sharing his thoughts and conclusions with him and only then with the reader. Even if Sergey Lukich is a fictional character, he is as believable as the author himself, for he too suffers "for the potato" and, furthermore, would like such "suffering" to spread to other people who are directly responsible for potato growing. Incidentally, the writer has not only posed the problem but has indicated specific means for its practical solution.

Reading the essay by Fedor Abramov and Antonin Zhistyakov, one unwittingly thinks of L. I. Brezhnev's "Tselina." In his memoirs Leonid Il'ich describes the difficulties experienced by the virgin land developers. We become even more concerned by learning from the essay "Living and Dead Plow Land" how one's fertile land has now become worthless and how it is wasted through carelessness. The writers have raised this question seriously. Their subject applies not only to the Nonchernozem for, over the past 10 years, the per capita size of plow land in the country declined from 0.93 to 0.86 hectares. Ravines alone destroy dozens of hectares of plow land every day. Here is another example: Anyone traveling in the south of the Ukraine is bound to notice long and frequently neglected lots crisscrossing the villages. Here is what is happening: In the past many kolkhoz members had one-hectare plots for private use. This, apparently, was deemed excessive by current standards. Therefore, not so long ago the size of their lots was reduced to half a hectare, while weeds grow freely on the rest of the land. Occasionally and rarely would some such land be cultivated. Essentially, these strips of land are neglected, belonging to no one.

The same topic is discussed by Vasily Belov in the article "Ways and Roads." "Any free space becomes a road," sadly notes the writer. "If only bushes growing on barren land were to be destroyed! The desperate vehicle or tractor driver, however, is willing to drive even over his mother-in-law's cabbage field if only he could avoid getting stuck" (p 208). Yes, it would be difficult to assess how many hectares of land have perished under wheels and tracks in the northwestern areas and not only there. The November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's plenum speech demand of all party members and organs to put an end to negligence and the waste of the people's property.

The problem of the individual, of the "I," has preoccupied man since antiquity. In our age the problem has been aggravated by the scientific and technical revolution. For this reason, many of the articles in the section entitled "I and We" are read with unabated interest. In his essay "Expulsion From Paradise or Three-Dimensional Conflict" by E. Dubrovskiy is an outstanding study of human characters and interrelationships, "of this constantly changing world of relations among people!"

The author describes moments in the life of a scientific research institute. Intelligently and with fine irony he presents the story of a big department. A new scientific associate hired by the department has dared to violate old "traditions" and has paid for his action by being dismissed... "by personal request." "How is this accomplished?" we read in the essay. "Most politely, underhandedly, and the man disappears!" The atmosphere prevailing in the institute makes us prick up our ears: Following an "ideal" procedure, candidate and doctor of dissertations are defended according to a plan, without violation of schedules. Yet, hiding behind all this are sluggishness, philistine well-being, and complacency. These are the same old "I" and "We" which must be fought mercilessly.

Nikolay Gribachev is as energetic in his writing as always. The yearbook contains his meaningful article "The Exploit of Pioneering, Discovery, and Creation." Warmly and, above all, with great emotion, Dmitriy Mamaleyev describes the oldest writer, Marietta Shaginyan in the essay, "Lines in the Portrait of An Amazing Anniversary Celebrant." In turn, Marietta Sergeyevna addresses the reader in "Shagi" with her interesting article "Art Convinces."

Unquestionably, the section "I and We" will draw the attention of the reader. However, we believe that it still lacks a deeper penetration into the world of human relations, the world of moral concepts such as friendship, comradeship, respectability, responsiveness, and so on. At this point it would be pertinent to point out that frequently philosophy and meaning become superimposed in the articles and essays of the sections "Portraits and Silhouettes," "I and We," and "Man and the Scientific and Technical Revolution." The articles selected for the "I and We" section require a special approach and more painstaking and thorough work.

Issue No 5 of "Shagi" includes the section "CEMA: People, Accomplishments, Labor Days." The essays found here are a live reflection of the steadily growing cooperation among countries and peoples within the socialist community.

In the article "Start-Up Time," A. Veryuzhakiy presents a vivid picture of the building of an ore-mining and concentration combine and a city in Mongolia. The author has described Kobakhidze, the combine's general director, and Sogomonyan, the chief architect of the city of Erdenet, with love and good taste. He has been able to rise above the facts and reach summations, using his erudition and knowledge of life. This acquaints the reader with the characters of Soviet and Mongolian builders and their lives and their work, and he sees the very process of building a city and learns the history of the building of the combine.

Leonid Ivanov describes the people of Bulgaria who, with the help of the Soviet Union, are building modern agroindustrial complexes in Plovdiv Okrug. He focuses his attention on the new planning system and on the reform in agricultural management. Such a practically oriented description of an experiment in economic incentive in a number of agroindustrial complexes in Plovdiv Okrug is both interesting and topical. Also important is the fact that the writer has analyzed with interest the development of socialist integration and cooperation.

The reader will find more detailed data on developing cooperation within CEMA-member countries in the "Chronicle" included in the yearbook and dedicated to the 30th anniversary of that international organization.

Another chronicle--a literary one--will inform us of the activities of writers' organizations and give details on their activities. "Chronicle-78" contains the main landmarks and achievements of the year. In my view, this information is both important and necessary.

Together with supplying rich information, the essays and articles compiled within "Shagi" offer the Soviet people the opportunity to acquire a full idea of the nature of the third year of the five-year plan and the marks it has left in our life and in the progress of the socialist society from one landmark to another. The virgin lands, Tyumen', the Nonchernozem, the BAM and the KamAZ are links of a single chain. This precisely is the "heroism of daily life" described by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in "Tselina:" A broad characterization of the distinguishing features of the socialist way of life. The unquestionable merit of this publication is that it reveals precisely these features.

"Shagi" is a writers' collection, reflecting not only the problems of our life but professional literary efforts. In many ways, it is successful. Nevertheless, using the strictest possible standards, we cannot fail to note that the yearbook also contains some materials which fail to meet strict artistic requirements. Occasionally they suffer from linguistic

dryness, stylistic mannerisms and a stiff narrative; frequently they do not contain the author's philosophical views or a psychological development of characters. Without this, however, an essay is not an essay.

In my view, it has long been a necessary to hold a serious discussion on the essay as a literary genre. Let us say here only that in compiling a collection one must adopt a thoughtful and exacting attitude toward the essay in order to be successful. The essay has its very specific purpose. It is a study of a situation, a character or a problem, of contemporary phenomena about which society wants to and must be informed immediately, as they are vital and important in resolving current problems. It cannot be replaced by a comprehensive description or good reporting, or else by a long article. Attention should be paid to the size of the essay as well. Today, ever more frequently, we come across its "shortened" forms or across essay-tongue twisters.... At the same time, however, while enhancing the significance of the essay and showing concern for it as a genre which introduces a fresh current in our literature, we must not forget what Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said when he was presented the Lenin Prize: "Once again the mind goes back to Lenin's words on the tasks of party journalism: to write about our times in such a way as to help to the utmost the practical work of our party and our people."

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CSO: 1802

TOPICAL SOVIET-BULGARIAN ANALYSIS

MOSCOW KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 117-119

[Review by B. Arkhipov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Ideyno-Vuzpitatelnata Rabota v Trudoviya Kolektiv" [Ideological-Educational Work in the Labor Collective], Partizdat, Sofia, 1980, 411 pages]

[Text] The development of contacts between the CPSU and the BCP in the field of ideology has become an essential element in the all-round rapprochement and cooperation between our fraternal parties, countries and peoples.

In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and BCP Central Committee decrees passed in the autumn of 1979, a practical science conference was held in the Bulgarian city of Kazanluk on problems of ideological-educational work in the labor collectives. This was a manifestation of the great attention which both parties ascribe to the labor collective as the primary cell of the socialist society, and to its role in the development of a socialist individual and in the struggle for the implementation of the party policy in the interest of the people. The collection under review contains the abridged version of the reports, scientific communications and papers by Soviet and Bulgarian participants in the Kazanluk conference.

The important role of the labor collective in the social structure is determined by the fact that it performs the main function of human activities--the production of material and spiritual goods and organized socially useful labor. It is precisely here that socialist production relations are reproduced and that the process of molding the personality is developing to a decisive extent. The growing role of labor collectives in the lives of Soviet society has been comprehensively reflected in the materials of the 23rd, 24th and 25th party congresses, the CC CPSU plenums, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's reports and addresses. Emphasizing the importance of labor collectives, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that they are a major field of struggle for upgrading the labor and social activeness of the Soviet people. It is here that the new socialist

qualities of the working people are molded and relations of friendship and comradely mutual aid, developed.

The CPSU is systematically following the line of broadening the democratic principles in production management and upgrading the activity of labor collectives. The new USSR Constitution legislatively codified and broadened their rights. At the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that if the 10th Five-Year Plan is to be completed successfully the mobilization of the working people for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the 1980 assignments must become the focal point of all efforts and that the organizational and ideological-educational work on the implementation of this task must be directed toward the all-round development of the socialist competition, the dissemination and application of progressive experience, and the systematic implementation of a regimen of conservation, and struggle against violations of labor discipline, slovenliness and laxity. "The labor collectives must play a growing role in this struggle," he emphasized, "and they must be given greater rights.... An atmosphere of strict exactingness, organization and creative attitude toward the work must be developed in all economic sectors and production cells."

The June 1980 CC CPSU Central Committee Plenum called for each primary party organization and labor collective to examine with concern the valuable experience acquired in the building of communism and, at the same time, to critically consider omissions and shortcomings which, unfortunately, may be found in economic management and in party work, in the course of the accountability-election campaign and the preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress.

The BCP, its Central Committee and, personally, Comrade Todor Zhivkov paid great attention to the labor collectives. The materials of the 10th and 11th BCP congresses and subsequent Central Committee plenums and other party documents comprehensively cover problems of upgrading the role of labor collectives in building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria.

The speeches at the practical science conference delivered by Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary ("Topical Problems of Ideological-Educational Work in Labor Collectives"), Rusi Kararusinov, BCP Central Committee first deputy head of propaganda and agitation department ("For Greater Effectiveness in Ideological-Educational Work in the Labor Collective"), and P. K. Luchinskiy, CPSU Central Committee propaganda department deputy head ("The Labor Collective in the Center of Ideological-Educational Work"), and the scientific reports and addresses by secretaries of party committees, directors, chiefs of shops and brigade leaders and specialists in industrial and agricultural enterprises, and of trade union and Komsomol workers consider the theoretical and practical aspects of ideological-educational work in labor collectives

and achievements and shortcomings in this area, and earmark means for its further advancement.

All these problems are covered in the collection on a comprehensive basis, closely linked with ideological-political, labor, moral and esthetic upbringing and its party guidance. We know that successes in building socialism and communism are largely determined by the communist conviction of the masses. Considering the molding of a scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook among the members of society as the core of all ideological and political-educational activities, the CPSU and the BCP ascribe great importance to the solution of this problem.

Communist convictions are manifested in the people's behavior, accomplishments, and work. The role of the labor collective is particularly great and irreplaceable, the materials in the collection emphasize, when it is a question of educating the individual in the course of the labor process and through labor in order to prepare him for his basic function in life--work.

The thought that in order for communist morality to be established within the labor collective, along with educational measures a most irreconcilable struggle must be waged against its opposites, against negative phenomena, runs throughout the materials in the collection.

As was pointed out at the conference, even the best ideological-educational measures could not be considered entirely effective if cases of lack of discipline on the job exist in the labor collective and if there is no exactingness on the part of the managers (see, for example, p 10). In order to upgrade the role of the labor collective in social life and insure the successful, effective and comprehensive solution of its basic interrelated functions--labor, social and educational--a healthy sociopsychological climate is of tremendous importance. This is the real environment in which the collective acts and which can stimulate or restrain labor and sociopolitical efforts. Therefore, it could be said that concern for the development of a proper sociopsychological climate in the labor collective means concern for the toiling man, his working and living conditions, his social life and social activeness, and his comprehensive development.

The addresses of the Soviet and Bulgarian participants in the conference proved that the effort on developing a favorable sociopsychological climate must be guided by specific requirements.

Above all, a planned system of ideological and educational measures is needed to insure the steady improvement of two types of relations within the collective: business (formal) and personal (informal).

The further improvement of business relations within the collective presumes constant concern for the upbringing of cadres and for improving management style and methods. It calls for the systematic study of the elements of education and psychology particularly of the direct managers of primary collectives--team and brigade leaders, deputy foremen and foremen, and the development in this personnel of the skill and ability to engage in educational work with the people.

Good personal interrelationships within the collective are an indicator of a healthy sociopsychological climate. The strength of the collective increases immeasurably if every one of its members is surrounded by friendly concern and comradely support which contributes to increasing and discovering the creative possibilities of the worker.

The party organizations and the administrations must tirelessly promote the moral and political unity of the collective, its ideological support of party policy and constant readiness to carry out the collective's assignments in order to insure the implementation of the party's policy. Naturally this is, above all, the task of the party organization, its committee or buro, and its party secretary. At the same time, according to CPSU and BCP decisions, the same task is also assigned to economic and administrative managers. They must also act as political leaders and educators of the collectives they manage.

Systematic individual ideological-educational work is particularly important because of its beneficial influence on developing a healthy sociopolitical climate in the collective. This work has always been, and remains, one of the most effective methods of ideological and political upbringing and for strengthening the ties between the party and the masses.

Sociological studies of the effectiveness of ideological-educational work, including those conducted in our country (in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania, Gor'kovskaya, Sverdlovskaya, and Chelyabinskaya oblasts, Taganrog and the Orsha Flax Combine) and in Bulgaria (in the Blagoev and Kirkov rayons in Sofia, at industrial enterprises in Kazanluk and at the Vidin Chemical Combine) have indicated that most workers consider personal contacts with managers and the social aktiv as a manifestation of attention to the working people and to their needs and concerns. The warm attitude of the manager toward the people, concern for the people, explaining to the collective its assignments, and the delicate and substantiated correction of erroneous views influence, to one or another extent, the awareness and behavior of the individual. At the same time, such direct contacts mandatorily presume principle-mindedness. Should it be absent an atmosphere of beneficent indifference toward negative actions or of their silent encouragement appears. Individual work must also be focused on improving interpersonality (informal) relations, particularly if they lead to deviation from socialist moral norms.

The development of an exacting public opinion and social control, which help to establish in the mind and behavior of every member of the labor collective the norms of the socialist way of life and the great combat and labor traditions of the working class, plays a major role in the creation of a healthy moral-psychological climate. A true collective develops where such socialist traditions are established and developed.

Finally, the state of the moral-psychological climate must be studied on a continuing basis. Its prompt and accurate assessment enables the management and the party organizations to insure better implementation of the tasks facing the collective. The collection describes a proper method to achieve this (see pp 292-295).

The joint Soviet-Bulgarian practical science conference on problems of ideological-educational work in the labor collective and the publication of its proceedings will, unquestionably, play a positive role in the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and 11th BCP Congress and the subsequent decrees of the fraternal parties on further improvements in ideological and political-educational work. At the same time, the conference and the study of the experience acquired by the CPSU and the BCP in this most important direction of ideological work will constitute a definite contribution to the preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress and the 12th BCP Congress.

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IMPLEMENTING THE PARTY'S AGRARIAN POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 120-121

[Review by A. Chernyak, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Partiynaya Rabota na Sele" [Party Work in the Villages]. Compiled by M. I. Khaldeyev and G. I. Krivoshein. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 352 pages]

[Text] All party members, all Soviet people, are participating in the struggle for the implementation of the CPSU course of further development of agricultural production and its intensification. Naturally, the rural party organizations play the main role in the practical efforts to implement the party's decisions. They mobilize the working people of kolkhoses, sovkhoses, and interfarm enterprises and associations for raising high and stable grain and industrial crops and increasing the productivity of public animal husbandry. This accounts for the great importance of summarizing the experience of the primary party organizations and rayon party committees in the implementation of CPSU agrarian policy. This was the topic of the recently published special collection prepared on the basis of publications in the CPSU Central Committee journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' aimed at the personnel of rural rayon party committees, primary party organizations, and party aktivs.

This is the first time that such a work, covering a broad range of problems, has been published. It describes various aspects of available experience and depicts the way rural rayon party committees and primary party organizations are improving their work style and methods, organizing mass socialist competition, applying the achievements of science and progressive practical experience, insuring the highly effective utilization of the equipment, and struggling for the solution of basic economic and social problems. It is indicative that a substantial number of the articles describe the party organizations on the basis of which, in recent years, the party's Central Committee has passed corresponding decrees. This will enable the readers to clearly see the effectiveness of CPSU Central Committee decisions and the positive changes which are taking place in the life of the party organizations. Another reason for the value of this publication is that it provides first-hand experience. The authors of the articles are secretaries of rayon and city party

committees, party organizations of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and interfarm enterprises and associations.

The collection consists of two parts. The first describes the activities of the primary party organizations in the front line of the struggle for agricultural upsurge while the second discusses the role of the rayon party committees in the villages. The vanguard role of the party members in converting agriculture into a highly effective socialist economic sector is described comprehensively, on the basis of very rich factual data. All the articles are distinguished by their concern for the common success, deep knowledge of the subject, and constant readiness to be in the most difficult spots. The party committees closely follow the pulse beat of rural life and operatively react to all changes. They conduct their organizational and educational work among the labor collectives both directly and through the mass organizations of the working people, the trade unions and the Komsomol above all.

Under mature socialist conditions, and as the scale and complexity of economic problems rise, even the smallest breakdown or delay in cooperated supplies is keenly felt. This requires the paying of tireless attention to the strengthening of planning and state discipline within each labor collective. The work emphasizes that the party organizations promote the successful implementation of assignments and socialist pledges by intensifying the party's influence in the decisive production sectors and upgrading the responsibility, activity and initiative of party members. In this connection the book describes the role of the party meeting as a school for the upbringing and molding of active political fighters. It describes a tried method for improvements and individual work with party members, criticism and self-criticism. It indicates the significance of the socialist competition in economic practice and in improving the moral atmosphere in the collectives. This is described by I. Kobychev, party committee secretary at the Pobeda Kolkhoz, Bichurskiy Rayon, Buryatskaya ASSR, A. Gura, party committee secretary at the kolkhoz imeni Shchors, Mironovski Rayon, Kievskaya Oblast, Ukrainian SSR, V. Slavskiy, party committee secretary at the Iskra Sovkhoz, Uzhurskiy Rayon, Krasnoyarskiy Kray, K. Khandzhayev, party committee secretary at the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, Takhta-Bazarskiy Rayon, Turkmen SSR, and others.

The practical discussion of the work of party organizations under the conditions of concentration, specialization and interfarm cooperation in agricultural production is accompanied by specific considerations. A thorough study is provided of a new form of party management such as the creation of councils of party organization secretaries in a number of associations. "Without paralyzing the initiative of the party organizations or damaging their autonomy, in accordance with the specific circumstances the council drafts recommendations on the adoption of one or another joint measure and selects the optimum means for reaching planned objectives" (p 102). As a whole, the organizational and mass-political work of the rural party organizations is considered in the book in the

light of the stipulations and conclusions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th party congresses on problems of party construction.

The materials in the collection prove to the reader that control of execution is an important structural part of this entire work. Control must be intensified and strengthened in order to avoid going back, again and again, to the same problems, the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum stated.

The authors share their experience in this area. Basic problems related to the development of agricultural sectors are discussed at meetings of primary party organizations and at rayon party committee plenums. Reports are submitted by farm managers and specialists on specific activities. Temporary and permanent commissions are set up in charge of supervising individual work sectors. The main purpose of control is not auditing or recording omissions and shortcomings but engaging in live organizational work among the masses and providing specific aid to the collectives aimed at achieving practical results (see p 45).

Work with cadres is a key problem of party life. Its entire variety is described in the collection. Thus, U. Kabylov, party committee secretary at the Kolkhoz "40 Let Kazakhstana," Iliyskiy Rayon, Kazakh SSR, describes in his article work with secondary level cadres and discusses an important aspect of this problem--the choice of managers and their promotion. Another author, N. Tarasov, first secretary of the Matveyevo-Kurganskiy Rayon party committee, Rostovskaya Oblast, describes the work of the rural party committee with secondary level cadres.

Planning and purposefulness are being applied ever more consistently in cadre policy, N. Tarasov writes. The rayon is successfully implementing a long-range plan for secondary cadre training. Therefore in this five-year plan alone, 118 specialists have already been assigned to work in brigades, sections, livestock farms, or animal husbandry complexes. The number of women specialists and secondary level managers is increasing. As a whole, the plan calls for training and retraining 162 managers and specialists in the course of the 10th Five-Year Plan (see p 256).

In their work with cadres the party organizations combine their attentive and concerned attitude toward the people with strict exactingness. They try to avoid engaging in petty supervision or taking over the jobs of managers. Instead, they promote their initiative and enhance their responsibility for their assignments.

Inquestionably, the readers will be interested in materials on new features in the style and methods of party management. The authors note that the party committees and organizations are developing to an ever greater extent a scientific approach to problems of economic and cultural construction and effectiveness. Particular attention is paid to:

strengthening the ties with the masses and improving work with the letters and complaints of the working people. In recent years a great deal has been accomplished to streamline the holding of conferences and meetings. The functions of rayon party committee departments have been defined more clearly and the number of questions considered at bureau meetings has been reduced. All this frees time for giving practical assistance on the spot.

The struggle for the implementation of the party's agrarian policy requires extensive knowledge and understanding of the scientific foundations of the economy. The authors share their experience in the organization of political and economic training. Thus, R. Tsetskhladze, party secretary at the Kolkhoz imeni Ordzhonikidze, Makhardzevskiy Rayon, Georgian SSR, writes, over 700 people are enrolled in political and economic training courses. The kolkhoz sponsors over 20 seminars, courses and circles. The efforts of the party organization are focused on maintaining the necessary theoretical level, effectiveness and concreteness in the training and its ties with reality and with the solution of economic and political problems. The students enroll in courses on the basis of their educational and political training, capabilities, and possibilities. All propagandists in the kolkhoz have higher education and two-thirds of them have more than 10 years' experience in propaganda work.

As a rule, one or another economic decision is thoroughly analyzed in class. For example, in the course of the study of production costs, Brigade Leader D. Kubusidze described the solution of the problem by his brigade. Thus, the brigade spends not 47 rubles, as planned, per 100 rubles of output, but 45 or less. Maintaining the lowest possible production cost per ton of tea leaves in the rayon, in 1979 the brigade produced 17.5 tons per hectare. This is the highest indicator achieved in the republic (see pp 37, 38 and 41).

The book reflects problems related to upgrading further the qualitative structure of party ranks, improving the structure of the party organizations in the villages, displaying party concern for the young, and strengthening and developing sponsorship relations. It describes the experience in involving leading cadres and specialists in educational work, the activities of managers as organizers and educators of the labor collective, and other problems.

This book on the experience of party work in the villages will help the primary party organizations and rural rayon party committees to improve their activities further and to upgrade their role in the production and social life of labor collectives and promote to an even greater extent socialist competition among rural workers in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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CSO: 1802

FROM THE POSITIONS OF SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 122-126

[Review by B. Korolev, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the following books: "Revolyutsionnaya Teoriya i Revolyutsionnaya Politika" [Revolutionary Theory and Revolutionary Politics] by Yu. A. Krasin and B. M. Leybzon. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 255 pages; "Rabochiy Klass v Tsentre Ideyno-Teoreticheskogo Protivoborstva" [The Working Class in the Center of the Ideological-Theoretical Confrontation] by T. T. Timofeyev. Nauka, Moscow, 1979, 383 pages; "Yedinstvo Rabocheho Klassa i Ideologicheskaya Bor'ba" [Working Class Unity and Ideological Struggle]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 295 pages; "Rabochiy Klass Sotsialisticheskogo Sodruzhestva v 70-e Gody: Politika Bratskikh Partiy po Dal'neyshemu Ukrepleniyu Vedushchey Rol'i Rabocheho Klassa v Stroitel'stve Razvitogo Sotsialisticheskogo Obshchestva" [The Working Class of the Socialist Comity in the 1970s: The Policy of the Fraternal Parties for the Further Strengthening of the Leading Role of the Working Class in the Building of a Developed Socialist Society] by G. Shtel'tner, Kh. Purgand and K. Shtefan. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, 254 pages; "Staryy Spor s Novymi Argumentami" [Old Dispute With New Arguments] (Against the falsification of the theory and practice of real socialism) by Yu. S. Novopashin. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1978, 160 pages]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism--the scientific ideology of the working class and all working people--is victoriously circling the earth. Considering it the expression of their most profound interests, dozens of millions of people are successfully building socialism and communism. As the theoretical foundation for the activities of the revolutionary parties of the working class, this doctrine helps them to struggle and win. "We raise high our Marxist light," V. I. Lenin wrote, "and with each step taken by the individual classes and with each political and economic event we prove that life confirms our doctrine" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], Vol 13, pp 163-164).

Our class opponents counter the truthfulness of the ideas and practices of Marxism-Leninism with shameless forgeries. Occasionally, the bourgeois

ideologues even don the garb of "defenders" of Marxism-Leninism, bringing forth the imaginary contradictions between the theory of scientific communism and the practice of its implementation in the countries of real socialism. They are doing everything possible to belittle the universal-historical significance of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the successes of the new system, and to discredit the socialist way of life.

The books reviewed here, recently published, indicate the futility of such attempts. They focus their attention on the topical problems of the world's revolutionary process and on the forces of socialism, peace and progress, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, war and reaction on the other, located in the center of a sharp ideological and political confrontation.

Naturally, these works share a number of common studies (for example, those dealing with problems of internationalism and nationalism, the place and role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party under contemporary conditions, and the significance of scientific theory in the revolutionary movement and in the building of a new society, not to mention the pointed polemics found in each work). However, it is also natural for the authors to maintain the viewpoint in the approach and interpretation of such problems dictated by the purposes of their research. Subsequently, therefore, we shall bear in mind both the specific problems discussed in each of these works as well as some of their common features.

Discussing the theme of their book, Yu. A. Krasin and B. M. Leybzon mention a number of important theoretical problems discussed within the communist movement: What should the revolutionary policy of communist parties in capitalist countries be? What are its characteristics? How is it linked with the historical experience of the past? What is its correlation with the practice of real socialism and the national-liberation movement? The positive analysis of these and a number of other problems presumes, above all, a clarification of the major problem of the correlation between revolutionary theory and politics.

In this connection, the authors point out that the policy of the working class and its vanguard is truly revolutionary only when it is inseparably linked with scientific theory. Revolutionary policy presumes a clear program for revolutionary action by the progressive class aware of its objectives and of the ways and means to achieve them, and understanding the circumstances and their possibilities. All this would be inconceivable without theory which arms politics with a knowledge of the laws governing social development and with the principles governing the methodology of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. Without theory the politics of the working class would sink to the level of blind empirical search for utilitarian solutions, deprived of the main feature: the prospect of socialism and of the radical reorganization of society on a socialist basis.

The development of a progressive theory is clearly manifested in Leninism, which reflects the basic laws of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Lenin's legacy contains the same methodological principles of revolutionary theory as those expressed by K. Marx. Yet, as the book shows, Lenin did not simply repeat these principles but creatively applied them under the conditions of the development of the social revolution of the proletariat, not separating them from the new reality but studying and interpreting this reality on their basis and with their help. In his mental laboratory, Lenin comprehensively analyzed the characteristics of the age of imperialism and his theoretical summations were aimed at bringing to light features which would substantially affect the content and nature of the socialist revolution. "Therefore, while remaining loyal to the principles of Marx' theory, Lenin raised it to a qualitatively higher level. This was the only way for remaining loyal to the principles of Marxism which are historical and which demand constant correlation with and checking against developing social practice" (p 34).

The favorite method used by the "critics" of Marxist-Leninist doctrine is caricaturing it as an ossified pile of inviolable frozen dogmas. Such a caricature can be very easily "discarded" after comparing it with the live historical process. Naturally, the authors note, today there are a number of questions about which neither Marx nor Lenin have said a word. However, they gave the working class and the revolutionary forces what mattered most: the principles of an approach to reality. To this day Lenin's legacy is used by the Marxists as the scientific base for seeking answers to newly arising questions and as the foundation of the revolutionary policy of the working class and its allies (see p 40).

Guided by this basic concept, the authors consider topical problems of the strategy and tactics of the communist and workers movements in the developed capitalist countries as the ways for conversion to socialism and the variety of forms of socialism, the class and political alliances of the working class, the nature and forms of political power of the proletariat, attitude toward the bourgeois governmental machinery, the revolutionary party of the working class and its position in the broad coalition of antimonopoly forces, internationalism as a founding principle, and so on.

The book ends with a study of the inverse influence of revolutionary practice on revolutionary theory. In this connection, the authors note that doctrinatism is the result of theorizing separated from the practical struggle of the masses. "Protecting theory from the contradictions of the practical struggle, doctrinairism triggers the illusion that full clarity exists on all problems. It blocks the way to finding the correct theoretical and political solutions which could not be found on a purely theoretical basis without checking them against practice, and without sensing the direction to be followed in such efforts" (p 240).

The history of the workers and communist movements convincingly proves that, developing, as a rule, faster than one or another specific event (thus proving the force of its predictions), Marxist-Leninist theory reaches its highest development together with the practical struggle of the masses, supplying it with ideas and, in turn, becoming richer through practical lessons. This fully applies to the current stage of the world's revolutionary process.

The working class is in the center of our age. The historical changes in the world arena are, above all, a manifestation of its creative will and energy. The working class plays a decisive role in the development of world socialism, the class battles in the capitalist countries, and the socioeconomic changes in the young liberated states. The economic, social, and spiritual progress of mankind achieved so far, I. T. Timofeyev writes, is inseparably linked with the enhancement and growth of the working class and of the mass movement it triggered. His book "Rabochiy Klass v Tsentre Ideyno-Teoreticheskogo Protivoborstva" is an interpretation of these complex and many-faceted processes inseparably linked with the problems of the ideological struggle today and in the past.

Let us note, in this connection, that the writing of collective monographs on this problem by researchers from a number of socialist countries constitutes a definite step forward in the presentation and development of topical problems of the working class. One such work written by scientists from seven fraternal countries is the study "Yedinstvo Rabochego Klassa i Ideologicheskaya Bor'ba." It subjects to profound and substantiated criticism bourgeois and petty bourgeois, opportunist, revisionist and Maoist views on problems such as the historical mission of the working class, proletarian internationalism, the international unity of the working class and the struggle for detente, the working class and the workers movement under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and many others. The work convincingly proves that ideological and political unity is the most important prerequisite for the implementation of the growing historical mission of the international working class and of all its detachments.

Returning to T. T. Timofeyev's monograph, let us note that his broad historical, historiographic and sociological approach is one of its valuable features (which, incidentally, is proof of the characteristic and original approach taken by the author in a topic on which a tremendous amount has been written). In particular, the use of numerous historical asides, involving a wide range of sources, enable us to detect new facets in this problem. Meanwhile, a thorough study of the origin, of the sources of one or another "superfashionable" bourgeois or revisionist concept makes it possible clearly to prove the ideological poverty, imitativeness, and eclecticism of the latest anti-Marxist efforts. The use of history by the author has made it possible organically to depict the role of Marx, Engels and Lenin as the first and unsurpassed historians of the national

and international working class and to illumine the importance and topical nature of their theoretical and methodological conclusions on problems of classes and the class struggle.

In a number of cases the author provides a summarized interpretation of problems which have either been discussed by Marxist researchers or are currently under discussion. This applies, in particular, to sections on the concept of class and the periods in the history of the revolutionary-liberation struggle of the proletariat.

The books under review offer a broad and substantiated analysis of problems related to the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the working class and on its structure, social aspect and conditions of struggle, and so on. We know that the defenders of imperialism link their hopes for surmounting the basic social contradictions within capitalism and preventing a revolutionary explosion with scientific and technical progress. In fact, as these books indicate, scientific and technical progress does not weaken in the least the social antagonisms within contemporary bourgeois society but leads to an even greater aggravation of contradictions between the public nature of the production process and the private capitalist method of acquisition.

The collective monograph by scientists from the socialist countries discusses a number of new problems facing the organized workers movement as a result of the class struggle in the present stage of aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. The range of problems on the basis of which the working people are joining efforts on a national and international scale has broadened. This includes, in particular, actions against multinational companies and for strengthening international solidarity with the struggle waged by the peoples for total political and economic independence and the right to control their own natural resources, and so on (see, for example, the chapter written by S. Damdinsuren (Mongolian People's Republic), which deals with the unification of the international working class, the national-liberation movement and the struggle against nationalism and Maoism).

The concluding chapter of T. T. Timofeyev's book is of unquestionable interest. It includes an assessment of the state of domestic and foreign historiography of the working class; it pays particular attention to the scientific works published in recent years in the socialist comity.

The book by GDR scientists "Rabochiy Klass Sotsialisticheskogo Sodruzhestva v 70-e Gody..." translated into Russian is noteworthy. This is the first comprehensive consideration of the international activities of the working class in the socialist comity in the fields of economics, politics, ideology and culture. It describes the objective laws which determine the creative transforming role of the working class in building a developed socialist society.

The development of the science of the working class is characterized by a conversion to synthesized studies, i.e., from the study of relatively individual, even though important, topics to general problems of the history of the workers movement and of its main trends and laws. There is an urgent need to create major summarizing works which would sum up the results of the class struggle of the working people and bring together the various components of the development of the workers movement and interpret historical experience through the foreshortening of contemporary problems. It is precisely this approach, T. T. Timofeyev notes, that is the base of the scientific concept of the Soviet multiple-volume study "Mezhdunarodnoye Rabocheye Dvizheniye. Voprosy Istorii i Teorii" [The International Workers Movement. Problems of History and Theory], the first three volumes of which have already been published.

The author of the monograph discusses in particular the problems of development of the workers movement in the citadel of imperialism--the United States--emphasizing the correlation between the general laws of the class struggle in the capitalist world and its specific forms of manifestation in the United States. This is entirely justified, for the theory of the "exclusivity" of American capitalism and the related thesis of the "conflict-free" nature of the American labor movement have been, so far, the feeding grounds for anti-Marxism, reformism and revisionism. All supporters of the theory of "exclusivity" (regardless of nuances in the arguments) deny the aggressive nature of the foreign policy of American imperialism, support the myth of U.S. "anticolonialism," and reject the Marxist theory of crises and the applicability of concepts on the aggravation of social antagonism to the United States. The critical analysis of the main work of the American revisionist E. Browder, "Marx and America" proves the scientific and practical-political groundlessness of the theory of "exclusivity" along with all related conclusions on the "lack of a future" for the labor movement in the United States. At the same time, the author draws attention to a number of problems which, in his view, have not been as yet sufficiently developed by Marxist scientists studying the problems of the class struggle waged by the working people in imperialist countries.

The revolutionary-transforming and creative role which the working class plays in our age has found its most concentrated expression in the victory of the October Revolution, the formation of the world socialist system, and the achievements of the working people in the fraternal countries in building a new society and a new, communist, civilization. The working class of the land of the soviets was the first in the world successfully to make a socialist revolution, insure the full and final victory of socialism under CPSU guidance, build a developed socialist society and successfully undertake the building of communism. All this confirms, again and again, the basic Marxist-Leninist conclusion of the leading sociopolitical role of the working class. This thought runs throughout T. T. Timofeyev's monograph.

In recent decades a new direction--"Sovietology"--has developed in bourgeois social science. This is a description given in the West to the various "scientific" theories and concepts aimed at interpreting or, more accurately, distorting the theory and practice of scientific socialism from the positions of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the misrepresentation of the experience of real socialism. The book by Yu. S. Novopashin precisely deals with the latest efforts of bourgeois ideologues in this truly key sector of ideological confrontation in the contemporary world. Concentrating on the exposure of the difficulties, shortcomings and errors in the building of socialism, the "Sovietologists" are trying to promote the idea that such shortcomings and errors are discrediting the ideal of socialism itself and are proving the impossibility of realizing it.

Should it become a question of the specific problems facing real socialism, it turns out that the "Sovietologists" consider that the "insurmountable contradiction" between the ideals of scientific communism and the concrete reality of the socialist world as being, above all, the existence of the socialist state which, in their view, should be abolished immediately after the working class has seized power. The author pertinently recalls F. Engels' basic stipulation in his argument with the anarchists that eliminating the political organization of the state "would mean destroying the only instrument through which the victorious proletariat could make use of the power it has just seized..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 19, p 360). Essentially and fully in accordance with the views of the founders of scientific communism, the Marxists-Leninists believe that the existence of a strong rule by the working people is a basic significant feature of the new system.

Along with their attacks on the socialist state and together with the social-reformist theoreticians, the bourgeois "Sovietologists" are trying to discredit the very idea of the socialization of productive capital and are doing everything possible to belittle the significance of this most important step on the way to the revolutionary reorganization of mankind. ("A full or partial socialization of productive capital," states J.-F. Revel, for example, author of the best seller "Without Marx or Jesus," "cannot be described as socialism.") In this connection, Yu. S. Novopashin logically points out that a socialist society in which public ownership does not hold a dominating position neither does nor could exist (see p 38).

Historical practice has confirmed the need for the state and for the leading role of the party in the socialist society until the higher phase of communism has been reached. Equally unquestionable is the acceptance of the state ownership of productive capital as being the most important, the guiding feature of the new system. It is precisely state ownership that acts under socialism as the material base for the realization of the creative capabilities of the working class and all working people and for molding a truly socialist way of life (see p 87).

One way or another, each of the works under consideration discusses the way the problem of internationalism is reflected in the contemporary ideological struggle. Support of nationalism and racism, directly pitted by the bourgeois ideologues against the revolutionary internationalism of the working class (see T. T. Timofeyev, pp 312-325); the dialectics of the international and the national in the workers movement and the ideological struggle (see "Yedinstvo Rabochego Klassa...", pp 243-264); the attempts of "Sovietologists" to attack the internationalist principles of intergovernmental relations among socialist countries (see Yu. S. Novopashin, pp 117-135); and the substitution of some loose nonclass "new internationalism" for proletarian internationalism (see Yu. A. Krasin and B. M. Leybzon, pp 211-236) are some aspects of this theoretically and politically exceptionally important problem.

The authors of these books do not limit themselves to pointing out the groundlessness of the bourgeois and revisionist interpretations of proletarian and socialist internationalism. They expose a class and political underlining of various attempts to revive reactionary nationalism. Another merit of the books is that they consider the problems of socialist internationalism in their most current contemporary set of circumstances. From the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint proletarian internationalism is a many-faceted and broad concept which includes the international solidarity of the working class and all working people, expressed in their factual actions and relations; international awareness with its development stages, ranging from emotional spontaneous thrusts to theoretical awareness; political principles; morals; and, finally, norms governing interrelationships among Marxist-Leninist parties (see "Yedinstvo Rabochego Klassa..." pp 225-242). Both genetically and in terms of content, Yu. A. Krasin and B.M. Leybzon emphasize, essentially today's internationalism is proletarian internationalism--the internationalism of the progressive class of our age, rallying around itself all revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the world.

In our view, the discussion of these books should include certain considerations as to the type of works published on problems of the ideological struggle and on the level of polemics with ideological opponents.

Unquestionably, each of these books represents an original and successful work. The authors are known specialists in the field of criticism of contemporary bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The main common feature of their work is the topical nature of the problems discussed and the depth of their analysis of the questions raised. Yet, the books vary in terms of genre, style and presentation of the material. Thus, T. T. Timofeyev's work is a study of an exceptionally important problem in the focus of the contemporary ideological struggle; the monograph by Yu. A. Krasin and B. M. Leybzon is a kind of polemical essay; the work of Yu. S. Novopashin is aimed at a youthful audience which has affected the choice of the nature of the problems considered and their presentation.

The works under review are interesting for their sharp formulation of the problems and the efficient discussion and convincingness of arguments. Let us note in this respect the collective monograph on the unity of the working class: Its authors pay particular attention to problems on which bourgeois ideologues and their accomplices rely in carrying out their ideological diversions in the various socialist countries (see, for example, the part written by Czechoslovak and Mongolian scientists). Let us also mention the entirely successful yet, unfortunately, generally ignored polemical method characteristic of Yu. A. Krasin's and B. M. Leybzon's book. The authors refer to no more than a dozen books or other materials written by "critics" of Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, the entire work, from the first to the last line, is directed at exposing the groundlessness of the concepts considered. This type of presentation has enabled the authors successfully to resolve their main assignment of offering a positive analysis to a number of problems facing today the workers and communist movements in developed capitalist countries. The work by Yu. S. Novopashin is also distinguished by the profundity of its arguments. However, we consider unnecessary the categorical and one-sided conclusion drawn by the author to the effect that today the so-called "democratic socialism" trend has become dominant in bourgeois ideology along with the struggle against real socialism from the positions of the "guardians of the purity of the socialist ideal" (see pp 156 and 157). This trend has indeed existed and does exist, as Lenin himself pointed out (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 20, p 305). However, it has invariably been accompanied in bourgeois ideology by the traditional trend of support of capitalism, a trend whose influence has increased rather than declined. Greater attention should have been paid to this side of the matter as well.

In his time Lenin emphasized the tremendous significance of the ideological struggle against bourgeois and petit bourgeois views, for in the course of the struggle not only is a proper rebuff given to the falsifiers of communism but the unified programmatic and theoretical stipulations of the Marxists are advanced, determining their "unified political efforts" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, p 276).

In our view, following this tradition, the books under review meet the vital task of waging an uncompromising struggle on the ideological front.

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BOOK REVIEW

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[Review by Major General Yu. Kirshin, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the book "SShA: Voenno-Strategicheskiye Kontseptsii" [United States: Military-Strategic Concepts]. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 304 pages]

[Text] This book, written by a group of authors, uses extensive publications including White House, Congressional and Pentagon documents. It is a critical analysis of contemporary U.S. military-strategic concepts as structural components of U.S. military doctrine. The authors consider in detail the factors and mechanisms governing the shaping of these concepts, their aggressive trend and specific content. They expose the slanderous fabrications concerning the "Soviet military threat" whose purpose is to justify an arms race benefiting monopoly capital only.

The U.S. military-strategic concepts are a reflection of the general policy of American imperialism, "substantiating" the reaching of its foreign political objectives through the use or threatened use of military power. They express the class expectations of the monopoly bourgeoisie related to the hope of military resolution in its favor of the main contradiction of our age, the contradiction between the steadily strengthening socialism and capitalism which is losing its positions. As the authors prove, this is the basis for the permanent hostility of such U.S. concepts above all toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Without undertaking to enumerate all nuclear and conventional warfare concepts popular in the United States, whose specific interpretation is given in the book, let us note that many U.S. official circles and imperialist propaganda media are providing deliberately unclear and simply confused definitions. Revealing the true nature of these concepts, consisting of defending militarism and a policy "from a position of strength," the authors expose attempts to present the unrestrained growth of American military power as allegedly forced as well as defensive measures.

The authors consider the reasons for which the ruling U.S. circles review from time to time their military-strategic concepts, abandoning old and proclaiming new ones. The most important among these reasons are the continuing change in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of peace and socialism, the growth of economic and social complications in the United States itself, the errors and failures of U.S. foreign policy and the development of new types of armaments and military hardware.

The authors also prove that these concepts, even though refined and amended in their specifics, remain effective over relatively long periods of time and are relatively stable, for they are the structural components of American military doctrine. As to their political content, it is determined by the reactionary and aggressive nature of imperialism and the class nature of the biggest imperialist country: "Historical experience and events of recent years have confirmed that the political foundation and aggressive nature of U.S. military policy remain unchanged. Only the ways and means for the utilization of military power in the interests of achieving foreign political objectives may change or be refined" (p 6).

The authors remind us that at the end of the 1960s the American ruling circles officially acknowledged the existence of parity between the United States and the USSR in the military-strategic field. They were forced to note that their computations on which previous American military-strategic concepts had been based had proved to be illusory. All this inspired Washington to open talks with the Soviet Union on limiting strategic armaments.

The active efforts of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity, relying on the growth of the economic and defense power of the socialist countries, yielded results. The international situation improved in the 1970s. Noting this fact, in its June 1980 decree, the CC CPSU Plenum pointed out that, "Detente is the legitimate result of the ratio of forces which have developed in the world arena in recent decades. The military-strategic balance achieved between the socialist and the capitalist world is a gain of essential historical significance. It is a factor which restrains the aggressive aspirations of imperialism, which is consistent with the basic interests of all nations. Speculations on disturbing this balance are doomed to failure."

However, certain U.S. circles are still entrapped by obsolete concepts and their actions obviously conflict with reality or else either stubbornly ignore the existence of military-strategic parity or try to change the ratio of forces in their favor. To this effect the United States is feverishly engaged in the search for new military-strategic concepts concealed by the old references to the "Soviet threat." This is confirmed by

The recently issued Presidential Directive No 59 which essentially deals with the so-called doctrine of limited nuclear war, that is, the attempt to revive the already bankrupt policy of nuclear blackmail of the socialist countries. The tireless intrigues of the enemies of peace demand constant vigilance and comprehensive strengthening of the defense of the Soviet state, the coordinated actions of the socialist countries, and the energizing of all antiwar forces for the sake of preserving universal peace and insuring international security.

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BOOKSHELF

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 12, Aug 80 pp 127-128

[Text] Lenin, V. I. "Ob Ateizme, Religii i Tserkvi" [On Atheism, Religion and the Church]. Collection of works, letters and other materials. Compiled by L. A. Andriyenko and M. M. Persits. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 405 pages. (Science-Atheism Series).

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"Svet Velikikh Idey" [The Light of Great Ideas]. Materials from Moscow's Lectures on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Second RSDWP Congress. By V. V. Grishin et al. Moskovskiy Rabochiy, Moscow, 1980, 152 pages.

"Vstrecha Kommunisticheskikh i Rabochikh Partiy Yevropy za Mir i Razoruzheniye" [Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe for Peace and Disarmament]. (Paris, 28-29 April 1980). Yu. A. Zhilin and V. K. Sobakin in charge of publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 159 pages.

"Sovetskiy Soyuz na Mezhdunarodnykh Konferentsiyakh Perioda Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny, 1941-1945 gg." [The Soviet Union in International Conferences in the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945]. Collection of Documents. A. A. Gromyko editor in chief. Vol 6. "The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference of the Heads of the Three Allied Powers -- the USSR, the United States and Great Britain (17 July - 2 August 1945)." Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 551 pages.

Afonin S. N. and Kobelev, Ye. V. "Tovarishch Kho Shi Min" [Comrade Ho Chi Minh]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 239 pages.

Berezovskiy, M. "Bog Lyubit Ameriku" [God Loves America]. Translated from the Polish. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 255 pages.

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Kedrov, B. M. "Lenin i Nauchnyye Revolyutsii. Yestestvoznaniye. Fizika" [Lenin and the Scientific Revolutions. The Natural Sciences. Physics]. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 462 pages.

"Kratkiy Politicheskiy Slovar" [Concise Political Dictionary]. L. A. Onikov and N. V. Shishlin compilers and general editors. Second enlarged edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 447 pages.

"Kritika Sovremennykh Burzhuaznykh i Reformistskikh Fal'sifikatorov Marksizma-Leninizma" [Criticism of Contemporary Bourgeois and Reformist Falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism]. Collection of articles. Editorial group headed by M. P. Mchedlov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980 440 pages.

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Medvedev, V. A. "Razvitoy Sotsializm: Voprosy Formirovaniya Obshchestvennogo Soznaniya [Developed Socialism: The Shaping of Social Awareness]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 472 pages.

"Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin." Short biography by a group of authors. Second enlarged edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 303 pages.

"Moskva v Tsifrakh . 1980" [Moscow in Figures, 1980]. Statistical yearbook. Ye. I. Kuznetsova in charge of publication. Statistika, Moscow, 1980, 238 pages.

"Na Doroge Zhizni" [On the Road of Life]. Memoirs on front line Ladoga. Collection. Preface by A. N. Kosygin. Compiled by P. L. Bogdanov. Voenizdat, Moscow, 1980, 591 pages.

Nechkina, M. V. "Vstrecha Dvukh Pokoleniy" [Meeting of Two Generations]. From the history of the Russian revolutionary movement, end of the 1850's to beginning of 1860's. Collection of articles. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 566 pages.

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"Problemy Kommunisticheskogo Dvizheniya" [Problems of the Communist Movement]. Yearbook. 1979. "Rabochiy Klass -- Avangard Revolyutsionnykh Sil" [The Working Class -- Vanguard of the Revolutionary Forces]. Yu. N. Pankov general editor. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 341 pages.

"Profsoyuzy Mira" [Trade Unions of the World]. Reference. G. Ye. Kanayev and A. F. Protopopov general editors. Profizdat, Moscow, 1980, 528 pages.

"Rasskazy o Partii" [Stories About the Party]. Vo 2. Compiled by L. D. Davydov. Third edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 511 pages.

"Sovremennaya Inflyatsiya: Istoki, Prichiny, Protivorechiya" [Contemporary Inflation: Origins, Reasons, Contradictions]. Collective monograph. S. M. Nikitin responsible editor. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 340 pages.

"Sotsialisticheskiy Obraz Zhizni" [The Socialist Way of Life]. Collective monograph. G. Ye. Glezerman, M. N. Rutkevich and S. S. Vishnevskiy editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 319 pages.

Uledov, A. K. "Dukhovnaya Zhizn' Obshchestva" [The Spiritual Life of Society]. (Problems of research methodology). Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 371 pages.

"Ekonomicheskiye Problemy Razvitogo Sotsializma" [Methodological Problems of Developed Socialism]. Soviet and Polish experience. Collective monograph. T. S. Khachaturov and Ye. I. Kapustin responsible editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 309 pages (Socialism: Experience, Problems, Prospects).

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Nov 13, 1980 DP1