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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 13, September 1980

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AT THE [illegible] COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 80 pp 3-5

[Text] Having examined the results of the July-August 1980 Crimean meetings between L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and J. Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; G. Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; E. Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic; E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED; K. Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and prime minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic; and Yu. Tsedenbal, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, the CPSU Central Committee gives a high rating to the significance of these meetings aimed at intensifying the interaction among socialist states in all areas, and gives its full approval to the work done by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Together with the Soviet-Vietnamese summit talks, held at the beginning of July in Moscow, the 1980 Crimean meetings became a major new step in the cause of strengthening the socialist comity.

The conditions and prospects for the development of bilateral relations between the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries were thoroughly discussed in the course of the Crimean meetings. Significant steps toward the further expansion of the equal and mutually profitable economic cooperation among socialist states have been planned for the forthcoming years. Particular attention will be paid to the effectiveness of national economic relations and to enhancing the role of production specialization and cooperation on the basis of coordinated long-term programs. These relations will stimulate the development of the national economies and contribute to the upsurge of the people's prosperity and the solution of the problems involved in the building of socialism and communism.

The correct way to new heights in the socioeconomic development of the socialist countries lies in the improvement and intensification of the international socialist division of labor, the consistent pursuit of the course of socialist economic integration within CEMA and the multiplication of reciprocal ties.

Like the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members held earlier in the Polish capital, the 1980 Crimean meetings are a weighty

confirmation of the fact that the socialist countries give the highest priority in their foreign policy to the interests of the preservation and consolidation of the peace and the assertion of the rights of all peoples to free and independent development.

Advancing detente, giving it a new breath, insuring a real turn from the arms race to disarmament, and achieving a just political settlement of existing conflicts are the main problems on whose solution the foreign policy of the members of the socialist comity is focused.

The international situation remains complex. This is caused by the actions of the United States and other NATO countries who intend to violate the existing approximate parity of military strength and to achieve superiority over the socialist comity. The partnership between imperialists and Beijing hegemonists who are guided by the further charging of international tension for the sake of the implementation of their great-power chauvinistic plans, is adversely affecting international relations.

The socialist countries are in favor of the continuation and intensification of the political dialogue among countries belonging to different social systems. They support a dialogue of a tangible practical nature, covering the major problems of contemporary international life. There are no problems in Europe, Asia or other parts of the world which the socialist countries would not be ready to settle at the conference table.

Such is the approach of the socialist countries toward disarmament as well--the key problem of today.

It is possible to put an end to the arms race. We know that the Soviet Union has formulated major initiatives and has suggested the immediate initiation of talks on the subject of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, organically linked with American forward base nuclear arms. The USSR has formulated specific proposals for talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, taking into consideration the position of the Western participants in such talks.

A positive Western response to the new Soviet initiatives and Western readiness to engage in military detente would pave the way to a real limitation of the arms race. They would provide an incentive for the formulation and implementation of more far-reaching measures in this direction.

The constructive approach adopted by the members of the socialist comity to the forthcoming Madrid meeting was clearly confirmed in the Crimea. In Madrid the main efforts must be focused on the coordination of practical steps for the implementation of the stipulations of all sections of the Helsinki Final Act. Reaching agreement on holding a European conference on military detente and disarmament would be particularly important.

The socialist comity purposefully favors the assertion of the independence and national sovereignty of all nations.

The fraternal countries express their solidarity with the April Afghan revolution, whose gains the organizers of the counterrevolutionary intervention who are trying

to interfere in the domestic affairs of this autonomous nonaligned state would like to eliminate. A political settlement of the Afghan situation--as earmarked in the familiar suggestions formulated by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan--would unquestionably have a positive influence on the situation in the area and would help to improve the global political climate. This is obstructed by the United States and China, who are artificially increasing the tension near the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, using Pakistan in particular for such purposes.

Concern with the increased complexity of the situation in Southeast Asia was expressed in the course of the Crimean meetings. The efforts of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea aimed at converting Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability, are consistent with the interests of all countries in the area. Such efforts cannot fail to earn the energetic support of the fraternal socialist states.

The 1980 Crimean meetings will unquestionably enhance the level of coordination of foreign policies of the socialist states. They define the specific objectives toward which the coordinated efforts of the friendly countries will be directed.

The CC CPSU has made it incumbent upon the respective departments and institutions to undertake the implementation of the practical tasks defined in the course of the Crimean meetings between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of the fraternal parties and states.

5003
CSO:1802

L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE 28 AUGUST 1980 CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAZAKHSTAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 80 pp 6-9

[Text] After offering the greetings and congratulations of the CC CPSU Politburo members to the participants in the conference, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev stated the following:

The last time we met here was in September 1976. It was the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan, which is now drawing to an end. The time has come to conclude it properly and to think of the future.

It is the belief of the CC CPSU that the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, its buro and the republic's oblast party committees have done a great deal of fruitful work toward the implementation of our economic and social development plans. In recent years you have done a great deal to develop industry, agriculture and capital construction in town and country and to increase the production of consumer goods.

I listened to Comrade Kunayev's information with interest. What was said here strengthened my confidence that the republic's working people, like our entire people, will approach the 26th party congress with worthy results.

Naturally, this will require a great deal of work.

The most urgent task is to give the state one billion poods of grain this year as well. I can see that you have seriously considered your possibilities and are confidently assuming this obligation. I confidently anticipate that the Soviet people will welcome this news with tremendous satisfaction. I wish you honorable fulfillment of this obligation.

This meeting offers me the opportunity to draw your attention to some specific matters and problems.

Let us start with agriculture. We must work even more adamantly on resolving the food problem. It is a question, above all, of grain. I believe that Kazakhstan would have another word to say on this matter.

The level of one billion, which we have planned to consider as the norm, may be said to have been reached. In three out of the five years of the current five-year

plan you have given the state over one billion poods of grain. Obviously, new levels must be reached.

In 1976 you gave the state 1.2 billion poods; last year you delivered 1.262 billion poods. Deliveries of equipment and fertilizer to the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are increasing with every passing year.

Recently, at your request, we considered and passed a decree on the development of saline soil in Kazakhstan. In the next few years this will enable you to cultivate over two million hectares of such land. You have the potential for increasing the production of rice and corn grain. You have acquired greater farming experience.

This makes the task of delivering a minimum of one billion poods to the state in an average year entirely realistic. In good years the production of commodity grain could even exceed this figure.

I call upon you, comrades, to undertake energetic efforts to further increase the production and sale of grain to the state.

The second problem is that of animal husbandry. It is good that this year you were able to increase the production of meat, milk, eggs and wool and that your semi-annual plan for such products was overfulfilled.

Nevertheless, greater efforts should be made in this sector. Today Kazakhstan has the ability to develop animal husbandry faster. I particularly emphasize the need for higher meat production.

In the past four years you have increased the weight of the cattle delivered to the state by 62 kg. Currently it averages over 400 kg for the republic at large. This is not bad. Yet, this seems insufficient for Kazakhstan. Many of your farms have already reached higher indicators.

Last year Kustanayskaya Oblast as a whole delivered cattle with an average weight of 438 kg to the state, while Pavlodarskaya Oblast averaged no more than 374 kg. As you can see, about 60 kg of meat per head are lost.

As we noted in our previous meetings, sheep breeding is a major reserve. One year ago the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers considered your suggestions and passed the decree "On Measures for the Development of Sheep Breeding in the Kazakh SSR." The necessary capital investments and material resources were allocated to the republic, and other assistance was given. We hope that your assignment of raising the sheep herd to 50 million head will be accomplished successfully.

Naturally, greater attention should be paid to the quality indicators in animal husbandry. The impression is that some workers have become accustomed to low cattle productivity and to abnormalities in the reproduction of the herds.

What I mean by this is the low animal birthrate. You are averaging 60-65 calves and 80-90 lambs per hundred females. Some oblasts have even lower indicators. I consider it unnecessary to prove the tremendous damage which this causes kolkhozes, sovkhozes and the state.

Remember the past, when the failure of a cow to calve was a great sadness and a terrible blow to the peasant. This condition should no longer be tolerated. The situation can be improved through hard work with specialists and livestock breeders.

Let me make a few remarks about industry. It is a pleasing fact that sectors determining technical progress are developing in your republic at a faster pace. More and more new projects with a significance that goes beyond the borders of Kazakhstan are being commissioned. This includes the first 500,000 kilowatt turbine at the Ekibastuz GRES-1, the new capacities developed at the Bogatyr' coal deposit, the biggest in the world, at the Sokolovsko-Sarbayskiy and Donskiy ore mining concentration combines, the Yermak and Aktyubinsk ferroalloy plants, and so on. Another pleasing fact is the extensive housing and cultural construction [illegible].

Kazakhstan has become one of the most important centers of the country's nonferrous metallurgy. It accounts for 30 percent of all the copper, 50 percent of the zinc and over 70 percent of the lead produced in the country. However, in this sector as well you are suffering from major shortcomings. I shall mention some of them.

No more than 86 percent of the 1976-1979 assignments on commissioning capacities for the extraction of copper and lead and zinc ores have been met. We know that the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee is taking measures to improve the situation in capital construction. I discussed the matter with the republic's leadership. I must point out that some improvement has been noted this year. All in all, obviously, my telephone conversations with the secretaries the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party and of oblast party committees on shortcomings in capital construction have played a certain role.

However, the stressful situation in building nonferrous metallurgy enterprises remains. In the past seven months about 24 million rubles' worth of capital investments have remained unused. The plan for the installation of capacities for the extraction of copper ore for the same period was fulfilled no more than 25 percent. This won't do, comrades! No more than 25 percent. In fact, the project is only at its beginning.

With a view toward accelerating the pace of construction, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decided to assign seven military-construction detachments to the most important nonferrous metallurgy construction projects in Kazakhstan. Comrades, you must see to it that these additional forces are used with maximal effectiveness.

As to ferrous metallurgy, it is quite important to complete the building of a shop at the Karaganda combine scheduled to produce 375 thousand tons of tin-plate annually. This would increase the production of tin-plate in the country by one-half. This is extremely necessary, particularly for our canning industry.

The coal industry is one of your important sectors. Last year Kazakhstan produced 106 million tons of coal, or just about four times the amount extracted by the entire prerevolutionary Russia. The main project in this area is the Ekibastuz fuel-energy complex. The task is to increase coal extraction in this area and to reach the 170 million ton level in the next few years. Five large thermoelectric power plants must be built as well. Naturally, housing construction in this area should also not be forgotten.

The extent of your unfinished construction in the chemical industry is very high. Unless measures are taken, it will total approximately 550 million rubles by the end of the year. This exceeds the annual plan for capital investments by a factor of 1.8. This is bad, comrades. Please draw your own conclusions.

You must consider the implementation of party and government decrees on taking additional measures for the development of the phosphorus industry in the Kazakh SSR a matter of great party and state importance. The country's agriculture, in your republic in particular, is experiencing a great need precisely for phosphorous fertilizers.

In a word, comrades, a number of urgent matters lie ahead.

It is still possible to complete priority projects and reduce the volume of unfinished construction and uninstalled equipment by the end of the year. This would facilitate the implementation of the new five-year plan.

Naturally, these tasks are far from simple. It would be no exaggeration to say that their solution calls for the mobilization of the efforts of millions of people.

What would be the best way to accomplish this? In my view there is no great secret here. We know the method which has been tested through long years of practice. It calls for improving organizational and political work among the masses.

The task is to make the most effective use of the patriotic upsurge of workers, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia which exists in the country now, on the eve of the 26th party congress. All initiatives aimed at insuring the better utilization of internal reserves must be actively supported. This is the main thing.

You know that recently the CC CPSU considered a number of problems related to increasing supervision and control of execution. We ascribe exceptional importance to this. The party must make stricter demands on the cadres to implement their assignments and insure the strict observance of state discipline. This must be done at all levels and all steps, reaching as high as the ministries. Strict organization, order and discipline in all respects must prevail in all sectors of our work.

The current accountability and election campaign within the party must be used to improve organizational and political work. The skillful direction of this campaign and insuring a prevailing high standard of party meetings and conferences would result in a powerful impulse for the further improvement of the situation in all sectors of economic and cultural construction.

The leading organs of the party organizations must be established in the course of the accountability reports and the elections. They will assume the main burden of the effort to insure implementation of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is hardly necessary to explain the importance of nominating the most prestigious, politically mature and initiative-minded party members to such organs.

The Communist Party of Kazakhstan has 700,000 members. It has good cadres and valuable experience in resolving major economic and political problems. I am confident that you will be able to resolve the problems facing the republic today. I wish you full success with all my heart.

5003
CSO: 1802

L. I. BREZHNEV'S ALMA-ATA SPEECH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 80 pp 10-17

[Speech by L. I. Brezhnev delivered on 29 August 1980 at the Alma-Ata Ceremonial Session dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Kazakh SSR and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan]

[Text] Dear comrades!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet government, allow me to congratulate you warmly on the occasion this noteworthy event--the 60th anniversary of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (applause). This is a great holiday not only of your republic but of our entire country.

I am sincerely pleased to be with you on this solemn occasion. For a good quarter of a century I have kept in close touch with Kazakhstan and its party organization. Now, when I see friendly faces, the faces of labor veterans together with whom, one may say, we plowed the first huge layer of virgin land, I share your happiness that the project we started then is being successfully continued (applause).

The virgin lands yield more than grain. They enhance and educate the people. The same people proved that one could rely on them. Their hands are [illegible] worthy (applause).

Today Kazakhstan is one of the main granaries of the country. It is also an area with a powerful multisectorial industry. Today Kazakhstan can produce in half a day the same amount of industrial commodities produced in the entire year of 1937--the year your republic was founded. Half a day as against an entire year! Such are the truly gigantic steps of Kazakhstan's progress (applause).

The coal of Karaganda and Ekibastuz, the nonferrous metals of Dzhezkazgan and Rudnyy Altay, the steel of Temirtau, the phosphorites of Dzhambul and Chimkent, and the petroleum of Emba and Mangyshlak account for quite substantial amounts of the economic potential of our homeland.

In the past it was difficult to find a literate person in Kazakhstan. Today nearly four million children and adolescents go to school or attend higher and secondary educational institutions. Before the revolution no single national writer, including the great Abay, had seen any of his works printed in his native language. Today

the socialist culture of the Kazakh people is one of the splendid accomplishments of the spiritual wealth of our homeland.

Few other Asian countries can offer a favorable comparison with today's Kazakhstan in terms of the level of scientific development.

In a way, it is symbolic that it is from your soil that space ships are launched today. Metaphorically speaking, the republic itself has taken to space (applause).

What are the sources of this heading social progress? They are our socialist system, the energy and will of the masses, headed by the communist party, and their powerful creative forces, freed by the Great October. Naturally, they are also the wise Leninist national policy and the unity and mutual aid among the peoples of our socialist homeland (applause).

Allow me to make particular mention of the Russians in Kazakhstan. From the day it was founded, Soviet Kazakhstan has leaned on the strong shoulder of the Russian people. The Russian workers, farmers, engineers, teachers, physicians and scientists working in your land are also builders of today's blossoming Kazakhstan (applause).

The working people of other nationalities who have made the republic their home also deserve many flattering words (applause).

The Kazakhstan party members, who are a great detachment of our Leninist party, have invested a great deal of their minds, hearts and energy in the republic's achievements. I am pleased to note the able leadership of the party's work and the republic's economic activities provided by the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee and by D.Kunaev, a noted leader of our party and Soviet state personally (lengthy applause).

Together with the rest of the country, Kazakhstan has gone through many difficult trials. The fact that these trials were withstood honorably is the outstanding contribution of the party and Komsomol members and of all working people in the republic. Their assets include the victory of the development of the huge virgin and fallow lands. Let us praise those who, answering the call of the party, came here to hammer out this victory together with the Kazakh grain growers (applause).

Comrades, you may be proud of your accomplishments! (applause).

This is a working, a labor holiday. The 10th Five-Year Plan has entered its final year. It must be crowned with worthy results. This will determine the fulfillment of the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

It is very good that preparations for the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress have been taken up not only by the party members but by our entire people.

From this rostrum I wish to congratulate warmly the participants in the pre-Congress competition and wish them the greatest possible successes in their work for the good of their homeland (applause).

This is an active period everywhere--in plants, scientific centers, institutions and naturally, in the fields.

More than in any other sector, annual results in agriculture depend on the organisation of the work at its final stage. The situation with the crops is not the same throughout the country. Yet, since all of us are interested in the harvest, we could say that, generally speaking, it is relatively good. We shall total the final results after the harvest. The grain crops have been harvested over 90 million hectares. The flow of grain toward the elevators is rising. The agricultural workers of the Kuban' and the Stavropol', of the Zaporozhskaya, Dnepropetrovskaya, Khar'kovskaya, Orenburgskaya and Rostovskaya oblasts, the Bashkirskaya ASSR and other parts of the country are making a major contribution to grain procurements. In the course of the current five-year plan, on three occasions the country received more than one billion poods of grain from Kazakhstan's grain growers. We are becoming accustomed to such results. Comrade Kunayev said in his speech, as have the oblast committee secretaries, that this year as well you intend to reach the one billion level. This is very good, comrades (applause). I believe that you will keep your word (applause). The entire country will thank you (applause).

Today all republics, krays and oblasts are trying successfully to complete the harvest and make a maximal contribution to the country's grain resources.

Shock labor will not be ignored and will always be given proper credit (applause).

Grain is our main concern. However we must always bear in mind the entire array of harvesting operations. The specific nature of the countryside is such that, while harvesting today's crop, we must be concerned with the next one. Winter crops must be sowed on time and in greater amounts. Good seeds must be used and the soil must be prepared for next year's crop. These, too, comrades, are the urgent tasks of today.

We must mention animal husbandry, the more so since animal husbandry in Kazakhstan is an important and growing sector.

Last year's poor harvest in the country created major difficulties. Despite this, however, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes preserved the cattle herds and poultry flocks. Therefore, a good base exists for increasing animal husbandry output. However in order to achieve this everything possible must be done to acquire an adequate fodder supply. This does not apply to public animal husbandry only. Fodder supplies must be procured for privately owned poultry and cattle as well.

There may be better things to talk about during holidays. However, let us firmly follow Lenin's instruction to subordinate anniversaries to matters of practical interest. Comrades, the planning organs of ministries, departments and production collectives are engaged in the important work of formulating the next five-year plans.

The party deems it necessary to formulate truly broad tasks, covering all areas and sectors of our huge national economy. It is mandatory that such tasks be realistic.

The modernizing of our base industrial sectors--power industry, metallurgy, machine building, chemistry and transportation--must become the pivot of our further economic and social development. Here again we must look ahead at least through

1990. It is important to formulate a special food program, the need for which, I believe, requires no explanation.

We must decisively tighten up capital construction. We are building extensively. Unfortunately, however, funds are frequently wasted. Occasionally, the construction workers are unable to accomplish everything. Balancing possibilities against wishes, we must concentrate all of our resources on the priority tasks. Let us adopt the rule of building rapidly, economically and on a modern technical level. More specifically, let us build on the level of tomorrow's requirements. This applies equally to industry and the countryside.

The countryside accounts for over one quarter of all capital investments. That is precisely why agriculture is becoming increasingly intensive and industrialized.

Undoubtedly, many people remember what the rural areas looked like at harvest time 25 to 30 years ago. Trains stretched from the threshing grounds to the delivery centers. Rarely would a truck be visible among horse- and oxen-pulled carts. What a great deal of manual labor was required!

The picture is entirely different today: The countryside has become accustomed to an abundance of a variety of complex machines. The nature and standards of the work have greatly improved. Despite all such achievements, however, unresolved problems remain. Crop yields remain low in many parts of the country. We are still excessively dependent on weather conditions. Crop losses have become completely intolerable. Our processing industry is lagging. Our produce storage facilities, particularly for potatoes and vegetables, are inadequate and our roads are poor.

The only possible conclusion is that funds allocated for the development of agriculture must be spent in such a way as to eliminate bottlenecks. Here again we should not wait for prompting from above. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes have all the rights they need to engage in rational farming.

The initiative of labor collectives in industry and agriculture has always been a powerful booster of our development. Excellent farming experience exists everywhere. It should be made available to all.

I mention this because we are on the threshold of an important political campaign of accountability and elections in the party organizations. This campaign is a major training, one could say a university, for every party member.

Unquestionably, party life is enriched through the judgments and the thoughts of the party members on a broad range of problems related to party policy, the work of the organizations, and basic criticism and self-criticism based on the interests of the cause. Each constructive speech at a party meeting or conference, and each business suggestion should be tried. This will truly serve the interests of the building of communism.

May the pre-congress period be marked by lively and energetic work and new labor accomplishments by the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. I am confident that such will be the case (lengthy applause).

Comrades!

As you know, recently I held a number of meetings, which have become traditional, in the Crimea with the heads of the fraternal socialist countries of Europe and Asia. These were meetings among sincere friends, like-thinking people, fellow workers in the great cause of the defense of the peace and the building of socialism and communism. Our talks were meaningful and very useful. Even though the idea was that the participants were "vacationing," to speak frankly, we did a great deal of work. The talks offered us the potential for exchanging detailed views on the international situation as it is currently developing.

Our assessment of the situation was unanimous. Today it is quite complex. A political struggle is taking place in the world arena between forces favoring peace, respect for the rights of peoples and detente, and forces of oppression, militarism and aggression.

At this point we should particularly mention the policy currently pursued by the government of the United States.

Those who formulate current U.S. foreign policy are obviously blind to or are unwilling to see the historical changes in the world arena and the new ratio of forces in the world. They are still hoping to be able to oppose the will of the peoples and to subordinate to their rule other sovereign countries unable to stand up for themselves. They would like to dictate the policy of such countries and to use their natural resources.

Washington is casting thunder and lightning on the subject of social revolutions taking place in Africa and Asia, the assumption of power by progressive regimes in Latin America, and the inclination of Western European leaders to display a certain political independence and to consider the national interests of their countries.

The NATO decision to deploy new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, imposed by the United States, triggered concern and the opposition of Western European and world public opinion for understandable reasons.

Recently the United States government proclaimed its so-called new nuclear strategy. Its essence may be factually reduced to making the very idea of a nuclear war somewhat more acceptable to the public. This is the purpose of considerations of a so-called "limited" or "partial" use of nuclear weapons. They have nothing in common with reality and are merely misleading the people. This is a policy extremely dangerous to the people the world over! It is even hard to imagine that it is originating from the government of a country which has signed an agreement with the Soviet Union on the prevention of nuclear war. It is no accident that this step taken by Washington was angrily condemned by broad sociopolitical circles the world over

In an effort to display its discontent with the policy of the Soviet Union, which is naturally concerned with its own security and does not abandon its friends in trouble, the U.S. administration intended to organize a kind of boycott of the USSR.

The U.S. government began by systematically breaking political and other contacts with our country and putting a halt to talks on a number of disarmament problems.

It did not shy from using trade as a weapon of political pressure. It did everything possible to insure the failure of the Moscow Olympics. It persistently asked other countries to join in this anti-Soviet course.

What happened? As everyone may see today, such efforts to bury detente and lead the world into a new cold war did not in the least meet with the approval of the broad popular masses or most governments, and brought no advantages to their initiators.

We bought from other countries the necessary amounts of those goods whose sale to the Soviet Union was banned by the U.S. administration. The American farmers and industrialists were the only ones to suffer.

By universal acknowledgement, the Olympic games were excellent and became a real celebration of sports and friendship among nations (applause), confusing their opponents.

As for a "political isolation" of the USSR, there has not been, there is not, and there never will be such isolation (applause). Our recent contacts with a number of governments, including my talks with the French president and the chancellor of the FRG, convincingly prove that the need to preserve and intensify detente and peaceful international cooperation and to restrain the arms race is understood by all, including the allies of the United States.

It is entirely natural that the Soviet Union, loyal to the Leninist principles of its foreign policy and loyal to the spirit and letter of the Final Act, signed five years ago in Helsinki, will continue to pay most serious attention to the development of peaceful and mutually profitable relations with France, the FRG and other Western European countries.

All in all, we might say that there is a gradually growing understanding of the fact that no major problem currently facing the world can be resolved "from a position of strength" by saber rattling. Let us hope that sooner or later the leaders of the United States as well will return to this conclusion. Naturally, the sooner the better.

Our country's foreign policy is a clear and honest policy of peace. It is not directed against anyone. We are not encroaching on anyone's territory or interfering in anyone's internal affairs. However, we shall always be able to stand up for our rights and legitimate interests (lengthy applause).

Our valorous armed forces have everything they need to rebuff any aggressor. We maintain a firm brotherhood in arms with the national armies of the members of the socialist comity.

Glory to the steadfast guardians of the lengthy applause).

The two basic directions in international policy that I mentioned are pitted against each other on the Asian continent as well, which includes your republic.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and our friendship, cooperation and mutual action with the fraternal socialist countries--Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and the Korean People's Democratic Republic--are the most important factors for peace and stability in Asia.

Our recent meetings and talks with Comrades Le Duan and Pham Van Dong, Tsedenbal, Kayson Phomvihan Heng Samrin and Pen Sovan reconfirmed the fact that cooperation with these countries is successfully developing in all directions (applause).

India's peaceful and realistic policy plays a major positive role in Asia. We ascribe great importance to our friendship and mutually profitable cooperation with this country. We sincerely wish the great Indian people peace and prosperity (applause)

Our economic and other relations with neighboring Japan remain significant and beneficial to both sides. We are prepared to develop them further. The extent to which this will be successful depends on Japan. It depends on the extent to which Japan's leadership will be able to preserve the independent and realistic course of its policy and to oppose foreign influence which pushes Japan along the dangerous road of militarization and actions hostile to the Soviet Union

Beijing and Washington are jointly frightening Japan with the worn out fabrications of the "Soviet threat." Let us hope, however, that the Japanese politicians will be able to assess the situation soberly and to see things as they are rather than as depicted in America and China.

As to China itself, major internal processes are underway in that country. They are visible, as the saying goes, even to the naked eye. It is probably still premature to assess their true significance. It is clear, however, that some Maoist concepts in the theory and practice of the country's internal development which have nothing in common with socialism are already being subjected within China to open or silent criticism. The notorious "Cultural Revolution," for example, is now openly called the greatest catastrophe which has befallen the Chinese people.

Unfortunately, all this has not as yet affected China's foreign policy, which remains just as hostile to the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Mongolia and the other socialist countries, and just as hostile to the cause of peace and detente as in the past

Furthermore, a further rapprochement is taking place between Beijing and the most aggressive U.S. circles and other imperialist countries, and an energetic search for attempts to provoke conflict between these countries and the Soviet Union [illegible] imperialist policy is trying to involve China even more deeply in anti-Soviet activities.

For example, American imperialism is zealously using both China's and Pakistan's services in its attempts to suppress the Afghan revolution and turn Afghanistan into a bridgehead threatening the Soviet Union and the freedom-loving independent countries of the East. These attempts, however, are doomed to failure.

Responding to the call of the Afghan government for help in repelling aggression, we fulfilled our duty to the end in full accordance with the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Treaty and the United Nations Charter. No one should express any doubt about this.

We favor a political settlement of the situation. The only way to achieve it is through a cessation of counterrevolutionary intervention and the reaching of an agreement between the governments of Afghanistan and its neighbors, Pakistan above all.

The United States is also using the Iranian situation as a pretext for aggravating the international situation and promoting the spiraling of the arms race. The economic blockade of this country has not been stopped. U.S. Navy vessels carrying aircraft and landing units continue to ply the waters around it.

We deem such actions inadmissible and firmly support the principle that the Iranian people alone have the right to determine their future development. We believe that the other countries--Iran's neighbors above all--have the right to expect the same approach on the part of Iran.

As I have already repeat, the international situation is complex. Today countries and peoples have no more important task than preventing the imperialist policy "from a position of strength" from limiting detente so that the pendulum of the arms race gathers new and very dangerous speed.

The USSR and the other members of the socialist comity are ready to undertake a discussion of such problems without delay. This is confirmed by the broad program formulated at the May conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members and the recent new proposals submitted by the Soviet Union on opening talks on nuclear missile weapons in Europe and on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

We await the answer of the leaders of the Western states to our suggestions. We are ready to undertake specific actions for the sake of strengthening the peace and normalizing the international circumstances, and we expect a reciprocal attitude from them!

The policy of the socialist states is consistent with the basic interests of all nations. It is approved by hundreds of millions of people the world over. I can state most firmly that we shall continue to pursue this policy systematically and steadfastly (lengthy applause).

Dear comrades!

The time has now come to perform a pleasant task: to present Kazakhstan with the Order of Lenin.(All rose, and to tempestuous and lengthy applause L. I. Brezhnev pinned the Order of Lenin to the flag of the republic).

Your republic was presented with this high award for delivering over 1.250 billion poods of grain to the state last year.

Honor and glory to the farmers, to all those who invested their toil in this outstanding achievement! (tempestuous and lengthy applause).

May our great socialist homeland strengthen and prosper! (Tempestuous and lengthy applause. All rose, and shouts of "Glory to the CPSU!" and "Glory to the Soviet people!" were heard.

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HISTORICISM OF MARXISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 80 pp 18-24

[Article by Academician Ye. Zhukov. This article, written for KOMMUNIST, was based on Ye. M. Zhukov's (1907-1980) speech at the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the occasion of his acceptance of the Gold Medal imeni Karl Marx]

[Text] We are quite familiar with K. Marx' and F. Engels' words, "We recognize only one science, the science of history" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3 p 16). Naturally, this should not be taken literally. What it really means is that the principle of historicism must be observed in the approach to any phenomenon or process which a Marxist researcher intends to study. In other words, all processes and phenomena must be considered in their development, in their dynamics. The origin and further development, and the further direction of a given object, must be established.

Historicism is one of the basic principles of the dialectical approach to the study of nature and society. A phenomenon can be understood only in relation to other phenomena in the course of their reciprocal influence and with a consideration of the specific circumstances in which they exist.

Marxism does not acknowledge frozen forms mandatorily applicable to all historical ages and periods.

V. I. Lenin particularly emphasized that Marx deemed it important "to find the law governing phenomena he studies. He considered particularly important the law of change, of the development of such phenomena and of the conversion from one form to another and from one system of social relations to another....Marx considered social dynamics a natural-historical process, obeying laws which were not only independent of the human will, awareness and intentions, but, conversely, determined their will, awareness and intentions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 1, p 166).

V. I. Lenin formulated two important basic concepts. The first was that "Marx rejects precisely the idea that the laws of economic life are equally applicable to the past and to the present. On the contrary, each historical period has its own laws." The second concept applies to the study of economic life: "The scientific significance of such a study is to explain the particular (historical) laws which govern the appearance, existence, development and depth of a given social organism

and its replacement with another, a superior organism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, p 157).

Frequently, fundamental differences of time and place and the material conditions in which a specific society functions entail not only changes in the ways general laws manifest themselves but an eventual enhancement or, conversely, weakening of their effectiveness. Therefore, the historical process which takes place under the influence of a certain number of laws is entirely free from any mystical predetermination.

Both as a dialectical-materialistic outlook and as a general theory of the development of nature and society, Marxism is relatively young, having existed slightly over one century.

The adversaries of Marxism, including the so-called skeptics, either entirely fail to understand or deliberately distort its nature. They tend to depict Marxism as a kind of sum of dogmatic concepts taken outside of time and space and, therefore, paralyzing the free development of creative thinking. This has nothing in common with reality. In fact Marxism is profoundly alien to dogmatism and incompatible with it.

The very fact that Marxism appeared in the middle of the 19th century, when the new revolutionary class--the proletariat--moved to the center of the world stage, proves the antidogmatic nature of Marxism.

Speaking of the three sources and the three components of Marxism, i.e., of its origins, Lenin emphasized that Marxism has nothing in common with "sectarianism" in the sense of being a closed, an ossified, doctrine which developed on the fringe of the development of world civilization. Marxism arose as the direct and immediate extension and development of the achievements of progressive social philosophy. Philosophical materialism was enriched by dialectics, i.e., by the theory of development in its fullest and most profound aspect, free from any type of one-sidedness. An outstanding discovery such as Marx' historical materialism enabled us to understand, for the first time, the objective laws governing the development of society and its progressive forward movement.

Marxism has never been a static thing. It developed and was enriched through the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the activities of the international communist movement and the achievements of progressive social thinking. We know the tremendous contribution which Lenin made to the development of Marxism. We can speak with full justification of the Leninist stage of Marxism and of its conversion into Marxism-Leninism. In turn, Lenin stated that Marx' theory is not something fully completed and inviolable, and that it merely laid the cornerstone of the revolutionary doctrine which Marxists must develop further in all directions. Once again this emphasizes the antidogmatic nature of Marxism and the historicism which imbues it.

History is nothing but the consecutive change of generations, each of which uses the materials, capital and productive forces passed on by all preceding generations; by virtue of this fact, on the one hand each generation continues the inherited activities under different circumstances and, on the other, changes the old conditions by engaging in activities of a different nature. "...The new production

forces and production relations," Marx noted, "do not develop out of nothing, out of thin air, or out of self-generated ideas; they develop within and in the struggle against the existing production development and the inherited traditional ownership relations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part I, p 229).

The revolutionizing role of production forces is not reduced in the least by the fact that their development, their rate of progress in particular, is influenced by production relations and forms of social organization which depend on them. Marx explained this in his letter to P. V. Annenkov: "Whatever its nature may be, what is a society? It is the product of interaction among people. Are the people free to choose one or another social system? Not in the least" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 27, p 402).

Marx himself considered his entire outlook as a method: "It does not provide ready-made dogmas, but rather starting points for further study and a method for such a study" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 39, p 352). This remark is very important in the sense that it emphasizes the creative nature of the research process. Marxism demands of the researcher total objectivity in his approach to his subject. At the same time, Marxism equips him with dialectics, which enables him to find reliable "starting points" and to choose the right path in the maze of processes and phenomena under study. The dialectical method requires specific study of the specific situation and a strict consideration of the time and place characteristics of the studied processes and phenomena. In this sense no formula, even though intrinsically accurate, could be used as a "master key" to penetrate the essence of the studied topic.

Historicism, which became the distinguishing characteristic of scientific thinking in general in the 19th century, required the genetic study of social phenomena--the specific study of their development stages from their beginning. The historical thinking of the bourgeois enlighteners also displayed a certain trend toward historicism. However, it was greatly weakened by the abstract-rationalistic and mechanistic method of thinking of the enlightenment period as a whole. Consequently, entire ages in the history of mankind, the Middle Ages in particular, were seen as deprived of their positive historical content.

Bourgeois historicism, the most complete philosophical substantiation of which may be found in Hegel's concepts, proved unsuitable as the basis for an objective study of the historical process. Bourgeois historicism adopted a negative position toward the possibility of discovering the objective laws governing social development and thus of becoming acquainted with the historical process as a whole.

According to true scientific historicism, nature and social life are undergoing a process of natural development whose laws could be found only on the basis of the study of its history; theoretical concepts may be accurate only if they properly reflect the main, the typical, features of historical reality. Lenin noted that "the simple summation, the initial and simplest formulation of concepts (judgments, conclusions, etc.) means the realization by man of the ever more profound objective ties with the world" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, p 161). The reverse process of the discovery of the specific through the lens of the general enables us to consider the specific as something far more definite, determined by numerous ties and relations.

Let us emphasize that the aspect of relativity is present in any type of scientific language. Lenin pointed out that dialectics--as already determined by Hegel himself--includes an aspect of relativism, negation and skepticism, but cannot be reduced to relativism. "The dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels," Vladimir Il'ich went on to say, "unquestionably includes relativism without being reduced to it, i.e., it recognizes the relative nature of all our knowledge not in the sense of rejecting the objective nature of truth but in the sense of the historical conventionality of the approximation of our knowledge to this truth" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 18, p 139). From the viewpoint of contemporary materialism the extent to which our knowledge comes closer to objective and absolute truth may be historically conventional. However, the existence of such a truth and the fact that we are coming closer to it are unquestionable. The essence of the development of science and the nature of scientific progress consist of the gradual elimination of relativity and a more steadfast advance toward absolute truth.

In scientific research the relativity of final judgments is determined primarily by the fact that, as a rule, the scientist cannot exceed the framework of a priori systems and concepts which belong to the specific time and society of which he is a part. Nevertheless, social progress, practical experience and the logic of the progress of research widen the scientific horizons. Hypotheses whose groundlessness has been confirmed are no longer considered true. They are replaced by new concepts which are more consistent with the proper understanding of the variety of properties and forms of movement of matter. The process of transition from relative to absolute knowledge is practically infinite.

"The human concepts of space and time are relative. However, it is from such relative concepts that absolute truth emerges. As they develop, these relative concepts follow the line of absolute truth and come closer to it. The variability of human concepts concerning space and time is unable to refute the objective reality of either, for the variability of the scientific knowledge of the structure and forms of motion of matter do not refute the objective reality of the outside world" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 18, pp 181-182). This concept is expressed with particular clarity in the study of social progress. "...History reflects the natural course of social development in its specific-chronological aspect" ("Leninskaya Teoriya Otrazheniya i Sovremennost'" [The Leninist Theory of Reflection and Contemporaneity], Sofia, 1969, p 675). The materialistic concept of history is based on the unity of the universal-historical process. This means that the effect of the overall laws governing the development of society is global rather than limited to a given continent or area. The development of social systems through identical or similar stages cannot chronologically coincide in its overall progress because of the variety of conditions in which this progress takes place. However, in the final analysis, it follows the same general direction. The concept of the unity of the universal-historical process is based on the acknowledgement of the prime significance of the production activity of the social person, determined by the condition and development of material production forces. Revolutionary changes in production forces entail corresponding changes in the production method, i.e., determine the essential changes in social life which play the role of motive forces in its development.

As the most important structural element in the Marxist outlook, economic determinism is the theoretical base for accepting the unity of the universal-historical process

The laws of social development are a manifestation of the objective economically determined direction of social dynamics. These laws are independent of the human will and can be neither imposed nor revoked arbitrarily. At the same time, indicating merely the general direction along which the society moves, these laws do not cover all aspects of social life and activities without exception. As Lenin pointed out, all sociological laws are strict, partial and approximate. This makes obvious the groundlessness of the metaphysical and formal-logical approach adopted by the opponents of Marxism to the interpretation of social development laws. Laws do not operate independently, but are manifested only through social activity, which can either accelerate or retard their implementation or even temporarily conflict with the leading trend of social dynamics as expressed by a given law. Historical experience proves that human progress has always been accompanied not only by zigzags but also by retreats in specific space-time areas. This proves the important role played by the truly progressive social forces which reflect most adequately the requirements of a specific historical age and whose activities contribute the appearance of general sociological and historical laws consistent with the trend they represent.

The variety of social phenomena is an unquestionable reality. The laws of social development do not annul this reality in the least.

The opponents of Marxism try to deny the existence of objective laws of social development, referring, above all, to the multiplicity and variety of the specific forms assumed by this development. The main wedge of anti-Marxist criticism is directed against the very concept of a law governing social relations. The basic argument is that historical development excludes the possibility of identical and coinciding situations and makes impossible the application of objective laws in society, unlike nature, where laws factually exist. The uniqueness and individuality of events and phenomena are not in the least a specific feature of social development. We notice in nature as well both a uniqueness and a tremendous variety of phenomena and aspects of phenomena which, nevertheless, can be explained through objective laws.

Most of today's adversaries of Marxism reject the existence of objective laws governing the historical process, "justifying" this stand with a deliberately vulgarized and falsified interpretation of the very concept of "economic determinism." Determinism is misrepresented as something which operates automatically, entirely excluding any human conscious creative activity. The concept of economic determinism is developed to the point of absurdity, while the materialistic view of the historical process is given a simple monochromatic interpretation. Naturally, this confirms, above all, the fact that the critics are totally unfamiliar with dialectics. Economic determinism means that the free human will is factually limited by socio-economic as well as natural conditions. Man cannot exceed the existing level of the material possibilities of a given society or the social environment to which he belongs. In the final analysis, a "rectification," independent of the human will, will mandatorily apply to the path he has chosen, should it happen to be erroneous. This would be the effect of the economic determinism of social development. Understandably, this could entail a slower pace and even a temporary reversal.

Success awaits the free choice of objectives and means to achieve them based on a knowledge of reality and the understanding of the dominating social development trend (its laws). In this case freedom truly becomes an acknowledged necessity.

According to Lenin, what distinguishes Marxism from any other socialist theory is the noteworthy combination of total scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective situation and the objective course of development with the firmest acknowledgement of the significance of revolutionary energy, revolutionary creativity and revolutionary initiative of the masses and of individuals, groups, organizations and parties able to sense and establish contacts with one class or another.

"People make their own history. So far, however, they have created it not with the guidance of a common will or on the basis of a single common plan and not even within the limits of a specifically limited type of society. Their aspirations have criss-crossed, so that such societies are necessarily subjected to the appearance of random events. In the final analysis, however, necessity, which makes its way across all random events, is of an economic nature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 39, p 175).

In describing the form of manifestation of economic determinism, Engels explained that "the more distant the area we are studying is from the area of economics, the closer it comes to the purely abstract-ideological area, the more we find random events in its development and the more twisted its curve becomes. Drawing the axis of the curve, you would find that the longer the studied period is and the broader the area under study, the closer this axis comes to the axis of economic development and the more parallel to it it becomes" (Ibid., p 176).

People may choose freely among certain means available for reaching their objectives. They could make a choice among an incalculable number of possibilities. Consequently, such a choice may be classified as random (even though in each specific case it is determined by one or another objective or subjective cause). The choice may be either right or wrong. If it is wrong the target cannot be reached. This directly influences the historical process and may entail major or even tragic consequences affecting one or another human category.

The making of world history would have been quite easy had the struggle been waged only on the basis of impeccably favorable chances. On the other hand, history would be of a mystical nature had "accident" played no role whatever. Naturally, accidents are a component of the overall course of development, balancing each other. "However, both acceleration and deceleration are greatly dependent on such 'accidents,' which also include the 'accident' of the nature of the people at the head of a given movement" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 33, p 175).

The activities of the progressive social forces--classes, parties or individuals--consistent with the requirements of social progress are a subjective aspect of the historical process and a manifestation of the objective law governing its trend.

The task of historical research is to reveal the frequently deeply hidden law governing the development of a specific society, to find it behind the mass of "accidents," and to determine the specific forms of manifestation of a given law or of its individual derivations. The dialectical connection between the general, the individual and the specific enables us to see the way individual aspects reflect local or temporary features and the general. This, in the final analysis, provides the objective qualitative characterization of the historical process.

Historical experience proves that for a while the clash between conflicting social forces may lean in one or another direction. A trend will be countered by an objectively existing countertrend which will represent the inertial forces of the old, unwilling to yield voluntarily to the new.

We must emphasize that not only general theoretical considerations, but the study of the course of the universal-historical process offers an objective basis for the optimistic assessment of its prospects.

The laws of social development which have operated throughout the existence of human society enable us to speak with confidence of its progress.

The existence of objective laws of social development provides possibilities of a substantiated forecasting of the historical process. Ever more clearly, the task of mankind is revealed not as an amorphous accumulation of isolated facts and events but as a forward movement with exceptionally complex internal contradictions. This enables us to build a bridge from the past to the present and to consider the present as the extension of the past. Therefore, as a science, history is given the opportunity to go beyond the strict framework separating it from real life and to assume its position within the range of disciplines called upon to upgrade social activity and improve our understanding of both present and future tasks.

The contemporary stage reached in the building of socialism and communism in the fraternal countries has brought to light an entire set of previously unknown economic, political, and social and cultural problems and phenomena which appear in the course of the development of the new world. It is precisely this that enables us to discover the laws specifically inherent in the mature socialist society and which depict its specific nature, but which are also linked inseparably with already familiar, more general sociological laws.

It is self-evident that this formulation of the matter is of particular, perhaps even primary, significance in terms of our age, when the communist system, which opposes capitalism, is in its initial stage and is successfully developing and [illegible] the conditions of the steadily growing role of the subjective factor [illegible], the basis of familiar objective laws and acting as a great transforming force.

Society is not an inert force. Its activity and the results of its internal [illegible] alone achieve the objective development trends which govern the dynamics of material production forces. Therefore vulgar mechanicism is [illegible] alien to the materialistic understanding of history. The laws of social development are making their way and emerging victorious (frequently with varying degrees of completeness, more rapidly or more slowly, within different historical periods) depending on the activity of the true makers of history--the people's masses.

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ESTABLISHMENT OF PROMETHEUS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 80 pp 25-34

[Review by V. Chikin of the motion picture "Karl Marx. The Young Years." Produced by the Central Studio for Children's and Adolescents' Motion Pictures imeni M. Gor'kiy and the Defa Motion Pictures Studio for the USSR State Television and Radio and the GDR State Committee for Television. Scenario by A. Grebnev, B. Dobrodeyev and L. Kulidzhanov (with the participation of G. Pfeifer). Directed by L. Kulidzhanov]

[Text] In the first seven days of June rare encounters with very dear people came to us as a cleansing freshness. The talented international collective headed by Director Lev Kulidzhanov gave us a broad motion picture narrative covering one-quarter of Karl Marx' creative biography--the early period of his searches and his shaping of ideals.

In itself, the effort to present pages of a great life to the mass public through contemporary art was a daring attempt. (Writers and artists are still very hesitant to assume the responsible role of interpreters of Marx' thinking, his exploits and his moral-conceptual searches to the new generations.) It is twice as daring to consider events not totally canonized by history, not so exhaustively covered biographic events, or pages filled with romanticism and drama, and see in them the very beginning--Prometheus' initial steps leading to the flames of the struggle which was to be described subsequently by Lenin as the "Marxist torch."

Our customary approach to Marx is that of a student approaching primary sources. At the very dawn of the Russian labor movement the young Marxist propagandists in Lenin's words "tortured" their friends--workers--with the study of "Das Kapital." Today, as we rise on the ladder of academic courses, we are acquiring the necessary amount of knowledge by drawing from one or another work of the classics. Such schooling is both necessary and legitimate. Yet, do we not occasionally limit ourselves to the need for such training, and do we not mechanically cover this path? Do we not narrow our perceptions and impoverish our feelings? Do we not leave unsatisfied the desire to realize, to see "in the image of a spiritual personality that which was systematically presented to us," as Marx himself did, starting his research?

Talking with L. A. Kulidzhanov, I risked the following question

"What were your 'relations' with Marx before you began work on the picture?'

Lev Aleksandrovich smiled thoughtfully:

"I studied the primary sources at the university. ..Only now am I truly discovering Marx' great life. It has been a steady process. The deeper one plunges into the material, the more attractive such knowledge becomes...."

The result of this knowledge is an intellectually saturated film of sparkling passions. We breathe the air of 19th-century European streets. We hear the grandiose harmonies and rhythms and the echo of philosophical disputes; together with Marx, we are full of hope and suffer from failures, open the path to the truth and defend our findings. We feel quite naturally like characters in the film.

In their time rejecting the stilted sugary formality used in the depiction of revolutionaries, Marx and Engels gave the following advice. "It would be quite desirable for people heading an active party--whether on the eve of a revolution, in secret societies or the press, or in a revolutionary period, acting as officials--to be depicted, once and for all, in severe Rembrandt colors, entirely true to life." Let us note the treatment of light at the beginning of the picture. Let us not forget, however, that we are looking at the early spring of a genius, marked by the awakening of talent and feelings. The screen colors become richer with every passing hour and every new page in Marx' biography.

"...To me," an adult intellectual said, "among other things, this film brought back the Germany of great philosophers and poets." A student at the Tambov Pedagogical Institute exclaimed: "I looked with new eyes at the volume of Marx lying open before me." As she congratulated the film authors for their success, Marietta Shaginyan, a biographic artist sensitive to the truth and possessing extensive erudition, sincerely acknowledged the rare pleasure she experienced from the accuracy with which art interpreted everything she knew from books; she was pleased for the sake of those who were yet to become familiar with Marx' ideas, who would be given a splendid and unsurpassed artistic lesson in political literacy.

While fully agreeing with this observation, we must also add that the viewer can gain an even greater lesson from the film. At one of the high points, the main character significantly concludes with the statement that life has taught him a lesson, both practical and philosophical.

Thinking of the film, let us address ourselves in particular to the lesson learned from Marx' unique, eternally illuminating life.

"I was born in Trier, an old German city on the Moselle...in our house." That is how the gray-haired Marx, quite familiar to us from various portraits, introduces us to his world. Yes, today the history of his life itself will sit in an armchair, as he liked to say, and think of the past, once again moving through the years, mentally reviewing past actions. Today Marx himself guides us in this filmed monologue.

We do not immediately realize that we have met with Ventseslav Kisev, who plays the main character in the motion picture series, at the very beginning of the film. No, we expect the young Marx to show up. What would he look like? How would he behave?

How would he talk? What would he say? We wait patiently and even with a certain prejudice, for little is known of the real, the "documented," facts of that period other than brief mentions and verbal sketches. His fellow students remembered his face as having a high forehead, powerful and piercing eyes under dark brows, and a well-formed, strong mouth. Frederick Engels' initial impressions sound like poetic sketches: a daring eagle eye, agitated hands, unusual character, and tireless strength.... According to Annenkov, Marx was distinguished by his sharp and daring movements, a proud and scornful demeanor, opposition to accepted norms, and a metallic sharpness in his voice....

We find nothing similar in this brittle and excessively handsome youngster who suddenly appears at the door of his student room. Nevertheless, we soon recognize in him "our own" Marx and accept him with increasing sympathy.

We can only share the high rating given the talented acting of the Bulgarian Ventseslav Kisev. However, neither his selfless work on his role--tireless biographic research and volumes of works in Russian and German, the search for accurate mannerisms and details, and endless rehearsals--nor the artistic flexibility seen in Ventseslav's portrayal, or the extensive directing (among professionals, Kulidzhanov is recognized as an "actor's director") can explain entirely our unwitting predisposition.

"There are things," the director himself admits, "that could neither be staged nor be performed: the directness of a character, the charm of the historical personality played by the actor. Shchukin's charm immortalized Lenin on the screen. I looked for an actor with precisely the same type of charm, and Ventseslav Kisev seduced me with precisely this quality...."

Geniuses rarely appear in life, and the characteristics of their minds are unique. However, human manifestations, characters, and temperament, tastes and inclinations may be shared by many individuals. In this sense a comparison between the brilliant youngster from Trier on the Moselle and a contemporary youngster from Vidin on the Danube becomes legitimate. Ventseslav as well experiences the volcanic explosions of a restless soul inspired by the emulation of Prometheus. He leans toward poetic revelations. He is dedicated to his work to the extreme and is tireless in reaching a comprehension....

A Lesson In Comprehension

It is precisely the lesson of comprehension that is first and most clearly realized by the viewer in television encounters with the young Marx. Occasionally, profound arguments develop on the difficult search for a vocation, for the choice of a profession. Could he have become a poet, a playwright, a lawyer or a philosopher?... It seems that Marx himself did not consider such a vocational "orientation" to be especially necessary. His guiding idea since high school was "to work for mankind." Whatever he might have undertaken, he would have carried it out with extreme thoroughness and exhaustive knowledge.

Poetry was his creative cradle. Yet, he could not turn to the carefree "muses" with unconcerned inspiration. He considered the study of world and domestic poetic masterpieces mandatory. His muse frequently speaks the language of philosophical lyricism,

and dedications to outstanding philosophers frequently appear in his poetry notebooks; as a youngster he became a sought-after collocutor of refined lovers of the arts and history experts: We remember the penetrating dialogues between the young Marx and the old Westphalen aptly depicted in pastel watercolors by actor R. Khristov.

As a student, Marx welcomed the dawn, usually with a book in hand, even though the cheering company of friends, the exciting fencing and the revivifying power of nature were equally attractive and close. But when it came to books, the eloquent ambassadors of all realms of thought, he was ready to reread mountains of them for the sake of learning a bit of truth. He would read, study, recopy extracts, and pleasurably think. These would be his notes, his impressions after reading a book. Is knowledge not pleasurable? Is what has been learned and discovered not the highest reward of the searching mind?

"In about a year you will be oppressed by this abundance of books...," Herr Doktor Bauer noted ironically (actor H. Beneke has succeeded in making this character memorable) upon meeting Marx. Bruno Bauer recommended to Karl Marx that he read for entertainment.

Luckily, the advice came too late. Universal curiosity had developed, and the seed of fruitful encyclopedism had grown confidently. An awareness of inescapable duty had ripened. He had to learn everything in order to be knowledgeable in the affairs of the world. Thoughts on his reading were recorded in Marx' famous "Notebooks," where the contents of an entire volume would be compressed into a few lines, crystallizing the nucleus of an idea and building a secure bridge to future scientific discoveries.

His doctoral dissertation was based on his student "Notebooks on Epicurean Philosophy." This was no simple, interesting tour of the salons of Athens, where one could hold dialogues with Socrates, share the doubts of Carneadus, enjoy pleasure with Epicurus or conquer human nature together with the Stoics. This also represented the awakening of Marx' spirit of doubt and rejection, a search for the ideal type of wisdom, a merger of philosophy with reality, and a protest against the gods on earth and in heaven, which Marx heard in Prometheus' heroic assertion. "Truly, I hate all gods."

Noteworthy in the second part of the television serial is the scene in the Westphalen home. Accepting from the new doctor of philosophy the proof of his filial and friendly love--a dedicated dissertation--Ludwig von Westphalen all of a sudden discovers with happy amazement a fully matured, thoroughly educated and realistically thinking young Marx; he exclaims, "I see that you will have to start your life without illusions."

Let us recall short scenes in the fourth part--the excited expression on Marx' face in the coach, the impatient wait at the gate, the exulting Jenny in her wedding dress, and the music which fills us with passionate joy (throughout the entire film, composer B. Wefelmaier helps us with exceptional delicacy to detect the most subtle shades of characters and events). Finally, Karl and Jenny spend a happy summer together in Kreuznach. From that summer we have the famous "Kreuznach Notebooks," as Marx was once again on the path to knowledge. He made a critical study of Hegel's philosophy of the law. He studied the theory and history of the

state and traced the development of the largest countries of Europe and the Americas. He studied the works of the great politicians and mastered the creative legacy of the philosophers....Five handwritten books crowded with notes were to be the clear guide of anyone who would like to see how Marx approached the study of the processes of the historical development of mankind.

This is followed by the Paris "semesters," which Dr. Marx dedicated to the study of the history of the revolution and the problems of the class struggle: We turn to the testimony of the chroniclers of the Convention and the Restoration and to the economic investigators' works. The legacy of those years includes abridged Jacobin memoirs and economic-philosophical manuscripts. They are followed by the Brussels "semesters," in which the attention is focused on utopian concepts of the new moral world and the broad plan to set up a socialist library. Finally, we have the English "semesters," which are the closest approaches to the peaks of political economy. Here again, a "devilishly vast" body of data had to be absorbed....

It seems as though the desire to understand grew in Marx with the development of his outlook. The science of communism, Lenin was to explain later, had to be based on the solid foundation of human knowledge acquired under capitalism. Marx had to rework, criticize and test through the workers' movement everything the human mind had created.

Understanding....As we imagine the powerful monolith which this represents in all of young Marx' activities, and when we think about how impenetrable this layer remains to art, we begin to appreciate particularly the creative successes of this television series. We are not at all referring to the expressive scene of brief explanations in a secondhand bookstore, doctoral discussions at the Stehelli Cafe, or the intoxicating isolation with books in Chatham's library...The main thing is the precise scenario and geometric progression in which Marx' living word reveals to us more and more fully Marx' thinking. We rapidly follow the path of the intellectual growth of the character. As has been justifiably noted, the literary text has been the dynamic source of the development of the entire plot and of the character. One frame after another, it leads us along the paths of knowledge.

Morality Lesson

The motive force of the word does not replace or obscure in the film its other mainsprings--the tension in the plot, the dramatic nature of the scenes and the actors' character development. The creators of the story of the young Marx boldly address themselves to the complex parts of his biography, depicting complex clashes and sharp conflicts, and the decisive significance of the actions. The skillfully woven fabric of the narration captivates the viewer, presenting him with the need to resolve, together with the character, personal yet eternally human problems such as the concept of filial duty, responsibility versus love, the real value of friendship, and the rules of life.

It is important for the viewer to understand, for example, what it is that essentially determines relations and spiritual ties between the two Marxes--father and son--precisely at a time when the attorney no longer has to work, while the future leader of the world's proletariat has yet to choose a career.

The preserved correspondence between father and son allows us to feel the high temperature which occasionally would develop in the course of their explanations and arguments. Their skillful interpretation in the scenario and the excellent acting of M. Zetche, the worthy partner of V. Kisev, tie the initial scenes in the film into a tight psychological knot. What is the plan? The father is doing everything possible to give the son a solid education. However, he detects his "aimless wandering" through the various branches of knowledge and his "confused thoughts;" the father displays the natural parental concern for the prosperity of his son and the desire to protect him from dangerous storms. However, he encounters the rejection of the philistine ideal and the open thirst for storms; the father would like to remain the authoritative tutor, the trusted advisor of the grown-up adolescent, but comes across a firm desire for independence....Without abandoning his principles and views, however, the son retains his respect and deference for his father.

Occasionally efforts are made to unravel this knot sociologically: It is stated that the father and son represent different generations and outlooks and are just about divided by a class barrier which leads to misunderstanding and spiritual deafness.... What a simplistic interpretation!

In the big Marx family (Karl had three brothers and five sisters), it is precisely the father and the oldest son who feel and think alike. The expressive depiction of the characters in the film (the authors skillfully use the family correspondence which has survived) proves that the lofty concepts of human dignity have come down to the son from the father above all. Probably none of the children loved the father more than Karl, and no one was able to detect Karl's exceptional talent or care for him so much as was the father. His constant concern was for the son to follow his precise vocation and not waste his strength striving toward his objective. "...If your life plans could be harmoniously combined with parental hopes," he wrote his son, "it would give me the greatest of all joys...." We admire the warm reciprocity in the relations between father and son and the son's honest explanations and confidentiality in describing his intentions. We realize this on rereading Karl's splendid letter-confession sent from Berlin to Trier several months before his father's death. Equally unforgettable is the moment following Heinrich Marx' death and when the 20-year-old Karl, less than two years a student at Berlin University, began to develop his relations in the Doctors' Club.

The film is not limited merely to the true presentation of the characters. It deepens the psychological drama and makes us consider the problems of parents and children on the basis of such important historical data. It raises the constructive question of how, on the brink of decisive changes in social awareness, previous practical experience must be combined with newly acquired experience, and how the wisdom of parents must be made available to the children. Realizing the inevitability of conflicts, Heinrich Marx was particularly affected by the situation in which parental authority ends while parental love remains....We hear an echo of this emotion soon afterwards, in a memorable scene, in the penetrating words of the young Marx: "I keep thinking, was I a good son?" This is an invitation to all of us to think.

Another morality lesson could be described as a test of the heart. The beautiful feeling which existed between Karl Marx and Jenny von Westphalen may be described

only in the loftiest possible words of which legends are made and sonnets, odes and hymns are written. The film describes for us a simple human story of love which is the lyrical leitmotiv of the entire plot. The intention of the authors is not to amaze us. Even when the temptation to do so arises, they adhere strictly to the properly chosen principle: the story of a great life must be told calmly and at its proper pace....

The sensitive balance of the literary text, the impeccable tact of the director and impeccable performances by Ventseslav Kisev and Renata Blum bring to us with particular care the drama of life, the natural pulse of lyrical scenes. They bring to us the great truth of this love: the purposefulness of the feelings ennobles our humanity and immeasurably increases our strength. Even after 20 years of marriage Marx said with admiration that his entire spiritual energy was focused on this unending love: in the whirlwind of revolutionary storms or absorbed in inhuman work, he could always hear the melodic sound of the heart and was always aware of how much he owed to this brightest of feelings and to the person closest to him. In a frank conversation with Engels--let us recall the scene on the deck of the steamboat, coming back from London--he blamed himself with a bitter smile: "No one can be as cruel to the people close to him as a man concerned with the general good."

The sound of harmony, loyalty and hope is frequently heard in the intimate explanations by the young Jenny. "Our fate," she said, "is to wait, hope, endure and suffer." The needless repetition of these words greatly impoverishes one's image. Jenny herself does not defend it. Since her youth she has seen and realized that a modest lot, limited to the kitchen or the living room, has been assigned to women by the blind laws of the old society and the traditions of the age and the nation; it is precisely they that deprive the woman of her potential for displaying a high civic feeling and that prevent her from "grabbing the wheel of fate." Jenny herself breaks out of the circle of doom regardless of the aristocratic flowers embellishing it; her heart and mind prompt her to make a very rare and most happy choice: to become the companion of a genius, a supporter of the leader, a daring fighter who "for the sake of the party" is ready to "march anywhere." In her young years Jenny succeeds in walking the complex road from naive romanticism, through the Hegelian categories, and through Young Hegelianism to consistent Marxism. We clearly detect this in the development of her character in the movie.

Marx was as lucky in his friendships as he was in his love. At the university lecture hall, addressing the Doctors' Club, editing a democratic newspaper or publishing a theoretical journal, he drew to himself, like a magnet, outstanding seeking people. Many of them were conquered by his erudition, clearly expressed talent, nobility of action, and radical way of thinking. Awaiting Marx' lecture at the university in Bonn, Moses Hess, one of the noted Young Hegelians, recommended him to his friend as follows:

"...Be ready to meet the greatest, perhaps the only living true philosopher, who will draw to himself the attention of Germany when he begins to speak publicly (in print or from the chair)... Dr. Marx--the name of my idol--is still a very young man (hardly over 24); he will deal the final blow to medieval philosophy and politics. He combines within himself a most profound philosophical seriousness with the finest of wits; he is a combination of Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel; I mean a combination rather than a mixture--that is what Dr. Marx is."

The development of the plot brings to the foreground Bruno Bauer, who dominated the Doctors' Club, Adolf Ruttenberg, Marx' colleague at the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG (impressively played by D. Heinz), or Arnold Ruge, the co-editor of the "German French Yearbook"(well played by Yu. Budrayti.)....Many other figures appear alongside Marx in his biography. However, as though unable to withstand the high heat of revolutionary tension, their personalities melt away and they find themselves on the other side of ideological, and even street barricades.

Are such losses exeessively frequent? The answer is that time is the test, life sifts people out. Let us compare, for example, Marx' article "A Few More Words on the Pamphlet by Dr. O. F. Gruppe..." with his article "On the Jewish Problem," written a year apart (not to mention "The Holy Family"), in order to realize the philosophical mire into which Bruno Bauer, "the man who overthrows the gods," has sunk. Or else, rereading letters from the "German-French Yearbook" or "Critical Remarks on the Article 'The Prussian'...," also written one year apart, one can clearly see the nature of Ruge, the bankrupt socialist....Let us specify the nature of the moral lessons taught here by Marx: they are that friends are made not on the basis of friendly sympathy, nice words and promises, but on the basis of the principle of ideological compatibility, on the basis of confirmed service to the revolution.

Marx's ascension to spiritual maturity and a communist outlook is so rapid that the time this covers should be counted in terms of decades rather than years; yesterday's companions are left behind. His perspicacity allows him to consider the development of views, and to predict the logic of changes in proclaimed principles of false freedoms or pseudo-humanism. For example, he can predict the futility of mere clowning under the fireworks of revolutionary phraseology, converting free and independent thinking into the meaningless entertainment of abstract tricks. For this reason he finds the strength and chooses the time for the hard decision of the parting of the ways.

Yet, it appears that fate would not fail to reward him for the losses. Almost simultaneously there appear in the film, at the peak of the struggle waged by RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG for its survival, two new characters, almost identically recommended to us by references to common friends in the Doctors' Club. One of them is the new censor, Saint-Paul; the other is Friedrich Engels, "nothing but a merchant and a gunner." The proper encounter with the former will eventually convert into irreconcilable struggles; the restrained understanding with the other will become the prologue to the greatest of human associations.

Despite the entirely irresistible charm of the "merchant and gunner" (the role of Engels is splendidly performed by A. Safronov), their encounter was cool, precisely because Marx could see in it a certain encroachment on his principles. "...I began to suspect Engels," we are told by Marx the storyteller, "of some particular sympathy toward people with whom he had already parted within himself...." Time would pass, and a lifelong project would bring the two great fighters together and, with total confidence and touching tenderness, Marx would describe Engels in the famous terms as his alter ego--his second "I"....It would be difficult to find a more significant lesson of lofty morality than the one drawn out of this friendship.

Finally, let us mention the rule of life which guided Marx from his young years onward: not to retreat from his objective or to forgo his ideal for the sake of comfort and advantages.

The film reveals this theme thoroughly and comprehensively. Marx and those close to him, occasionally pursued by almost hopeless needs, had to withstand many temptations. The practical aspect of life appears to him as his father's concern and his mother's strictness, as the philosophical sympathy of the "modest merchant," Uncle Lion Phillips, the ingratiating recommendations of Privy Counselor Esser and even the passionate appeals of Heine, the best of friends: "Karl! Jenny! My friends, run! Run away from those gentlemen and go somewhere far, to the mountains, to Switzerland, find a quiet little corner where no one can find you."

Neither such temptations nor the early attempt on the part of the Prussian government to turn Marx into a state official, nor the open pursuit of him by the biggest predators of Europe at that time were able to turn him away from his lifetime goal. "...I must reach my objective at any cost," Marx writes, "and I shall not allow bourgeois society to turn me into a money making-machine." He always remained true to himself--an impeccably purposeful individual.

Lessons from the Struggle

This television serial is the first biographic motion picture about Marx to depict him so thoroughly not only on a complex psychological level, but also against a polychromatic lyrical background, with revealing ordinary details. That is why we frequently hear in the chorus of deserved praise the sacramental statement: nothing human is alien to me....Unquestionably, this is the best recognition of the richness of the film and of its intimate intonation and the best expression of the happiness of the viewers that such lofty and greatly beloved characters can do perfectly well without a pedestal.

However, the opinion of the viewer at large of the film and its main character could hardly be exhausted by this impression alone. Let us bear in mind that in describing himself, Marx does not describe exclusively in inspired words his earthly, his human interest in life. He describes as his distinguishing feature his single objective, and his concept of happiness is defined with a single battle cry: struggle.

A noteworthy statement by Lunacharskiy tells us that there are Marxist ideas, there is a Marxist tactic, and there is a Marxist character. Such is the case in the development of the Marxist character on the screen. The picture deals mainly with the establishment of the great proletarian Prometheus, occurring precisely in the amazing period between the daring adolescent intention of "working for mankind" and the revolutionary call "workers of the world, unite!"

Above all, the young Marx had to define the purpose of the struggle.

It is difficult to imagine today the number of utopias and prejudices which grew like weeds on the field of the search for socialism in the first half of the 19th century, the incredible confusion in the minds of hotheads and the number of people who espoused the fashionable communist ideas. "I wouldn't be surprised," Marx notes

bitingly in the course of an argument, "if tomorrow the pope himself were to join us." Marx listens with amazement to the answer of the genuinely offended communist prophet Weitling, whose character is played with great inspiration by I. Ledogorov: "...As to the pope, do not hasten to excommunicate him from communism. Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to explain to him our viewpoint, but we do have a common teacher...."

Yet, it was no simple matter to establish the purpose of the struggle. To struggle with what means? But Marx was to find this answer precisely in a historical perspective. However tempting the inducements to join the volunteers of "Union of the Just," already prepared for battle, might have been, he held back: "I do not wish to tie myself to any group or trend," he tells Ewerbeck (played by G. Taratorkin), "before I have fully understood everything."

With dedication and persistence Marx studied life, subjecting previous scientific results to a thorough laboratory analysis. We are captivated by his scientific approach to the Moselle peasants. We admire his daring clashes with the witting or unwitting enemies of democracy among the editors roaming the Koln corridors of power. We experience with him his painful explanations at meetings of the "just" and with authoritative socialists such as Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Lamenne and Weitling. We find in each of his words, following his "lesson" in philosophy or law, some history or political economy. Together with Engels, Marx did everything possible to combine the forces of the true fighters for the people, to scatter the fog of "arcane doctrines," utopian systems and romantic illusions; and to indicate the real path to human justice through deliberate participation in the ongoing historical process of revolutionary change.

On one occasion Marx bitingly answered the Proudhonists, who were philosophizing in poverty and about poverty: "Communism must be rid of this 'false friend' above all.... however, an unending succession of 'false friends' keeps appearing, treacherously imitating, simulating revolutionism. The ideas of the revolution are expressed in words, doctrines and actions which may be discredited by Proudhon or openly betrayed by Bakunin." With his very first steps, Marx had to face this bitter truth.

Symbolically expressed in the movie is the meeting of the leaders of the various currents of the struggle, holding a council to determine the fate of Marx' creation--the "German-French Yearbook." Some suggested aid and others called for charity. All sorts of unfair, unprincipled, and immoral conditions were voiced. This was unacceptable and, gradually, the hall emptied. Marx stood alone....

The combination of all conditions and circumstances, and the very logic of life, led Marx to an understanding of his responsible duty: To help to create the science of struggle.

"The first thing I did to resolve the doubts rising within me," Marx subsequently explained, "was the critical analysis of Hegel's philosophy of the law....My studies led me to understand that legal relations, like governmental systems, cannot be understood by themselves or on the basis of the so-called general development of the human spirit and, conversely, they are rooted in material living relations...." He clearly realized that the anatomy of a civilian society should be sought in political economy, and he concentrated on the study of economic-philosophical problems. He outlined and developed the fragments of a future monolithic doctrine. "The decisive

points of our concepts," said Marx, speaking for himself and for Engels, "Were scientifically explained for the first time, even though polemically, in my work 'The Poverty of Philosophy'..."

Marx' entire initial stage of scientific-revolutionary activity was crowned by the "Communist Manifesto," which became a classic program for the revolutionary movement. Here, as Lenin was to note later, a new outlook, consistent materialism covering social life and dialectics as the most comprehensive and profound theory of development, theory of the class struggle and the universal-historical revolutionary role of the proletariat, the builder of communism, are depicted with brilliant clarity and vividness.

In the last two parts of the film, its makers must have felt with maximal strength the stubborn resistance" of such a specific scenario. The work of the mind and the making of a penetrating analysis cannot be reproduced on the screen, the more so since great science demands exceptionally careful handling and particular accuracy in the presentation of the logical structure or idea, and because the viewer looks particularly closely, with captivated interest, at the laboratory process of creative work.

We can say that the makers of the movie have honorably passed this test. The intent of the film and the role of the leading storyteller are fully justified here. The scenes depicting the coauthorship difficulties of Marx and Engels are extremely natural. In particular, the viewer becomes familiar with the ideas involved in the struggle, expressed and asserted in expanded polemics We realize that Marx the scientist cannot be separated from Marx the fighter. Science, in his view, is not an egotistical pleasure. The scientist should not lock himself up forever in his office or laboratory like a rat gobbling up cheese, ignoring life and the sociopolitical struggle, the more so when it is a question of a decisive restructuring of life itself.

Marx created a revolutionary party for the sake of a lofty objective, on the basis of a materialistic theory.

The authors of the "Communist Manifesto" see the purpose and duty of the communists to be gradually to raise the standing of the working class to the theoretical level. Educating the proletariat and presenting their views on social reorganization and moral principles, the communists indicate the objective of the struggle.

We see at the Brussels meetings and the London congress the birth of "Marx' party." At that point a single glance would still have encompassed all its supporters: Schapper, Wolf, Weidemeier, Moll....It would soon grow into entire cohorts of such revolutionaries who would win us over and draw us to themselves with the light of truth, conviction, honesty and simplicity which illuminates many of the final parts of the movie.

Years and years later Marx would say about his fellow workers, the communists: "In that 19th century our party could be distinguished by its purity...." Turning to its sources, we can see what tremendous credit Marx himself, his doctrine, and his personality are owed for this. As a communist fighter, teacher and leader of the proletariat, Marx was well aware of the difficulty of his road and convictions. However, he did not retreat from his objective or abandon his principles and his honor.

Made wise by discoveries and decisions made and experienced, the 30-year-old Marx parts with his youth. Together with him, we feel ourselves somehow substantially grown up after these seven evenings. Whether there will be more such encounters on the screen is unknown. It is well known, however, that our meetings with Marx' books will be far more frequent, absorbing and exciting. This is, perhaps, one of the most valuable lessons of this memorable television film.

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ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING AND PROGRESS

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[Materials from KOMMUNIST-sponsored meeting among heads and leading specialists of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry prepared by T. Troitskaya and M. Glukhovskiy from the Elektrotekhnika Press Center]

[Text] The rapidly expanding power facilities of society are among the foundations of scientific and technical progress. In addressing the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "...it is our duty to consider in good time the power industry of the future, which largely determines the country's economic growth." In discussing the central problems of our economic development, the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum once again drew attention to the fuel-energy problem. "We have assigned ourselves the major task," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. These goals must be kept permanently in sight. We must continue to consider how to accelerate scientific and technical progress, strengthen labor and state discipline, and insure the steady growth of labor productivity."

In its comprehensive approach to defining the potential for the building of socialism and communism, the party has always paid attention to the prime importance of insuring its material and technical base with energy.

This year we are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the adoption of the GOELRO plan--a plan for the electrification of the country and, on this basis, the technical retooling of the entire national economy. "Communism means Soviet power plus electrification of the entire country." This was the brief, inspired sentence with which V. I. Lenin formulated the conclusion of the economic and social role of the utilization of electric power by a society in which labor is free. The leader of the revolution frequently emphasized the tremendous importance of the electric power industry.

Prerevolutionary Russia had no more than 15 to 20 semiprimitive plants and workshops which manufactured merely the simplest varieties of electrical engineering goods. Today the country's electrical engineering industry numbers about 500 large specialized associations, enterprises, and scientific and experimental centers which are developing and producing a great variety of most complex means for the electrification of all national economic and domestic sectors, ranging from powerful generators, transformers, rolled metal electric engines and electric locomotives to semiconductor transformers and instruments, galvanizing elements, and microminiaturized tubes.

The electrical engineering industry was one of the first to engage in a radical improvement of its economic management methods by virtue of its particular importance to upgrading the effectiveness of all social production. A major economic experiment has been underway in the sector for the past 12 years. Its final objective is to achieve a maximum national economic effect as a result of the utilization of progressive equipment. The experience acquired in the course of the experiment, added to that in other sectors, was used in the formulation of the basic stipulations of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality."

The articles which follow include the essence of a meeting of heads and leading specialists of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry sponsored by [illegible]. The guests described their accomplishments, shared their plans, and answered questions posed by the editors. Attention was focused on the role played by contemporary electrical engineering in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the measures which upgrade work effectiveness in the sector, and the most important problems we must resolve in the 10th Five-Year Plan. T. Troitskaya and M. Glukhovskiy, Elektrotekhnika Press Center associates, arranged and prepared the materials submitted for the attention of the readers.

Experiment in the Sector, by A. Antonov, minister of electrical equipment industry

The machines and equipment produced by the electrical engineering industry are particularly important to the development of the country's production forces. Their main purpose is the production, transformation, transmission and utilization of electric power--currently the most widespread and economical form of energy. Whatever name we may give to our age--the century of the atom or space, cybernetics, and so on--it remains above all the age of electric power. Electric power is the main source of the motive forces in the technology of industrial and agricultural production, transportation and the communal economy. It is a necessary element in the life of town and country. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, demand for electric power is rising with great force.

The active influence of electrical engineering on the growth of the power-labor ratio and on labor productivity can be easily seen in any public production area such as the extraction of coal, petroleum or natural gas, the smelting of high-grade metal, the manufacture of machine tools or technological equipment, grain processing, the mechanization of loading and unloading operations, and so on. Most basic and applied research, as well as the testing of latest designs, would be impossible today without the use of a variety of electrical engineering instruments.

The qualitative changes in the fuel-energy balance of the country are determined by technical progress in this industrial sector which has a decisive influence on improving the technology of virtually any production process and which actively effects positive changes in the infrastructure and improvements in working and living conditions. Briefly stated, through its output--standard or specialized equipment--it supports all economic sectors, realms of social activity, and areas of our country. That is precisely why party congress decisions or directive party

and government documents have always given priority to development of the electrical engineering industry. The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress described it as one of the leading machine-building sectors bearing particular responsibility for insuring that all realms of the national economy have modern machines and equipment.

This responsibility became even greater following the November 1979 and June 1980 CC CPSU plenums, at which Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized the urgent need to improve further the fuel-energy balance of the country and to insure a drastic improvement in the work of all transport facilities, railroads above all, and to increase the effectiveness of agriculture, machine building, and the production of consumer goods. The electrical engineering industry plays one of the leading roles in the solution of each of these problems.

The high concentration of the latest scientific and technical achievements is a distinguishing feature of electrical engineering. A number of kinds of knowledge and practice crisscross within it. In turn, it restores to them all that it receives a hundredfold and comprehensively contributes to their development. The entire history of electrical engineering, from Faraday to the present, provides a vivid example of the dynamic conversion of the results of scientific research into engineering practice. A number of "purely" physical or chemical problems have become electrical engineering problems over the past 20 to 30 years alone. This includes the appearance of power semiconductors, gas diffusion light sources, plasma technology, power laser equipment, cryogenic systems, and the latest electrical insulation materials. Each of these types of equipment triggered radical qualitative changes in the electrical engineering industry itself and in a number of other leading economic sectors. For example, the appearance of power semiconductors brought about the possibility of creating rectifying equipment operating at superhigh tensions, which introduced substantial changes in modern power industry. The same power semiconductors transformed the electric power drive system and triggered a real revolution in electrical machine, electrical apparatus and instrument manufacturing. Successes in the mastering of gas diffusion processes triggered an entirely new direction in industrial light technology. The creation of systems for plasma and electron-ray plating immeasurably expanded the potential for dimensional metal processing and for obtaining essentially new materials, including materials with preplanned properties.

An endless number of such examples could be cited. However, this enumeration alone suffices to produce an appreciation of the role of electrical engineering in the further development of the scientific and technical revolution. This development becomes the more effective the more rapidly the achievements of scientific and engineering creativity are embodied in thousands of electrical machines and apparatus, and the more qualitative and reliable its output becomes.

We understand, therefore, why the problem of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress became one of the elaboration of the strategic and tactical plans of the economic experiment in our sector, which was initiated as early as June by decision of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers. This experiment is to consist of where the most effective management methods were developed, because one of the most important links in the set of measures aimed at [illegible] accelerated development of the sector and upgrading the technical standard and quality of its output.

The characteristics of the sector determine both the need for and the possibility of utilizing contemporary economic management methods in the electrical engineering industry. Its broad range of output (it produces over 80,000 different items), and a certain "variety" and relative autonomy of technical directions. A glance at leading associations such as Elektrosila (Leningrad), Svetotekhnika (Saransk), Zaporozhtransformator and Dinamo (Moscow), the Novocherkassk Electric Locomotive Manufacturing Plant, and numerous enterprises in the cable, electrical apparatus, battery and electric lighting industry enterprises would point out the great variety and impressive scale of such output. The sector has a developed scientific and experimental base consisting of a broad network of scientific research, experimental design and design-technological organizations. Under the Soviet system, they, like other industrial enterprises, have spread throughout the union.

It is by virtue of this fact that exceptionally complex and widespread intra-sectorial relations have been established within the electrical engineering industry. Its interaction with other sectors--suppliers of materials, equipment and complementing items, and consumers--has become no less complex and varied. In a certain sense the electrical engineering industry, with its widespread structure within which the tremendous potential for effective work is realized, can be compared to the overall contemporary economic organism of the country at large: single from the viewpoint of tasks and general development directions while comprehensive by virtue of the specific nature of each subsector and the complexity of interrelationships.

Management reorganization became a necessary condition for resolving the party's problem of insuring the effective and comprehensive utilization of all inner resources within the socialist national economy. We addressed ourselves to economic methods with which to stimulate the mechanism of intensive growth factors and for directing each scientific research institute, design bureau, association, or enterprise toward operating at maximum practical usefulness.

The essence of the sectorial economic experiment was the elaboration of a unified system for the management of scientific and technical progress, which would enable us to accelerate to a maximum the development of new equipment and to reach high national economic results.

Formulating a comprehensive sectorial quality control system became the first step in this direction. Let us note three basic features: The first is the quality certification of all items produced and technological processes classified in one of three categories: superior, first, and second. Very recently certification has become more detailed, broken down by groups of items. This enables us to focus our attention on precisely the types of commodities whose technical standard is below modern requirements.

The second aspect is planning the volume of output by quality category. Planned assignments for increasing the production of superior quality goods and reducing the production of second category items are formulated for all enterprises on the basis of the existing facilities and prospects for the development of their technical potential. Today such plans have become a part of the plans of enterprises, all-union industrial associations and ministries as a whole, as are nomenclature and profit assignments. Their implementation is one of the most important criteria in summing up the results of the socialist competition.

The third aspect is the economic incentive given enterprises depending on the implementation of their quality plans and the percentage of superior quality goods in the overall volume of their output. Starting in 1971 a special procedure was introduced in the sector for recomputing material incentive funds based on the results of basic enterprise activities. The overfulfillment of quality plans leads to additional withholdings for the incentive fund while underfulfillments lead to its reduction.

Neither the creation of a sectorial quality control system nor the conversion to planning the technical standard of output would have been possible without the radical organizational restructuring of the entire sector and of its scientific base above all. Scientific and technical centers in charge of resolving major national economic problems were established. Over one-half of the scientific research institutes and design bureaus were transferred to the jurisdiction of industrial enterprises, leading to the appearance of large production and scientific-production associations.

Comprehensive continuing financing and planning for new equipment covering all stages from concept to implementation became the base for further sectorial development. Scientific and production collectives participating in the creation and development of a specific commodity are now working on the basis of a single order. This contributes to the timely implementation of assignments and insures coordination of activities.

The factual (rather than conventional) economic result from the utilization of a new item or process by the national economy became the main criterion in the assessment of scientific and technical decisions in the sector. It is this principle on which we are basing our current selection for the industrial mastering of the most progressive types of commodities and technological processes, substantiating technical sectorial policy, determining directions and ratios of their further development and forming material incentive funds.

Setting up a unified scientific and technical development fund was a major step in organizing the centralized financing of the effort to create new goods. The consequences were that the ministry turned down all state budget subsidies and acquired the potential for insuring unified technical, planning and financial management of scientific and technical developments and for concentrating the necessary funds in the most important stages.

The next step in developing cost accounting in scientific and experimental-design organizations was to convert to paying only for entirely completed and accepted projects. At the same time, these organizations were given their own working capital. All this was tried out at the scientific organizations of the Soyuzelektrotyazhmash All-Union Industrial Association and, particularly, at the All-Union Scientific Research Electrical Machine-Building Institute, its leading scientific and technical center. Practical experience confirmed the correctness of such actions: the real potential appeared for the more effective implementation of measures for saving monetary and labor resources and for reducing the volume of unfinished research and development.

The fact that material incentive funds for the creation and application of new equipment are made directly dependent upon real economic results benefiting the

consumer and the sector itself through the implementation of measures for technical progress is intensifying the effect of cost accounting principles applied by scientific organizations and enterprises. These funds virtually quadrupled in the ministries as a whole between 1969 and 1979, while in scientific research institutes and design bureaus they increased by a factor of approximately eight.

Therefore, the system developed in the course of the economic experiment became a very effective instrument in managing scientific and technical progress. We acquired the opportunity to establish the directions considered most promising from the viewpoint of end national economic results and to develop these directions more intensively by focusing our main forces and funds on them, thus creating for the country precisely the type of equipment it needs the most. We also acquired the potential for accelerating scientific and technical progress, reducing the time from research to mastering the production of new goods by a factor of 1.5-2. We were able to develop and master the production of a number of effective specialized sets of electrical power equipment for most important economic sectors such as the power industry, coal and petroleum extraction, metallurgy, transport, agriculture and machine-building.

The technical standard of electrical engineering goods rose considerably. Over 46 percent of the total volume of output consists of superior quality goods. This indicator has already outstripped the stipulated figure for the end of the five-year plan. Today, compared with 1968, the effect of each newly produced item is higher by a factor of 2.9. As a whole, it has risen tenfold from the beginning of the experiment. In 1979 alone it accounted for about 1.5 billion rubles.

Naturally, life does not stand still, and we can already see that even though the economic measures we have taken in managing scientific and technical progress are quite progressive the forms of their practical implementation require further work and refinement.

For example, it became apparent that planning and encouraging development of new equipment were insufficiently connected to other aspects of enterprise economic activities. The methods used in computing such important indicators as gross output, growth rates of labor productivity and wage funds did not take into consideration direct enterprise outlays for mastering the production of new, highly effective equipment and were unable to create the necessary incentive for its utilization. A discrepancy was revealed between the interests of current economic enterprise activities and trends in the development of scientific and technical progress as a whole, which determines the high end results achieved by the entire national economy. The instability of planned assignments, computed on the basis of previously reached levels rather than the final objective and factual resources, and the insufficient effectiveness of cost accounting at various management levels also adversely affected the work. A method for planning the creation of sets of new equipment based on intersectorial relations was lacking.

We analyzed the reasons for the shortcomings of the system and determined the basic directions leading to further improvements in sectorial management. Starting in 1979, by decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, the electrical engineering industry was converted to the new planning and economic incentive conditions. This marked the beginning of the new stage of our experiment. It represents the development and intensification of principles which had guided us in the past as

well--the principle of guiding all sectorial activities toward high end national economic results and the principle of the systematic and comprehensive approach to implementing all tasks aimed at achieving such results. All our efforts to improve the sectorial management system are in accordance with the tasks formulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality."

The basic units of our sectorial management system--quality control, continuing planning and centralized financing of the development of new equipment and economic incentive based on factual economic savings from the use of new items--remain unchanged. However, their individual effectiveness should be considerably upgraded as a result of the intensified effect of economic incentives.

In order to increase even further the cost accounting incentive of enterprises and scientific organizations for quickly creating and mastering the production of new highly effective equipment and stopping the production of obsolete goods, the sector launched specific efforts to improve the economic indicators. This applies to planning above all. Today planning is based on stable economic long-term norms approved for each individual year of the five-year plans. On the one hand, the introduction of such norms intensifies centralized management; on the other, it contributes to the development of local initiative and to the expansion of enterprise economic autonomy.

The growth rates for the volume of output and labor productivity are assessed on the basis of the greater effectiveness of the new equipment compared with that which it replaces. To a certain extent enterprises are guaranteed a compensation of their outlays for the development of new equipment. The search for the most progressive technical solutions is encouraged.

The plans introduce another very important indicator which reflects the economic results of upgrading the technical standard of output. It must be such as to encourage the application of progressive technology and progressive labor organization and management methods. Greater economic incentive is provided for the production of new highly effective equipment and for the maximally effective utilization of all types of resources--material, labor and financial. Stricter economic penalties are being imposed for the production of undereffective or obsolete goods and for above-norm surpluses of productive and working capital.

Essentially, all this represents the further development of cost accounting mechanisms and an increase in their influence on the activities of the sector as a single production-economic complex. In 1980 the sector completed its full conversion to the new planning and economic incentive conditions.

The implementation of the measures contained in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree is a major economic and political task. The electrical engineering industry, which has already gained a certain experience in the development and practical utilization of progressive management methods, bears particular responsibility for its solution. Therefore, we deem it our duty thoroughly to analyze and summarize the results of the development of the experiment in method guidelines, instructions, and other manuals so that other sectors as well may benefit from our experience. Naturally, such results should not be considered

definitive and comprehensive. Their practical use by other sectors presumes extensive revisions in accordance with specific circumstances.

We consider conversion to essentially new forms of production and science organization--comprehensive target programs and plans for the creation and industrial mastering of uniform series of mass-produced types of electrical equipment and specialized electrical engineering complexes for the most important directions of the national economy--the main result of the measures implemented by our sector. It is precisely this form of work organization that brings our sector very near to the solution of its basic task, that of comprehensively supplying the power industry, industry, transport and agriculture with modern machines and apparatus.

Thus, the All-Union Scientific Research Electrical Machine-Building Institute, one of the leading scientific and technical centers, insured the creation of the series of turbogenerators with 500,000 and 800,000 kilowatt capacity. The solution of this major and complex problem constitutes an essential contribution to the development of the country's fuel-energy potential. Another major program is the creation and industrial mastering of the most complex sets of electric power equipment for ultrahigh tension used in long distance power transmission cables, including the 1,500 kilovolt direct current Ekibastuz-Tsentr LEP [Power Transmission Cable] and the 1,150 kilovolt alternating current Ekibastuz-Ural Cable. The All-Union Electrical Engineering Institute imeni V. I. Lenin is providing scientific guidance for its implementation.

The All-Union Scientific Research, Planning-Design and Technological Institute of Electrical Machine Building (VNIPTIEM) heads the creation of a standardized series of electric power engines for unionwide application. Highly economical electric motors of the 4A series have already been supplied to the national economy. Their authors were awarded the 1979 USSR State Prize.

It is becoming difficult to contain comprehensive programs for modern electrical engineering development not only within the framework of a single sector but also within the country at large. Today dozens of organizations and enterprises of different ministries and departments both in the Soviet Union and in CEMA-member countries are participating in their implementation.

Comprehensive programs will be the basic method for the solution of the most important national economic problems in the 11th Five-Year Plan. One of the first among them will be the scientifically substantiated nationwide power industry program which, among other things, must lead to improvements in methods for the production, distribution, transmission and utilization of electric power.

On the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 11th Five-Year Plan we have earmarked the solution of a broad range of scientific and engineering problems related to the creation of new series and sets of electric power equipment for all economic sectors and, above all, for the accelerated development of the fuel-power sectors, transport, metallurgy, machine building, agriculture and the household goods industry.

On The Way To Huge Generators, by Academician I. Glebov, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Electrical Machine Building

A curious photograph taken in 1910 has been preserved. It shows a turbogenerator considered huge for its time. It had a 25,000 kilowatt power. A man is standing in front of the stator's boring. The generator seems to be about two meters in diameter.

Paradoxically, the dimensions of today's generators--even the most powerful--have remained approximately the same. Yet, their electric "power" is dozens of times greater.

This five-year plan calls for upgrading the effectiveness of the power industry and for installing capacities at electric power plants totaling 67-70 million kilowatts, including 13-15 million kilowatt generators in nuclear power plants. The practical implementation of this task is based on the achievements of the electrical engineering industry and, above all, the industry producing turbines and hydraulic power generators.

The trend toward upgrading the unit power of generators is a characteristic feature in contemporary machine building. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan generator blocks developing 300,000 kilowatts became basic. Today they are being replaced by generators developing 500,000 and 800,000 kilowatts. A one-of-a-kind turbogenerator developing 1.2 million kilowatts was shipped to the builders of the Kostroma GRES [State Regional Electric Power Plant] following successful tests completed at the Elektrosila Electrical Machine Building Association in Leningrad.

No foreign country has a testing system similar to that of Elektrosila. The reliability of powerful turbogenerators is tested here before shipment to electric power plants. For the first time it is possible for us to test machines at full load, as they will operate in electric power plants, on a fully automated basis. This is extremely important. Detecting some omissions or shortcomings (inevitable in the development of prototypes of superpowerful equipment), the developers can eliminate them rapidly on the spot. This drastically accelerates the production of new generators and insures the fast installation of power capacities.

Specialists from leading electrical engineering companies in the United States, the FRG, France, Britain, Japan and other countries have studied this testing facility, justifiably described as the testing ground of electric power plants. All of them have given a high rating to this unique installation.

Studies are currently underway for the creation of a uniform, standardized series of turbogenerators developing from 60 to 800 megawatts. In terms of large machines such as turbogenerators, nowhere in the world has this been duplicated. The solution of this problem presumes the organized efforts of a number of collectives. Interelektro, the international organization created by the socialist comity, combining the efforts of electrical engineers from European socialist countries, offers good possibilities of achieving this. It is engaged in the collective development of new designs and technological processes and in reciprocally enriching the experience acquired by CEMA-member countries in the field of large-scale electrical machine building. Socialist integration contributes to the development of the most advanced turbogenerators within a broad range of capacities.

Developers hold regular meetings in accordance with a stipulated program.

The 25th CPSU Congress called for the accelerated development of the nuclear electric power industry. The workers in the sector are making a substantial contribution to the implementation of this program. In addition to conventional turbogenerators, nuclear power plants require machines with reduced revolutions (1,500 rpm). The rotors of these machines are quite heavy, and their manufacture is complex. The Elektrotyazhmash plant in Khar'kov has manufactured the first set of turbogenerators developing a power of 500,000 kilowatts with 1,500 rpm for the Novovoronezh Nuclear Power Plant.

Having become accustomed to such high figures, occasionally we pay no attention to them. Yet, for example, what does the figure 500,000 kilowatts mean? The power of one of the first Soviet electric power plants, the Volkhovskaya GES, considered very big in its time, was 58,000 kilowatts. Therefore, a single generator produced in Khar'kov is the equivalent of almost nine Volkhov electric power plants.

The Elektrosila personnel developed the first "one million" turbogenerator for the nuclear power industry. The machine was successfully tested in the days preceding the 26th CPSU Congress. Generators developing such power will be serially produced in the next five-year plan.

The construction of large hydroelectric power plants is continuing. Their operation is quite inexpensive. Furthermore, they have the additional advantages of insuring the rational utilization of floodwaters and the potential for generating substantial energy during peak hours.

For many years the Soviet electrical engineering industry has retained its leading position in the creation of very big hydrogenerators. Let us cite the following figures: Units of 225,000 kilowatts each have been installed at the Bratsk GES, and 500,000-kilowatt units are in operation at the Krasnoyarsk GES.

The dam of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES stands where V. I. Lenin, in Siberian exile, drafted the plans for the creation of our party. Its first three generators of 640,000 kilowatts each have already begun to produce electric power. A fourth unit is being assembled. Let us note particularly the exceptionally high level of automation in the control of such complex machine units.

Five years ago 28 Leningrad enterprises and organizations involved in the building of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES assumed joint obligations to create a power giant on the Yenisey on a high scientific and technical level, within a short time and with minimal outlays. The contracting parties included the collectives of Elektrosila Association imeni S. M. Kirov, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Electrical Machine Building and others. This new form of collective cooperation is yet another vivid page in the chronicle of socialist competition. The CC CPSU approved this type of cooperation.

The socialist obligations were fulfilled. The successful outcome was determined to a great extent by the active support of the initiative by the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee. The creative efforts of a number of collectives were combined in the course of the intensive work and focused on the solution of the main problems. The one-of-a-kind complex was designed within a short period of time, and the most complex equipment was created ahead of schedule.

The enterprises and organizations of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry made a great contribution to the common project.

In his congratulations to the participants in the building of the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES on the occasion of the ahead-of-schedule start-up of the one kilowatt turbine, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized that the experience of the Leningrad workers will be further developed in the implementation of the most important national economic programs.

The start-up of the fifth turbine at the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES will be a labor gift to the 26th CPSU Congress.

What is the effectiveness of superpower turbines? Here are a few figures. A turbogenerator developing 300,000 kilowatts weighs approximately 360 tons; a turbogenerator developing 800,000 kilowatts weighs 540 tons. In other words, whereas the power has nearly tripled, the weight has increased by no more than 50 percent. Furthermore, the efficiency of the 800,000 kilowatt generator is somewhat greater. Despite huge electromagnetic forces the new energy giant is distinguished by its high reliability. It is characterized by low-level vibrations and reduced heat. Work stability within the power system is determined largely by the use of semiconductor tiristors. The 1.2 million-kilowatt turbogenerator is a good example of this. It has been justifiably pointed out that this Leningrad giant is also a masterpiece of "miniaturization:" a single compact machine contains two-thirds of the capacities of all electric power plants whose construction was stipulated by the GOELRO plan for the next ten to fifteen years.

Is this a case of "gigantomania" on the part of the designers? Naturally, it is not. Simply, the requirements of economic expedience have been complied with to the greatest possible extent. It is easier and less expensive to build an electric power plant for two generators developing 1.2 million kilowatts each than, for example, to build eight 300,000-kilowatt generators. Finally, the fewer machines there are, the easier it is to service them. Considerable savings of metal and labor are realized, and the cost of electric power production is reduced. All this facilitates the further accelerated growth in production of electric power facilities for the national economy.

The creation of the new superpowerful turbogenerator with dimensions hardly different from those of its predecessor--the 800,000-kilowatt generator--is the result of the labor-intensive and complex work of scientists, designers, and production workers. For example, how to draw away the excess heat created in the work of the generator, whose rotor turns at the speed of 3,000 rpm? How to prevent overheating? In this case success was predetermined by an advanced cooling system: water for the stator and hydrogen for the rotor. The use of new insulation materials was very effective. According to specialists, conventional turbogenerators may be able to develop 2-2.5 million kilowatts. The outlines of such turbines are already on the drafting boards of the designers. However, we believe that the new approach, new materials and new cooling systems will lead to additional design possibilities. This has been confirmed by the tests conducted at the Elektrosila Association of a new 800,000-kilowatt turbogenerator which is exclusively water cooled.

Let me remind you that in turbogenerators of 100,000 kilowatts or less the excess heat is drawn out by a system of air ventilation inside the turbine. Subsequently, the air is replaced with hydrogen, which absorbs heat better and has a far lower density (less loss of friction and greater efficiency). Consequently, it became possible to increase the power of the turbogenerators by one-half without substantially increasing their dimensions.

As we know, generators with mixed (water-hydrogen) cooling became quite popular. However, specialists did not abandon the idea of eliminating the explosive hydrogen and using water as the main cooling agent. The heat conductivity of water is triple that of hydrogen, and its heat absorption is a thousand times higher. One of the main difficulties was to eliminate even the slightest moistening of the insulation, which would result in shorting and breakdowns. The problem was surmounted.

The first water-cooled experimental turbogenerators developed a power of 60,000 kilowatts. Practical experience confirmed their high reliability. The creation of 800,000-kilowatt generators with total water cooling was the next step. It is possible to state today that this problem, quite complex from the scientific and technical viewpoint, has been successfully resolved.

What are the new directions to be followed for improving the current most promising electric power generating equipment? It would be quite tempting to eliminate the grooves of the stator on which the coils are wound. In modern turbogenerators the distance between the stator and the rotor is so great that in principle the coil could be located directly in the air gap. Success in this matter would enable us to reduce the diameter of the machine. While preserving the present dimensions, the generator's power would be considerably increased. Conversely, the same power would be obtained with smaller dimensions. However, a number of technical problems would arise. For example, what would hold the coil if the surfaces of the stator and rotor were smooth, given the tremendous forces acting on them? ...Nevertheless, the optimists are hoping for success. Expectations are that such turbines may have a generating capacity of 3-4 million kilowatts.

Superconductivity....At superlow temperatures nearing absolute zero, a number of metals and alloys lose their electrical resistance and assume a superconductive capacity. The use of this effect in generators promises extraordinary technical results: the possibility of reducing the dimensions of the machines while simultaneously upgrading their efficiency. Machines with superconductive coiling would be lighter by a factor of 2-3 at 99.3-99.5 percent efficiency.

Foreign specialists have highly rated turbogenerator prototypes with superconductive coiling with a 1,200-kilowatt capacity operating at 3,000 rpm. In this case the rotor is a cryostat which contains a coil made of a niobium-titanium alloy. A medium-capacity turbine developing 20,000 kilowatts with a superconductive rotor coil has already been produced and is undergoing tests. Work has been undertaken on the development of a cryoturbogenerator developing 300,000 kilowatts. The first, exceptionally important steps have been taken in the production of future generators with superconductors. We expect that the beginning of the 21st century will be marked by the appearance of industrial cryoturbogenerators developing up to 5 million kilowatts and eventually as many as 10 million kilowatts.

The electrical engineers are actively involved in the development of essentially new sources and methods for energy conversion. Together with specialists from the USSR Academy of Sciences, they are working on controlling thermonuclear reactions and developing thermonuclear electric power plants. As we know, thermonuclear synthesis takes place under tremendous pressures and temperatures, the conditions of which cannot be met by any known material on earth. Currently the USSR is testing the Tokamak-10 system, in which the plasma is held with the help of a magnetic field. The results confirm the accuracy of the physicists' theoretical concepts. They have made it possible to undertake the development of the next generation of the Tokamak class consisting initially of thermonuclear demonstration reactors and, subsequently, industrial-type reactors and the large-scale production of electric power based on thermonuclear reaction.

New types of electrical engineering equipment will be needed for the Tokamaks: high-capacity shock generators, powerful tiristor rectifiers, and so on. The combination of profound basic and comprehensive applied research is particularly characteristic of this problem. It is precisely this combination, based on modern production facilities, that is a prerequisite for the successful solution of the most important scientific problem of the century.

The specialists in the sector are assisted by USSR Academy of Sciences specialists in the development of a magnetohydrodynamic method for the production of energy which would raise the efficiency of conventional thermoelectric power plants from 40-43 percent to 55 percent. As the press has reported, the U-25 experimental-industrial MGD [Magnetohydrodynamic] system has operated for hundreds of hours directly within the Mosenergo power grid.

The next step is the designing and creation of industrial MGD electrical power plants. A main industrial MGD block developing a 500-megawatt capacity is already being designed for this purpose.

Ultra-High Tension over Superlong Distances, by Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Fotin, director of the All-Union Electrical Engineering Institute imeni V. I. Lenin

Speaking of electrification, it would be proper to make particular mention of its organizing role in the development of industry. What does this mean? Unlike coal, petroleum, or natural gas, large quantities of electric power cannot be stored and used as needed. Electric power production and utilization must be synchronized and must represent a single [illegible]. Should they fail to be synchronized, inevitably a question of other national economic disproportion arises.

As the unified power system of the country develops, the need to insure strict consistency between electric power production and consumption becomes entirely obvious. In the future, special data processing centers would be able to predict precisely, on the basis of the parameters of electric power consumption, who is working where and how, and the resulting volume and type of industrial output.

It is from this perhaps somewhat unexpected aspect that I would like to emphasize the role and significance of the electrical engineering industry which lays the foundations for electrification.

In 1980, the final year of the five-year plan, the USSR will have produced one trillion 295 billion kilowatt hours of electric power. Yet in itself the production of energy is insufficient, for it must be delivered to the consumers. In the circumstances of the land of the soviets, considering its tremendous territory of 11 time zones, this problem involves particular difficulties. Such difficulties are further intensified by the fact that the bulk of the power resources generated by our country--approximately 60 percent--is found in the east, beyond the Urals, while the main consumption takes place in the European part of the country.

Two of the richest inexpensive fuel deposits--the Ekibastuz and Kansk-Achinsk coal basins--are already under development. What would be better: to haul the coal, using hundreds of freight cars and adding to the already overburdened railroads, or to build electric power plants in the vicinity of coal deposits, produce electric power on the spot and transport it through power cables? Expert evaluations have indicated that the second alternative is considerably more economical. The hauling of coal from Ekibastuz to the central parts of the country would make the cost per kilowatt hour of electric power 10 percent higher than the transmission of such energy by cable. We are dealing here with billions of kilowatt hours.

The CC CPSU and the Soviet government decided on the construction of the longest and most powerful direct current transmission cable from Ekibastuz to the center. It will stretch from Kazakhstan to the Volga. It will be used not only for the transportation of huge amounts of energy from the east but to insure intersystem connections between the eastern and western parts of the country. The creation of such a power cable will be a major contribution to the development of the unified power system of the USSR and the development of the eastern parts of the country.

The All-Union Electrical Engineering Institute imeni V. I. Lenin is the leading organization in the development of superhigh tension equipment.

Until recently, the creators of high-tension electric power equipment were forced to rely largely on intuition. This, as we know, is not the most reliable of "instruments." They were able to test the durability, strength and quality of their system only after the installation of instruments and machines at electric power plants and substations. It was only at such points that the system could be comprehensively assessed. Shortcomings had to be eliminated on the spot. Naturally, this made installed capacities inoperative over long periods of time.

Today we have a one-of-a-kind testing facility in Tol'yatti. It is no longer a model but part of a substation for the future main power cable carrying 1,500 kilovolts of direct current from Ekibastuz to the center. The testing facility made it possible to develop systems and designs, test the "reserve reliability" of the equipment, the efficiency of the control equipment system, and the protection and automation of power transmission facilities. Here an original design was adopted for high-tension tiristor blocks. The conventional transformer oil used for cooling has been replaced by a specially processed so-called de-ionized water. This has eliminated the fire hazard. The tiristor blocks must operate with exceptional effectiveness under ordinary or emergency conditions. An interdepartmental commission, headed by Academician V. M. Tuchkevich, gave a high rating to the efficiency of the tiristor blocks.

What if any of the elements were to break down? Should the entire machine be dismantled? This would be unnecessary. The blocks consist of modules--"bricks." They can be replaced without major difficulty.

The operation of the substation is largely determined by the structure of the power transformer. The fact that the personnel of the All-Union Scientific Research Planning Design and Technological Institute of Transformer Building had to test over 300 models and assemblies before developing a transformer filling the requirements of superlong-distance power transmission is proof of the difficulties which its authors had to surmount.

The reliability of the entire one-of-a-kind set of equipment for the Ekibastuz-center power transmission cable was successfully tested in Tol'yatti. The fact that the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry had already developed a comprehensive plan for the creation of such equipment contributed to the success. Furthermore, in the course of the work, the designers of the All-Union Electrical Engineering Institute imeni V. I. Lenin formulated counterproposals for upgrading the effectiveness and reliability of the electric power transmission. The results of the test led to the following conclusion: The parameters of the transformer bridge for the Ekibastuz-center power cable could be raised from plus-minus 187.5 kilovolts, as initially planned, to plus-minus 375 kilovolts. The consolidation of transformer blocks and a number of additional solutions which increased the reliability of power transmission and its compactness have made it possible to reduce the number of units of required equipment by a factor of almost three. This feature alone saves about 60 million rubles. The material intensiveness of substation equipment is thus reduced by no less than 10,000 tons. The development of tiristor blocks that are twice as powerful is our labor gift to the 26th CPSU Congress. The specialists in the electrical engineering industry believe that the funds released through these savings should be used to increase the diameter of the cable and to upgrade its efficiency. This would enable us to lower losses along the line and deliver an additional 1-1.5 billion kilowatt hours of electric power to the center.

I must express a certain concern as well. It is a question of planning discipline, of the stand taken by the USSR Gosplan which we consider erroneous. The funds it is allocating for the installation of this superdistant power bridge are clearly insufficient. How can we accept the fact that over 30 million rubles were allocated for this cable for 1976-1980, whereas in fact the planned figures for 1978 and 1979 only called for 3 million rubles each? This threatens to delay, for decades on end, the laying of a power transmission cable whose national economic significance is difficult to overestimate. In turn, this entails new losses in the millions of rubles for the development and manufacture of prototypes. The testing of such equipment has had to be stopped, and the country is obtaining no results from such investments.

This was precisely the topic of a sharp discussion at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum. In his speech Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized that "...we must accelerate the development of the Ekibastuz, Kansk-Achinsk and Kuznetsk fuel-energy complexes and, naturally, the laying of the corresponding power transmission cables, above all, the 1,500 kilovolt direct current Ekibastuz-center power transmission cable."

Researchers are already thinking about the more distant future--the planned development of equipment for superpower main direct current transmission cables carrying tensions of up to 2,500-3,000 kilovolts.

whereas direct current is suitable for superlong transmission cables, alternating current is economically suitable for the distribution grid. Here again an adamant and difficult struggle is being waged for increasing the tension.

The growth of electric power consumption, the concentration of generating capacities, and the building of powerful nuclear power plants have led to the formulation of particular requirements concerning the handling capacity of 330-kilovolt power grids. The 750-kilovolt Konakovo-Moscow experimental-industrial cable was commissioned in 1967, the first similar industrial cables Donbass-Dnepr-Vinnitsa-Zapadnoukrainskaya and Moscow-Leningrad were completed in the 1970s.

[illegible] first 750-kilovolt state electric power transmission cable was completed between Vinnitsa (USSR) and Albertirsa (Hungary). This power bridge across the Carpathian Mountains ensured parallel operations between the unified power [illegible] of the Soviet Union and the joint power systems of CEMA-member countries. This is unique in world practice.

The solution of such a major governmental problem is the result of a large amount of scientific research and experimental design work. It began with the elaboration of the basic principles for the creation in a power transmission cable of a new, advanced type of high tension, reliable protection from excess voltage of the electrical equipment and development of cables possessing higher operational characteristics. To a great extent the success was the result of a comprehensive approach and the adoption of new methods for the organization of scientific research, equipment manufacturing and construction-installation work in laying the cable and building substations. All in all, the problem was resolved on a high technical level.

It is a great honor to [illegible] an important stage in the creation of the unified power system of the country. The 750-kilovolt power cable has made it possible to carry the power created by the large nuclear power plants built in the European part of the USSR. Suffice it to say that one with [illegible] transmits the same [illegible] as 10 330-kilovolt cables. Their individual annual [illegible] exceeds total [illegible] Russian cables.

The group of leading specialists in the electrical engineering [illegible] power workers who made possible the creation and utilization of the new 750-kilovolt superhigh-tension cable have been nominated for the 1968 USSR State Prize.

In the world [illegible] the European CEMA-member [illegible] power entering [illegible] billion kilowatt hours; this figure is expected to double in [illegible].

[illegible] the installation of 750-kilovolt power lines, which [illegible] the forthcoming development of cables [illegible]. The developed equipment enables it to handle and transmit its effectiveness has been confirmed with the help of a number of tests. The [illegible] instituted by the [illegible] collectives of the All-Union Electrotechnical Institute imeni [illegible], which indicate that in principle it is possible to [illegible] equipment handling [illegible] kilovolts as well.

It has been estimated that energy transmission and distribution outlays account for one-half of the cost of building electric power plants and that it is precisely at this stage that 10 percent of the entire amount produced is lost. That is why as they improve the facilities for the production of electric power, the scientists are also trying to find technical means for improving transmission efficiency.

Poles several stories high, insulation rings and right-of-way strips under the cables are the customary features of power transmission cables. Cables are reliable and will remain useful for quite some time. However, the air is proving to be a "barrier" to further voltage increases. The fact that the insulation capacity of the air is limited can be clearly proven by looking at lightning strikes. True, the [illegible] even the "smallest" lightning bolt is between 8 and 10 million volts, and its electric breakdown covers about 1 kilometer in the atmosphere. The power handled by the transmission equipment is still far below that power, but even the level already reached makes us think of lightning. How can human and equipment safety be insured in such cases? Scientists are working intensively on answers to these questions.

In all likelihood, in the distant future traditional methods of energy transportation will be replaced by essentially new ones. The so-called closed type of transmission appears quite promising. Studies have indicated that the atmosphere of some gases, [illegible] sulfur hexafluoride) above all, has exceptionally high electrical insulating properties. Such gas is comparable to transformer oil and solid state insulating materials. Furthermore, it is characterized by high heat [illegible] and [illegible]. The gas is nontoxic and chemically inert. The All-Union Electrical Engineering Institute imeni V. I. Lenin has developed the first segments of gas insulated lines. The power carrying cable is enclosed in a pipe filled with [illegible] gas with high electric strength. Power ranging into the millions of kilowatts could be transmitted along such lines with minimal losses. Perhaps the need for many-meter high-voltage electric power towers will finally be eliminated. Right-of-[illegible] will no longer be necessary, thus releasing thousands of hectares of [illegible] in extensive areas suitable for urban construction.

The specialists at the All-Union Electrical Engineering Institute imeni V. I. Lenin have developed a [illegible] new design for 1,150-kilovolt substations. All of the [illegible] equipment is housed in a hermetically sealed metal capsule filled with elegas. Compared to a conventional substation, it would require an area smaller by a [illegible]. This is a major advantage.

[illegible] power transmission cables is quite tempting. [illegible] have developed prototypes for cryogenic power cables in test [illegible]. The cables are cooled with liquid helium. In one experiment [illegible] the current has been increased a thousand times [illegible] existing cables.

[illegible] there will power transmission cables leave the [illegible]. But a number of complex and unresolved problems remain in relation to the [illegible] and economical [illegible] lining, powerful and [illegible].

[illegible] countries are currently joining efforts in this [illegible] coordination center created for the development of [illegible].

Created by the Socialist Comity, by Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Radin, chief designer at the Moscow Electrical Engineering Plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich

While discussing a complex technical item such as, for example, an airplane, during an interview a leading aerospace designer compared it to an asynchronous motor. It is a simple matter with an established manufacturing method, and any university student could study it and make such a motor. He may have been right in the sense that the making of such an operating motor would present no special problem. However, the question of its economic effectiveness arises. Bearing in mind the national economic importance of this task, it proves to be far from trivial. The country needs uniform series of electrical machines with high technical and economic indicators.

Justifiably, electric motors are described as the electric "hearts" of all equipment. They trigger powerful compressors and pumps, metal processing machine tools and grain drying machine units. Without them washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, or tape recorders would be nothing but scrap iron. An infinite number of examples may be cited of the use of asynchronous electric motors in industry, transport, agriculture and the home. Let us note that today it is precisely such motors that account for over 40 percent of the total electric power generated in the USSR.

Let us mention a few other figures as well. Hundreds of thousands of tons of electrical engineering steel and copper are used in the mass manufacture of asynchronous electric motors. About one million people are employed in servicing and repairing them in our country. Upgrading the efficiency of asynchronous motors by no more than one percent would save over two billion kilowatt hours of electric power per year, equaling the building of a large electric power plant. It is entirely understandable that whenever it is a question of scientific and technical progress in various economic sectors, invariably the question touches on electric motors, their technical standard, reliability and consistency with modern requirements which are rising very quickly. Universal practical experience indicates that the series of electric motors must be renovated each 8 to 10 years.

As we know, the directives of the 24th CPSU Congress for the Ninth five-year Plan instructed the electrical engineering industry to master production of [illegible] of asynchronous motors identified as 4A. Because of the broad range of capacities, varying from 0.12 to 400 kilowatts, compared with the widespread A2 series motors, they will have improved weight, technological and operational indicators. The designing of the new motors was to be paralleled with the development of a technology and of special equipment which would not only insure the production of the new items but the further growth of labor productivity at electrical machine-building plants.

This already complex task seemed particularly difficult considering the tremendous scale of output. Nevertheless, it was carried out. In no more than eight months blueprints became prototypes, and in slightly over two years the first industrial series were manufactured. A standard all-union series which combined the experience of world practice and was consistent with the long-term development of [illegible] and technology came out of the assembly lines. In 1975 the plants produced about 1.5 million electric motors of the new series. The figure rose to [illegible] million in 1979. By the end of the five-year plan the electrical engineering sector will convert almost totally to this series, replacing all previous output.

How did it become possible to insure such a fast pace in the application of the new equipment? The electrical machine builders were able to make maximum use of the advantages of the socialist economic management system. Over 40 enterprises, design bureaus and scientific research institutes, not only in the electrical engineering industry but in related sectors as well, took part in the work. The metallurgical workers organized the production of new electrical engineering steel with high magnetic permeability and relatively low specific losses; new improved bearings were produced, new insulation materials were produced by the chemical industry, and so on. The Soviet specialists worked hand in hand with their colleagues from the socialist countries. Engineers and scientists from the GDR and Czechoslovakia made substantial contributions to the development of the 4A series.

The solution of comprehensive problems related to the development and application of the mass series of new motors and the creation of new production capacities and technical retooling of existing plants required a qualitatively new organization of the collective efforts and radical management improvements. The program-target approach to production modernization and intensification, and the extensive use of network planning methods and computers contributed to the success.

The All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Electrical Engineering, which had already acquired practical experience in planning and designing unified series and in the development of complex technical systems for the utilization of cybernetic methods of industrial management, was entrusted with the scientific management of the project.

An operative management system, which used network planning as its main tool, completed the organizational structure of the management of the comprehensive program. Extensive preparatory work became the base for a comprehensive directive work plan-schedule which was subsequently broken down into specific network schedules covering the individual parts of the problem: design documentation, planning and development of technology and equipment, enterprise reconstruction, and so on. All information needed for operative control was supplied by the co-performing organizations to the coordination center. A computer programmed with network schedules and most important operative reports from the local areas was of great help. This enabled us to develop a flexible and dynamic control system based on the program-target approach so that we could change orientations without radical restructuring and to undertake the solution of ever new problems within the framework of a single international program.

The 4A series was created in accordance with the recommendations of the International Electrotechnical Engineering Commission (MEK) and the wishes of the CEMA-member countries. A comparison between these motors and the FRG and United States standards adopted by Western Europe indicates that they match the best foreign models. Virtually all types of services to be performed by the electric motors were taken into consideration. Special models have been designed for the specific conditions of chemical enterprises and mines, or for meeting the heat and moisture conditions of tropical areas or the polar frosts. Their reliable operation on [illegible] has been insured. Modifications for agriculture have been made [illegible] with their use in the aggressive environment of livestock farms. The motors have a special built-in heat shielding insuring proper functioning [illegible]

The new series electric motors are better than their predecessors in terms of reliability, durability and lower material intensiveness. The national economy saves thousands of tons of steel, copper and aluminum. Another major advantage is the reduced noise and vibration levels, as well as assembly and operational simplicity. Suffice it to say that the bearings can operate without lubrication for 15,000 hours. Savings to the national economy from the machines already manufactured are in excess of 500 million rubles.

The new equipment reorganized electrical engineering outputs. Enterprises were reconstructed and retooled in the course of its development. Technologists worked side by side with designers, insuring the high technological level of designs and reducing to a minimum the stage of organizing the production of the motors. Solutions were found enabling us to mechanize and automate particularly complex operations previously performed manually. In taking over a number of labor-intensive operations, the new technological equipment insured an impressive growth of labor productivity--by a factor of 2-2.5--in the production of electric motors of consistently high quality.

The Soviet specialists and their GDR colleagues credited with the creation and series manufacturing of the all-union unified 4A series of asynchronous motors were awarded the 1979 USSR State Prize.

The gold medals awarded to the Soviet electric motors at international fairs in Leipzig, Brno, Plovdiv and others testify to their reputation. Their rapidly growing exports to highly developed capitalist countries are an acknowledgement of their high technical and economic indicators. The 4A series is always in demand in the FRG, France and Italy.

The collective efforts leading to the development of the unified series strengthened even further the creative contacts among electrical engineers of the socialist comity and contributed to their further economic integration. Using the experience of the work on the 4A series, our GDR colleagues developed the series of AMR electric motors whose basic indicators were standardized with the series. Cooperation between Soviet and Czechoslovak electrical machine builders' teams yielded good results. The bilateral intergovernmental agreement on [illegible] cooperation in the development of specialized production facilities for the manufacture of asynchronous motors of a unified standardized series is being successfully implemented.

Today one of the problems particularly affecting the electrical machine builders deals with complaints addressed to the metallurgical workers: they are still failing to meet the needs of the sector for electrical engineering steel, thus slowing down the pace of output of the new series. The time has come to pay most serious attention to discipline and the level of equipment servicing in the national economy and, above all, in the countryside. Unfortunately, [illegible] production workers approach the choice of electric motors haphazardly, uneconomically. Consequently, in some cases capacities remain underutilized while in other cases premature repairs become necessary. Servicing shortcomings lead to power overexpenditures.

Latvia is a good example of making such work orderly. Specialists at the Latvian Agricultural Academy developed an instrument for the protection of electric motors

in the case of grid breakdowns. The republic organized the series manufacture of the instrument. The result is that of late the breakdown of motors here has declined by a factor of three.

What about the electric motors of the future? The topic was discussed at the October 1978 international conference on asynchronous electric motors, held in Suzdal'. It was attended by hundreds of specialists from the United States, the FRG, France, Belgium, Switzerland and other countries. The Soviet Union was represented by a large group of noted scientists and engineers. The general conclusion was that whereas in the field of electric power generation and transmission the forecast promises that in the near future essentially new equipment will appear, in all likelihood the electric motors will be retained as the main systems for the conversion of electrical energy into mechanical energy in the foreseeable future. Naturally, the problems of increasing their efficiency reducing material intensiveness, and improving all technical parameters will remain topical.

Together with specialists from the socialist countries--Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia--which, together with the USSR, are members of the international Interelektro organization, Soviet electrical engineers have undertaken the development of the next standardized series code-named AI, or Interelektro asynchronous motors. A joint scientific and technical council has been set up, and the associated design-technological bureau has been holding regular meetings in the course of which the technical blueprint for the AI series has been drafted. Bearing in mind the fact that each of the countries participating in Interelektro has acquired considerable scientific and technical potential in electrical machine building, we may rest assured that all parameters of the new series of AI motors will maintain a high technical standard for a long time to come.

Implementing a broad program for cooperation with the socialist countries, the 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that the elaboration and implementation of long-term target programs aimed at meeting our fast-growing energy needs through joint efforts, enhancing the level of machine building, and so on, was on the agenda. The development of a new standardized series of electric motors is one of the outstanding examples of this fact. Total standardization will also make it possible to specialize in the manufacture of parts, assemblies or models. Each of the fraternal countries will specialize in the production of a certain type of technological equipment. All this marks a new step in the development of electrical machine building and in the fuller utilization of its collective scientific and technical potential. It also represents an important step in the intensification of socialist economic integration.

Electrical Engineering Today and in the Future, by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member D. Shtshegol'yevskiy, chairman of the Scientific and Technical Council of Electrical Engineering, Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry

Scientific and technical progress has changed electrical engineering to such an extent that it would be difficult to provide even a general description of all its current directions. I will limit myself to merely two examples which adequately reveal the depth of the changes occurring in this area of knowledge and practical work.

Electrical engineering, which developed at the confluence of the achievements of theoretical physics, electrotechnology, automation and computers, quickly became an inseparable companion of cosmonautics, the nuclear power industry and other most important directions of contemporary science and technology. The electrical engineering complexes are examples of a profound combination of power electric engineering (electric motors, electrical equipment, tiristors and so on) and computers. The main characteristic of such complexes is that their control system seems to be encoded within the control object itself. It is precisely this that provides essentially new opportunities for control through mechanisms, machines, machine units and technological processes.

The achievements of electrical engineering have already been applied in the power systems of the "Lenin," "Arktika" and "Sibir'" nuclear icebreakers. The development of electrical engineering facilities for control and safety of nuclear power reactors, whose purpose is to resolve the most important safety problem of a nuclear power plant, is a major Soviet scientific success.

Space electrical engineering is an essentially new direction. Many problems related to the conquest of interplanetary space are being resolved with its help. Space apparatus providing radio and television communications or photographing the earth's surface from outer space must maintain a strictly defined and directed position in orbit.

Initially the earth's artificial satellites used jet engines for guidance and stabilization, requiring jet fuel or compressed gas and complex storage and feeding systems. This reduced the payload of scientific equipment. This shortcoming became increasingly intolerable as the life span of space vehicles rose. Our studies and the works of other authors proved that such problems can be resolved most successfully on the basis of the achievements of electrical engineering. That is why collectives of scientists, engineers and workers in the electrical engineering industry were drawn into the development of systems for the orientation and stabilization of space vehicles for communications and television, and space instruments used in meteorology and for the study of natural resources.

The high linear resolution of received photographic information is the basic requirement of the system for the study of natural resources from outer space. This stipulation faces scientists and engineers with a number of complex problems. One of them is the development of systems for controlling inclination angles. The electrical machines included in such systems must be exceptionally reliable. They must have high energy indicators, low weight and the optimal specific characteristics of the individual space instruments. The solution of this problem required the development of methods for optimizing the parameters of the technical systems and combining the latest achievements in the fields of mechanics, electronics, materials and technology. This resulted in the creation of entirely new types of machines: flywheel motors, power gyroscope-gyrodynes and others, which are being used successfully in the Molniya and Meteor space vehicles.

The main achievement of the electrical engineers was the creation of a guidance and stabilization system for the Salyut orbital station using a spherical engine instead of three one-axle flywheel engines. The lack of bearings is the distinguishing feature of this engine. Its spherical rotor, weighing no more than 100 kilograms, hangs on a magnetic suspension. It can turn in all directions, thus presenting no

obstruction to controls compensating for external disturbances acting on the orbital station.

The system of guidance and stabilization with the help of a spherical engine is characterized by good weight-size and energy indicators, and high accuracy and reliability. It is unique in the field of space technology.

The electrical scientists are continuing their efforts to improve electrical engineering systems for the new generations of automated space vehicles and orbital stations.

Another example characterizing substantial changes in contemporary electrical engineering science and electric power technology is the use of the latest accomplishments of solid state physics, integral electonics above all.

Until recently the control systems for electrical engineering equipment were based on relay-contact logical systems and discrete electronic radio elements. They are large, consume a great deal of energy and have a so-called "rigid" logic which calls for the redesigning of the entire control system when changes, however insignificant, are introduced in the tasks they perform. Such control equipment requires extensive areas for its manufacture and utilization, and an abundance of various performing systems based on the purpose. All this complicates its series production. The achievements of integrated electronics and computers make it possible to manufacture control systems on an essentially new scientific and technical basis, insuring the total automation of control of electrical engineering equipment.

The development of electrical engineering is based to an increasing extent on successes in the study of control processes and on new solutions in the fields of automation, telemechanics and computers. In this connection the electrical engineering industry is planning the development of systems for controlling electrical engineering equipment on the latest technical base (the "automation" problem). The priority problems resolved within this framework include the elaboration of systems for controlling the activating of powerful turbogenerators and synchronous compensators, systems for control and regulation of the active power and frequency of hydroelectric plant turbines, multiple-function systems for automatic control of the operational condition and protection of turbo- and hydrogenerators, systems for the control of electric thermal and welding equipment, and complex industrial automation systems for the control and protection of transformers.

Recently the work has pursued three main directions. The first involves the application of microsystems with different integration levels in the new control systems and, on that basis, the development of "strict" logical control systems. The use of microcircuits substantially reduces the size of the systems. The essential activities of the developers of this system remain unaffected in this case even though the work requires greater skills.

At the present time, specialized control systems are being developed involving the use of microprocessors and major integration circuits. Finally, the third direction consists of the development of control systems based on microcomputers specifically designed for the solution of electrical engineering problems. In this case the

developer is the creator of programmed systems. This calls for substantially different skills, mathematics, knowledge of program "languages," and so on.

Since the second and third directions require changes in the qualifications of the personnel, major problems arise on the sociological level

Following are several examples of completed projects: Systems for controlling electric slag smelting furnaces make it possible to maintain a precise distance between the electrode and the casting in the course of the smelting process. In the current process the operator must compute this distance on a continuing basis. The use of computerized control would release the operator from this task and would provide a more flexible control over the smelting process. Savings based on this innovation will amount to 1.5 million rubles per year for electric slag smelting furnaces alone

The combined operation of the regulator with the controlling microcomputer in the control systems for actuating large electrical machinery offers the possibility of correcting the distribution between the active and reactive load among the machine units in the station in accordance with individual characteristics. This insures the power carrier of savings of up to two percent. Raising the reliability of the regulators themselves through the installation of diagnostic and protective systems would reduce to a minimum the disconnecting of the power equipment.

A system for controlling electric drives of rolling mills in tin plate shops was developed for the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine. It will increase rolling speed from 20-21 to 30-35 meters per second and output from 6 to 8-9 million tons per year and will upgrade dimensional accuracy.

The higher level of integration of the control system in electrical engineering installations considerably reduces the dimensions, weight and material intensiveness of electrical equipment. Savings from the use of such systems in 1981-1982 will exceed 45 million rubles per year.

The application of new systems for controlling electrical engineering output sectorial enterprises calls for a qualitatively new technology. Therefore, the development of goods parallels technological production preparations at enterprises. The sector is implementing a program for the creation of shops for centralized manufacturing of printed circuits, special technological equipment for the automation and mechanization of printed assemblies and assembling operations, and so on.

Being the technical base for the electrification of the country, our sector must develop new items at an ever expanding rate. This process is interrelated with the development of other sectors, electronic equipment, metallurgy and chemistry above all. Scientists, engineers, technicians and workers in the field of electrical engineering are dedicating all their forces to insure the most important projects and construction sites of the 11th Five-Year Plan of the latest types of electrical engineering equipment.

The entire macro- and microworld of modern electrical engineering, ranging from superpowerful generators and electric furnaces to miniature tubes and logical elements, is closely related to problems whose solutions are currently drawing the

attention of literally all mankind. It is a question of transforming new types of energy into electric power, mastering outer space, protecting the purity of the air around the planet, conserving natural resources, allowing machines to take over direct production control functions, and enhancing human living standards.

The electrical engineering industry is the basis of electrification. It is making a substantial contribution to the solution of socioeconomic problems of Soviet society and to the building of communism. This was vividly confirmed in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Side by side with the entire people, the workers, engineering and technical personnel, scientists and employees in the sector are successfully working for the implementation of the historic program of the 25th CPSU Congress and the decisions of the November 1979 and June 1980 plenums of the party's Central Committee.

The preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress have been marked by a broad scope of socialist competition among the collectives of associations, enterprises and organizations in the electrical engineering industry. Over 40,000 sectorial workers fulfilled their individual five-year plans ahead of schedule. The collectives of the Vatra Production Association imeni 60-Letiya Sovetskoy Ukrainy, the Miass Elektroapparat Plant, and the Pskov Electrical Machine-Building Plant are among those which have already fulfilled their five-year plans for the growth rates of labor productivity. The personnel of the Kama Cables Plant imeni 50-Letiya SSSR resolved to fill their five-year plan for the volume of output and to manufacture an additional one million rubles' worth of cable goods by 20 November. The collectives of the Moscow Searchlights Plant, the Kiev Production Association for Relays and Automatic Equipment, the Leningrad Elektrosila Association imeni S. M. Kirov, the Elektrik Plant imeni N. M. Shvernik, the Cheboksary Electrical Apparatus Plant, and many others are preparing to celebrate the preparations for the 26th party congress with high labor accomplishments.

The new socialist pledges aim at the steady growth of labor productivity, work effectiveness and quality, conservation of labor, material and fuel-energy resources, improved organization and discipline, and strict implementation of obligations to deliver goods to various economic sectors. Particular attention has been paid in these obligations to increasing the contribution of the electrical engineers to the development of transport, the fuel-energy complex, metallurgy, machine building, agriculture, growth of labor productivity and improved quality of consumer goods.

RUSSIA'S GRANARY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 80, 55-67

[Article by L. Florent'yev, RSFSR minister of agriculture]

[Text] Our party considers the guaranteed supply of the country with foodstuffs not only an economic but a political task. "The food stock is the true foundation of the economy," V. I. Lenin put it at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. "...Without such a stock, socialist policy remains no more than a wish" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, p 150).

Grain production remains the core of the country's food supply system. "Grain," wrote Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his book "Tselina" [Virgin Land], "has always been the most important product, the yardstick of all values. Even in our century of great scientific and technical achievement, it remains the basis of the life of nations."

I

The granary of the Russian federation is vast. Spreading over many thousands of kilometers from west to east and south to north, it covers nearly 80 million hectares on which wheat is grown in a great variety under sometimes very complex soil an weather conditions. Slightly under two-thirds of the grain crops are in the drought steppe areas along the Volga, the Urals, Siberia, Stavropol'skiy Kray and Rostovskaya Oblast. The farms of the Nonchernozem zone and the northern and monsoon areas account for about one-quarter of the grain output.

Grain is hard to grow and grain production is a most complex economic system. Each of its links must operate efficiently and harmoniously for the sake of the end objectives of raising and taking to the consumer as much high-quality grain as possible in the required varieties and of insuring concentrated livestock feeds.

The systematic implementation of the party's agrarian policy, which is consistent with contemporary conditions, and whose foundation was laid at the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, the considerable growth of capital investments channeled into agriculture, the strengthening of its material and technical base and extensive land reclamation created solid prerequisites for considerably increasing grain production. Over the past 15 years grain farming in the RSFSR has strengthened substantially. The republic is surmounting harsh trials such as the severe droughts of 1972, 1975 and 1979 with smaller and smaller losses. This is confirmed by data on grain crop

yields, the average annual gross harvest and grain sales to the state by all category farms, as follows:

	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1979
Yields (quintals/hectares)	9.8	13.5	13 7	15.1
Gross harvest (million tons)	76.6	100.5	102.9	116.0
Grain sales to the state (million t ·s)	31.1	40.2	37.5	43.7

Even in the exceptionally bad year of 1979, the republic's farms harvested slightly under 92 million tons of grain, or 15 million tons more than they averaged in the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The virgin land areas are making a major contribution to the development of grain production. A total of 16.3 million hectares of the 41.8 million hectares of new lands put in circulation in the rayons of the Russian federation were cultivated. Whereas before development of the virgin and fallow land, these areas produced an annual average of 18 to 19 million tons of grain, the 1976-1979 gross harvests here averaged 51.3 million tons. Having noticeably strengthened the food base in the eastern areas, the development of the virgin lands positively affected the development of the entire agricultural production of the republic.

Noting with pleasure the results achieved, heads and specialists of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the agricultural organs consider the further increase of production and sale of grain to the state their main task. They believe this to be the most important sector, containing considerable reserves and possibilities for growth and development. These reserves are found in improving the fertility of the soils and raising farming standards, and in strictly observing agrotechnical requirements in reducing grain losses in the course of harvesting, transportation and storage. The very partial use of such reserves, shortcomings in kolkhoz and sovkhoz economic activities and the extremely adverse weather conditions which develop in a number of large grain production areas were the reasons for the fact that during this five-year plan the republic has owed the state a great quantity of grain and underfulfilled its four-year grain procurement plan.

The July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum drafted a long-term program for the further upsurge of the country's grain farming, according to which between 1981 and 1985 the average annual gross grain harvest would range between 230 and 240 million tons, reaching the production of no less than 1 ton per capita on a nationawide average by 1990. As in the past, the Russian federation is scheduled to make a considerable contribution to increasing the overall amount of grain production in the country. In the next few years the average grain crop yields must come close to 19-20 quintals per hectare.

As we know, grain means more than bakery goods, groats, or other food products. All of these account for less than one-quarter of the grain harvested in the country. Animal husbandry is its main user. For this reason, grain growing provides the solution to two interrelated problems: first, the full satisfaction of the needs of the country for bread, groats and their products; second, the achievement of a

considerable increase in the production of feed grain and the procurement of hay, silage, haylage, root crops, and other high-quality feeds and, on this basis, to increase the base of animal husbandry and satisfy to an increasing extent the growing needs of the population for meat, milk and other products.

The solution of each of these problems has its specific characteristics. Thus, in order further to improve the quality of bakery and groat goods, special so-called hard or strong wheat strains are developed; rye, rice, corn, buckwheat and oat strains are improved and so is the agrotechnology used in growing each of these crops. Post-harvest processing plays an equally important role in improving grain quality.

Efforts to upgrade the quality of the grain are being made ever more extensively in the republic. The farmers of Krasnodarskiy and Stavropol'skiy krays and Orenburgskaya, Omskaya, Saratovskaya, Volgogradskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and many other oblasts have gained extensive experience in such work. In 1978 the RSFSR procured about 13 million tons of hard, strong and high-quality wheats. Let us frankly state, however, that this is not enough. A number of oblasts, krays and autonomous republics could sell the state far better quality food grain. That is why it is so important to spread as widely as possible the experience of the Kuban' grain growers, who launched a competition for improving grain quality. The scientific institutions must contribute to the solution of this problem. Close production cooperation between kolkhozes and sovkhozes, on the one hand, and the grain reception enterprises of the Ministry of Procurement, on the other, can and should play a major role in improving grain quality.

Within an incredibly short time the republic was able to develop a major rice-growing base. Engineering systems covering 396,00 hectares were built and commissioned. A scientific technology for the cultivation of this important food crop is being mastered. The farms in Krasnodarskiy Kray account for nearly one-third of the entire amount of rice produced in the country. In the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan they have mounted a struggle for harvesting 1.1 million tons. Improving yields is the main way to solve this problem. For example, Krasnoarmeyskiy Sovkhoz, the leader in the kray's rice growing, has a stable average of 50 to 60 quintals of this most valuable groat crop from an area covering 7,000 hectares. The Krasnodar experience is being mastered ever more energetically by the other rice-growing rayons in the republic.

Whereas good results have been achieved in the development of rice growing, the same could not be said of the production of groat crops such as buckwheat and millet. In this area the republic is greatly in debt to the state. No major objective reasons for such a lag exist. Buckwheat and millet have been grown for a long time, and many rayons and farms have gained extensive experience in their cultivation. However, so far insufficient attention has been paid to such crops, particularly in the farms of the Nonchernozem zone and along the Volga. This is the reason for the low harvests and the nonfulfillment of production and procurement plans. The organizational and technical measures currently being implemented lead us to believe that the situation with the production of buckwheat and millet will be improved in the immediate future.

In order considerably to improve the production of feed grain and thus meet animal husbandry requirements, particularly those of poultry and hog farming, the Russian

farmers must resolve a number of complex problems related to expanding the areas in such crops and, in particular, raising the yields of highly productive strains and hybrids of corn, barley, oats, sorghum and leguminous crops. Unfortunately, the selection process is trailing practical requirements.

The republic's farms are also implementing a comprehensive program of measures aimed at increasing the production of rough and fresh feeds and, above all, high-quality hay and root crops. Investments in the development of root crops have been increased considerably. This includes improvements in natural fodder farmland and construction of fodder storage containers and sheds.

It is no secret that the slow increase in output of vegetable protein and the tendency of the farms to balance their rations with grain result in considerable grain overexpenditures. In order to increase the production of protein in the republic we must, first and foremost, increase the areas in peas and other leguminous crops. Their output in the immediate future must reach no less than nine million tons. Larger areas are being planted in soybeans, a high-protein crop, in the new areas where it is being developed--the southern section of the European part of the RSFSR. Protein resources for animal husbandry will be substantially increased also by increasing the production of lupine, alfalfa, clover, rape, sweetclover and sunflower seed.

The further development of the state and interfarm mixed feed industry is scheduled to play an important role in improving the effective utilization of feed grain. Securing rich and varied mixed feeds for livestock farms offers a substantial opportunity for increasing the production of meat, milk and other products, and for lowering feed outlays per unit of output and feed production costs.

II

The principal way to increase grain and other crop production is raising yields by upgrading soil fertility and farming standards. Currently the Russian federation is implementing an extensive target program for upgrading soil fertility, formulated with the extensive participation of specialists, scientists, kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers.

Protecting the soils from wind and water erosion is one of the most important structural elements of the program. The system of measures developed by Soviet scientists for protecting the soil from wind erosion has withstood the test of time. The republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes have broadened the moldboard-free cultivation of the soils with preservation of the stubble to 14.2 million hectares; special anti-erosion seeding machines are used on an area of 12.8 million hectares; and up to 1 million hectares of fallow and plowed land are protected by windbreaker strips. However, the amount of land in the republic threatened with erosion is considerably larger, and the soil protection farming system must be systematically expanded. In this connection, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Russian federation expect a substantial increase in deliveries of anti-erosion equipment from the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. In recent years scientific research has been energized and the scale of work carried out by kolkhozes and sovkhozes to protect the soil against water erosion has expanded. However, the number of practical scientific steps taken in this area should be increased considerably.

The liming of acidic soils is an important component of the comprehensive program of measures for improving soil fertility. This year 2 million hectares will be limed, primarily in the raions of the Nonchernozem zone. We must point out that the acute shortage of liming materials greatly hinders the important liming operations. There is a solid problem which, nevertheless, has remained unresolved. The USSR and ministries of construction materials industry, which are the main suppliers of high-grade liming materials for agriculture, are sluggish in commissioning capacities for lime production. They are not fulfilling the plans for the lime supplies to kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the Nonchernozem zone and, particularly, the Far East.

[illegible] production in the country will insure its availability for the [illegible] bast fibers, flax, other industrial crops, potatoes, vegetables and [illegible] and its application on irrigated and drained land. It would enable us to [illegible] chemization of grain growing and feed production. Currently the [illegible] essentially the entire increase in fertilizer deliveries goes to these [illegible]. For example, we have applied 3.5 million tons of fertilizer to the [illegible], about half of this available, grain crops. Granulated superphosphate was used on dozens of millions of hectares in grain. The feeding of winter grain and the use of foliar fertilizer are expanding.

The effectiveness of fertilizers is particularly clear in raions where agricultural chemization is conducted on a comprehensive basis. Thus, in recent years the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Zerzhinskiy raion, Kalininskaya Oblast, have used as much as 150 kg of nutritive agents per hectare in grain crops, as a result of which their grain harvests have been 5.5 quintals higher than the oblast average. Compared with the best five-year plan, the average 1976-1979 grain crop harvested in Zerzhinskiy raion, Vladimirskaya Oblast, grew by a 1.5 factor, while winter wheat yields reached 40 quintals per hectare. Potato and perennial grass harvests have also risen substantially. Thanks to chemization not only individual farms but entire raions in the republic's Nonchernozem zone have frequently averaged grain crops of [illegible] quintals per hectare.

However, the basic material-grain production in the area is still frequently [illegible] and less than a quintal of humus. Fertilizers [illegible] grain [illegible] used. The use of fertilizer for grain crops must be [illegible] in the next few years. This will enable us to increase grain [illegible] substantially.

[illegible] the irrigation is inseparably linked with [illegible] over greater extent the agricultural [illegible] the building of [illegible] chemical fertilizer warehouses and other projects. However, the farms [illegible] resolve some problems without the [illegible] industry. [illegible] increasing within a short time [illegible] productive materials for [illegible] mineral fertilizers.

[illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] with chemical protection [illegible] essential [illegible] impact on [illegible] the material [illegible] [illegible] A single [illegible] [illegible] agricultural organs [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] CPSU Plenum. It has been allocated the necessary capital investment, equipment and other material and technical resources. The republic's Rossel'khozkhimiya Association undertook to provide agrochemical services to the republic's agriculture. It has merged the efforts of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and scientific institutions in order to insure the more effective utilization of fertilizers and other chemicals for upgrading yields and increasing agricultural output in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes it services.

Land reclamation provides great opportunities for increasing grain production and improving crop stability. In the Russian Federation, at the beginning of 1980, the area of reclaimed farmland had reached 8.5 million hectares, 4.8 million of which were irrigated. These areas account for the production of the entire rice crop, up to one-quarter of corn for grain, 64 percent of all vegetables, 18 percent of the hay and 26 percent of the fresh perennial grasses. Yields of crops raised on reclaimed lands are improving, even though slowly. Whereas between 1971 and 1975 grain crops on irrigated land averaged 28.3 quintals per hectare, they rose to 29.9 quintals in the 10th Five Year Plan, other respective increases were 165 and 175 quintals for vegetables, 175 and 208 for silage corn, and 227 and 238 quintals per hectare for perennial grasses used as fresh fodder. The RSFSR will continue to expand land reclamation operations. Vast areas of reclaimed land, some of which is irrigated, will be put under crops.

Under these circumstances the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are paying greater attention to improving the utilization of the renovated land through the extensive application of the achievements of science and progressive experience in farming and further improvements in the structure of the crops grown on such land. The [illegible] Stavropol'skiy Kray, is of great interest. In 1979 the rayon averaged 47.1 quintals of winter wheat per hectare on 5,779 hectares; equally interesting is the work of its leading brigades and teams, which plant highly productive strains and hybrids of corn, rice and other grain, feed and vegetable crops on irrigated land, with the right amount of fertilizer, follow an optimal irrigation system and strictly observe scientifically recommended agrotechnology. They average 80 to 90 quintals of winter wheat, 70 to 80 quintals of rice, and even 60 or more quintals of corn grain per hectare.

In the next few years the republic's farms intend to double their gross corn harvests, [illegible] the quintals per hectare and expanding the areas in corn. The experience of the farms in Kabardino-Balkarskaya and the Kuban' will be extensively used in increasing their production. On these farms all [illegible] the [illegible] with proper equipment, fertilizers and herbicides. Material [illegible] reward the efforts of the corn growers have been stimulated [illegible] this year. For the first time in the republic, they applied a new industrial technology of growing grain corn on 390,000 hectares. This technology will be [illegible]

[illegible] has substantially broadened these areas, which [illegible] hectares at the beginning of 1980. This year about 90,000 [illegible] The great possibilities of such drained soil are [illegible] by progressive practical experience. Thus, the kolkhozes [illegible] Rayon, Smolenskaya Oblast, are [illegible] grain per hectare. In Moscow Oblast [illegible] rayons,

such as Leninskiy, Ostrovskiy and Odintsovskiy, rather than individual farms, have exceeded the 40-quintals-per-hectare average. Relying on progressive experience and increased deliveries of chemical fertilizers and equipment, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the Russian Federation plan to raise grain crop averages in the republic to 40 quintals for irrigated and 25 quintals for drained land per hectare in the immediate future, and harvest from reclaimed land no less than 6 million tons of grain.

The development of selection and seed growing is one of the most important factors in the further upgrading of grain farming, yielding maximum results rapidly and at low cost. The task today is to accelerate the selection process and to use the new high-yield strains meeting the requirements of intensive farming and to grow high-grade seeds on an industrial basis. In turn, this requires the strengthening of the material and technical base for seed growing and, perhaps, considerable capital investments as well.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan a number of new high-yield and disease-resistant high-quality grain strains were developed and adopted by the republic's farmers. While noting the achievements of selection experts, we must, nevertheless, point out that the farm workers are expecting them to develop new, more productive and more disease-immune strains of spring and winter wheat for Siberia and the Urals and for irrigated farmlands, along with high-yield millet, buckwheat, sorghum, pea and soybean strains.

It is also very important to shorten considerably the time of application of the new strains. The republic is applying, ever more extensively, methods for their accelerated multiplication. Essentially, this means that the state seed-growing sectors are increasing their stocks of quality seeds in the course of their testing. Using such methods, in 1977--the third year after the zoning--scientific research institutions, seed strain sectors, kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Rostovskaya Oblast, for example, planted Donskaya Ostistaya winter wheat on 205,000 hectares; in 1978--the year which followed the zoning of Donetskaya Oblast--"Severodonetskaya" winter wheat was planted on 492,000 hectares. In the year of the zoning of the Bashkirskaya ASSR (1979) "Ufimskaya" winter wheat was planted on more than 150,000 hectares. The dissemination of "Krasnodarskaya-46" winter wheat, spring barley, "Moskovskaya-35" winter wheat and others was accomplished at the same high rate.

Despite the potentials for the rapid multiplication of new, promising strains, far from all of the latest [illegible] strains average 60-75 percent of the [illegible] in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Volgogradskaya, Orenburgskaya and Voronezhskaya Oblasts and the Bashkirskaya and Tatarskaya ASSRs, in a number of raions it does not exceed 10 to 20 percent.

More than [illegible] kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been [illegible] their main efforts to specialize in seed production in order to improve it and convert it to an industrial basis in the republic. The construction of seed-cleaning and drying plants and seed processing and storage complexes has been intensified. Until recently, however, the construction of such enterprises was slow in a number of raions. This year additional measures have been taken to repair the situation.

Naturally, the comprehensive program for the development of grain growing in the RSFSR does not consist solely of the measures we have discussed. Thus, together with the Siberian department and the RSFSR Nonchernozem zone VASKHNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin], the All-Russian VASKHNIL department is making an extensive effort to develop scientific farming systems not only for the big areas of the Russian federation but also for each separate oblast, kray and autonomous republic and, within them, for the different soil and weather zones. These systems would include not only agrotechnical but organizational and socio-economic measures as well.

In addition to the possibility of upgrading yields, the republic has other reserves for the further development of grain growing which should not be ignored. This involves the expansion of the areas in grain, improvements in the soil structure, and reducing postharvest losses. In the 10th Five-Year Plan areas in grain in the RSFSR were expanded by 2 million hectares. Areas in grain crops will continue to be increased in the future, above all in areas with sufficient moisture.

The republic's farms are systematically improving the structure of their areas in grain by increasing the size of areas planted in the highest yielding grain crops. Of late the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have increased their areas in barley and oats by [illegible] million hectares. Currently the area in such crops is double that of 1965. By ensuring the area planted in more productive feed crops did not harm the production of food grain. Yet, in the 10th Five-Year Plan it made it possible to raise the average annual fodder grain crop to 46.5 million tons, compared with 16.5 million in 1965. The efforts to improve the structure of the grain crops will be continued in the 11th Five-Year Plan by expanding the areas planted in winter crops, corn and rice and the higher yielding grain crop strains.

In order to reduce grain losses to the greatest possible extent, the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are shortening the harvest period and reconstructing or building new grain storage facilities, threshing floors, and grain drying, grading and cleaning facilities. This year, for example, the selfless efforts of the farmers and the maximal utilization of the technical possibilities of the machines, together with improved organization and the extensive application of the Ipatov experience, have enabled [illegible] in the Kuban', the Don and the Stavropol' areas and [illegible], Saratovskaya and other oblasts to harvest the grain in seven to nine working days.

III

With each passing year the task of insuring the stability of grain growing, especially in the [illegible] because of their frequent droughts, becomes increasingly topical. Even though grain production here has become more stable in recent years, in a number of areas of the northern Caucasus, in the Volga, in the Urals and in Siberia, the harvests [illegible] unsatisfactorily in poor weather conditions. The sharp declines in the level of grain production adversely affect the development of this sector and [illegible].

[illegible] is located in an area suffering from insufficient moisture, [illegible] That we must learn to raise stable grain crops less [illegible] weather conditions. Proper crop rotation must play an especially

important role in the planned increase of soil fertility, in raising farming standards, and in the accumulation and retention of soil moisture. Combined with other elements of a scientific farming system, this will enable us to reach maximum grain production per hectare of plowed land and insure more stable harvests in the droughty areas.

Bare fallows are a very active factor in upgrading the effectiveness and stability of "dry" farming. Well-cultivated and fertilized, they enable the soil to accumulate considerable amounts of moisture and nutritive substances and clear the fields from weeds. Fallow land becomes even more important with the use of highly productive strains of intensive grain crops.

The mastering of proper crop rotation and the development of a rational structure of the planted areas, the protection of soils from erosion, high-level seed growing, extensive use of selection, reaching an optimum size of fallow lands and their timely cultivation and plowing, the use of fertilizers and other measures assured the Gigant grain Sovkhoz located in the droughty steppe zone of Rostovskaya Oblast of good grain crops in even most adverse seasons. Through personal experience the collective of the Gigant Sovkhoz proved the significance of each one of the elements of the "dry" farming complex and their mandatory nature. There was a time when the sovkhoz tried to do without fallow land. It paid for this omission with a reduced crop and sharp annual fluctuations in its gross grain production.

Also indicative in this respect is the experience of Omskaya Oblast. In recent years, with the active support of its party organizations, the scientific institutions, agronomical services of agricultural organs, and the oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes have done extensive work to master a proper crop rotation system, increase soil protection measures, leave an adequate amount of fallow land and improve its cultivation, strengthen the material and technical base for seed growing, increase the use of new high yield strains and intensify the struggle against losses. All this had a positive impact on the development of grain growing and its stability, as seen from the following data on average annual grain production:

Period	Gross Harvest (1,000 tons)	Yields (quintals per hectare)
1961-1965	1,821	6.6
1966-1970	2,590	10.2
1971-1975	3,003	12.4
1976-1979	3,444	14.5

The farmers of the Kuban', which developed a broad movement for reaching the highest possible crop yields with the guidance of the kray party organization, are providing a convincing example of the benefits of a close alliance between science and production. As we know, this patriotic initiative was highly rated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The complex farming system developed by the kray's scientists, specialists and leading workers, actively implemented by the rural workers, is a qualitatively new stage in the struggle to upgrade agricultural production effectiveness. Today more than 8,000 kolkhozes, sovkhozes, sections, brigades and teams participate in the kray's movement to achieve the highest possible yields.

The Kuban' rural workers mastered the proper crop rotation system and properly organized seed production. Currently all of their areas are planted in highly productive strains and grain crop hybrids. The fields are cleared of weeds. In the past four years the amount of organic fertilizer used nearly doubled. In 1979 it averaged 3.5 tons per hectare of plowed land. As a result of purposeful work, the kray's gross grain harvests and their quality are systematically rising, as confirmed by the following data:

	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1979
Gross grain harvests (1,000 tons)	5,304	6,230	7,127	8,041
Yields (quintals per hectare)	24.0	28.4	30.9	34.1
Strong and high-quality wheat sold to the State (1,000 tons)	--	--	674	2,130

The rich experience which various farms and raions in the republic have acquired in raising crops, full crops convincingly proves that increased grain production and crop stability can be insured only by strictly observing the recommendations of science and the specialists, and by successfully and systematically applying a farming system developed for a specific natural-weather area. In this case any kind of voluntarism or rushing will only harm the project.

IV

Maintaining technical retooling as a most important prerequisite for a further upsurge of grain farming. Extensive work has been done of late in this area. Compared with 1965, the 1979 power-labor ratio in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the RSFSR rose from 6.1 to 9.4 horsepower per working person. Compared with 1970, in 1979 the number of tractors in the republic's agriculture rose by 301,000, or 30 percent, while that of grain-growing combines rose by 54,000, or 14 percent. Increasingly, farming in the Russian Federation is becoming better supplied with power-equipped K-700, K-701, T-150s and MTZ-built tractors; the technical level of soil cultivation, sowing and other machines is improving.

The use of SK-5 Niva, SK-6 Sibiryak and SK-6P Kolos grain harvesting combines raised labor productivity and somewhat reduced the load of the harvesting equipment. However, this load remains rather high, amounting to 175 hectares per machine in the republic. Nonetheless, only 75-80 percent of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz requests for combines are met. Furthermore, the combines presently being produced are insufficiently equipped with power attachments and are underproductive, particularly in harvesting high-yield grain crops. Their operational reliability remains low and their repair and servicing complex and still extensive.

The situation demands that the country's industry undertake more rapidly the production of the Rostselmash and Sibiryak combines and the wide-span self-propelled combine. This will substantially increase the pace of the harvest campaign. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes are also awaiting the appearance of a new type of grain harvesting combine with a 10-12 kg per second yield capacity. Such combines will provide better working conditions

for the mechanizers. They will have larger containers and a more powerful engine, and automatic attachments and control equipment.

The republic's farms are applying combines with strawmulchers ever more extensively in the mechanized harvesting of the non-grain part of the crop--the straw and chaff. This increases the volume of straw and chaff collected, and supplies, in the course of the harvest, rough fodder for the livestock farms and prepares the soil for the next crop. That is why the republic's agricultural workers are interested in the fastest possible organization of the production of strawmulchers for the Sibiryak combine, of SPS-60 high-efficiency pick-up hay-stackers and SP-60 hay-hauling trailers, and in a considerable increase in the production of rotobalers.

[illegible] industry supplies the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with grain cleaning and grain cleaning-drying systems handling 20 to 40 tons of grain per hour for the post-harvest grain processing. In 1979 such centers processed four-fifths of the gross grain harvest. However, the large farms in the main grain commodity production areas need grain cleaning centers with a productivity of 50 to 100 tons per hour and grain cleaning and drying centers with a productivity of 50 tons per hour.

The further growth of the sector's effectiveness depends not only on increasing deliveries of equipment to the villages, but also on its more productive utilization by the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The most important condition for the successful solution of this problem is to supply the farms with skilled cadres of specialists and mechanizers. Every year the republic trains about 700,000 agricultural mechanizers. Some 75,000 specialists with higher or secondary specialized training are assigned to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Such a volume of cadre training would essentially satisfy the needs of the sector but for the extensive cadre turnover in a number of rayons and farms.

As they organize universal mechanizer training, improve vocational guidance among senior secondary school students, promote vocational-technical education in the villages, and assign an increasing number of scholarship students to higher educational institutions and technical schools, selected from among the best representatives of rural youth, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are also broadening their housing, cultural and road construction. They are displaying increasing concern for the working conditions of the farmers so that skilled cadres may be retained by the farms. This year about two billion rubles of state and over one billion rubles of kolkhoz funds were appropriated for housing and cultural construction in the villages. For example, Moscow, Leningrad, Omskaya, Kirovskaya and other oblasts, krays and autonomous republics are implementing an extensive program of measures for the social restructuring of the villages.

Meanwhile, the search is on for improved organizational methods for the operation, repair and servicing of the machine-tractor fleet consistent with the current technical potential of the countryside. The party's Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, personally, supported the progressive experience acquired in the development of interfarm associations for agricultural mechanization and electrification. The organization of such associations on the basis of cooperative technical facilities and engineering services of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and Sel'khoztekhnika enterprises, as indicated by the practical experience of Stavropol'skiy Kray and other parts of the republic and elsewhere in the country, increases the productivity of tractors and other machinery, streamlines the outlay of spare parts, reduces

outlays for repairs and technical servicing, and has a positive influence on end labor results.

The Ipatov experience in assembly line organization of mechanized operations on the basis of the development of large harvesting-transport and other systems is becoming increasingly popular. This year the republic's farms set up tens of thousands of such complexes and detachments. However, it is clear that some of them follow the principles of assembly line organization of the work quite inadequately, for in a number of areas there is a shortage of technical servicing facilities, motor vehicles and other features necessary to the operation of such a system.

Adamantly developing grain farming, the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes consider its increased effectiveness their most important task. This is achieved through further intensification: higher yields, organization of the sector on an industrial basis, improving the organization of labor and raising its productivity.

Grain production is currently one of the most profitable farming sectors: between 1976 and 1979 its average profitability was 69 percent in kolkhozes and 61 percent in sovkhozes. In most RSFSR rayons grain farming income has a decisive influence on strengthening the kolkhoz and sovkhoz economy, the social development of the countryside and the improved prosperity of its working people. However, the potential for further improvements in the economic effectiveness of grain farming is far from exhausted.

Currently production costs per quintal of grain average 7.6-7.7 rubles for the republic at large. In recent years the trend toward increased costs as a result of increased production outlays, particularly for repairs and operation, fertilizers and construction and maintenance of grain cleaning centers and storage areas, has been added. Over 70 percent of the cost of growing one quintal of grain goes to material outlays. Here, strict economy and steady reduction of labor outlays are necessary prerequisites for lowering grain production costs.

Science is participating most actively in the struggle for further upgrading the effectiveness of grain farming. While noting its great services, the practical workers are expecting of the scientific institutions more productive strains of grain, leguminous and other crops, new ways and means for the effective utilization of land resources and the upgrading of soil fertility, and more advanced cultivation methods, which would increase output while lowering outlays and production costs. Research directed toward upgrading the effectiveness of fertilizers and liming materials must be considerably energized with a view to increasing yields and improving the quality of the grain. The efforts to improve short-term and long-term forecasts of the appearance of pests in the various zones of the republic must be continued. More effective, comprehensive systems must be developed for the protection of farm crops from pests, diseases and weeds.

Studies directed toward the further improvement of planning, the organization of production and labor in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, improvement of the economic mechanism and the management of the activities of all units within the agroindustrial complex ought to be at the forefront. Scientific studies of ways to improve the effectiveness of capital investments, productive capital and material resources, and to improve the location of grain farming areas and other agricultural production sectors, and agricultural intensification, concentration and specialization on the basis of

interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration are very topical. End national economic results must become the yardstick of the quality of the work of a scientific institution or an individual scientist. The activities of the personnel of the Krasnodar, Don and Stavropol' scientific research agricultural institutes, the Southeast Scientific Research Institute, the Siberian and Bashkir scientific research agricultural institutes and some others are characterized by major accomplishments. Hand in hand with practical workers, they are developing highly productive strains and effective technological solutions and plans and are promoting their extensive practical utilization.

"If there is grain there will be songs." That is how Comrade L. I. Brezhnev begins his book "Tselina" [Virgin Lands]. These words concisely and aptly describe the tremendous role which grain plays in the life of the people.

Currently, the selfless struggle for this year's grain is nearing its final stage on the vast fields of Russia--the harvest. The outcome of this struggle depends to a decisive extent on the organization, discipline and responsibility of labor collectives and individual workers and on the skill of agricultural managers, farm specialists and agricultural organs in organizing and mobilizing people for highly productive toil.

The most important thing now is to harvest the crop fully, fulfill obligations to the state, supply animal husbandry with adequate amounts of various feeds for the winter, plant the winter crops, plow up the fields, and cover the good quality seeds or, in a word, lay a proper foundation for a further upsurge in next year's grain production. Unquestionably, the rural workers in the Russian federation, joining the all-union socialist competition in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress, following the party's appeal, will do everything they can to mark the forthcoming congress of our Communist Party with new labor successes.

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IMPORTANT TREND IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 80 pp 68-78

[Article by P. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, on the results of the International Forum on Research on the Working Class and the Workers Movement]

[Text] The working class and the mass movement it created are the main motive force of world history today and the most important factor in the material and spiritual progress of mankind. That is why the all-round study of the general laws governing the growth of the working class and the development of the workers movement, in relation to other social movements, and to specific manifestations of such laws in different countries and parts of the world and under the conditions of different social systems, is of tremendous significance. The study of new trends in the development of the proletarian liberation struggle and its role in the global revolutionary process is particularly topical.

The development of scientific research on the subject of the working class and the international workers movement has gained new impetus as a result of the increased sociohistorical role of the working class and the corresponding various forms of its activity. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine offers a firm methodological base for such research. It is on this basis that in recent years important results have been achieved in the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries in the study of the workers movement. Marxist scientists in other parts of the world are also making a major contribution to the development of these problems. Supporters of other ideological currents as well have begun to display increasing interest in the various aspects of the development of the working class and in the activities of its organizations.

The topical significance of scientific research on the working class was convincingly demonstrated at the International Forum on Research on the Working Class and the Workers Movement, recently held in Paris. The forum, which was held with the assistance of UNESCO, gathered noted scientists, public personalities, representatives of trade unions and of international and regional organizations of different orientations, and heads of over 100 scientific research institutes and university centers of many countries in Europe, the Americas, Australia and a number of Afro-Asian countries.

The papers presented by the Soviet scientists emphasized that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, were at the origin of the comprehensive study of the historical role of the working class and of its problems. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin made an outstanding contribution to the implementation of their doctrine

in the 20th century and to the creative development of Marxist theory. The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin became the theoretical and political foundation for the development of the revolutionary workers movement and the creation of a new social system--socialism--by the working class. Most important, the decisive proof of the power and viability of such ideas is found in the fact that they are being implemented successfully in many countries throughout the world.

It is quite symbolic that the opening was on 22 April 1980--the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, in recognition of his great services to the development of the science of the working class and the workers movement. This was pointed out not only by the scientists from the USSR and the other socialist states but by scientists from the nonsocialist countries representing the world's peoples.

Opening the forum as representative of the UNESCO director general, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, the noted Mexican scientist, UNESCO's representative for the social sciences, stated, among other things, that "today, 22 April, is the 110th anniversary of the birth of one of the greatest people in the history of the world's workers movement--Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. The best way to show our respect for Lenin is to consider simultaneously the universal aspects of the history of the workers movement and the problems inherent in each nation separately. The purpose of this would be to help to improve the living conditions of the workers the world over and to promote the blossoming of the personality of the worker in today's society."

The forum also focused its attention on research themes such as "The Working Class and Problems Related to Its Study," "The Working Class and Culture," "The Importance of Workers Education in Social Development," and "Trends and Results of Studies Related to Problems of the Workers Movement in the Past 30 Years." In this connection, problems related to the study of the history of the working class and the workers movement in university courses and textbooks and in secondary school textbooks, and the state of the gathering and storage of documentation of the history of the workers movement were considered. A wide range of methodological and special problems relating to the history and contemporary development of the working class and the workers movement was discussed.

As was noted at the forum, in recent decades the study of the working class and the workers movement has become so extensive that it has turned into one of the main research sectors in the entire area of social history.

Naturally, the increased interest in the study of the history of the working class and the workers movement and the expanded range of such studies, as was noted at the forum, require increased international cooperation among scientists and institutes specializing in this area.

At the same time, however, we must bear in mind that a sharp ideological struggle is being waged in the international arena on the problems of development and activity of the working class and its role in the historical process.

The increased role of the working class in today's world is forcing bourgeois and social reformist ideologues to maneuver. Some of them, distorting the true picture of social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution in capitalist society, formulate the absurd ideas of the "transformation" and even "disappearance" of the proletariat. They preach the thesis that the proletariat no longer exists as

a class and that, consequently, there are no social conflicts and there is no class struggle. Claiming that the alleviation of physical labor through production automation and mechanization allegedly brings about the self-liquidation of the working class, the theoreticians of the "post-industrial," "technotronic" and other societies "prophesies" the withdrawal of the proletariat from politics and its turning primarily toward entertainment, vast spectacles, sports and so on. Ignoring the expanding scale of strikes and the intensification of class battles in the capitalist countries, the defenders of bourgeois society treat the working class as a "sum total of atomized individuals," allegedly concerned with no more than their individual lives rather than the achievement of class ideals. The bourgeois theoreticians link their hopes for a "crisis of Marxism," "crisis of the workers movement," and so on precisely with such mythical "transformations" of the working class. Attempts are being made to provide a scientific rationale for such fabrications and to structure them on an objective base. Lenin himself, however, noting such speculative trends in bourgeois social science, noted that "socioeconomic statistics--one of the most powerful instruments for social knowledge -thus becomes degenerated, turning into statistics for the sake of statistics, into a game..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 19, p 334).

The day the forum opened, L'HUMANITE, the French Communist Party organ, published an article extensively criticizing the theory of "dilution" of the proletariat and of the inevitable "breakdown" of the workers movement under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. Describing such assertions as one of the manifestations of the "ideological counteroffensive" of monopoly capital, the French communist newspaper wrote: "The purpose of this operation is obvious. It is a question of attempts to discredit the image and significance of the working class in the eyes of the broad toiling masses and the youth and, furthermore, to cause the working class to doubt itself and to abandon its historical role, and to prevent it from being the motive force in the struggle for the reorganization of society....At the same time, the great variety of means used to 'tame' the working class confirms the difficulties obstructing the implementation of this plan."

The stir surrounding the myth of the "disappearance" of the working class cannot conceal the growing disorder in the camp of the newly hatched "critics" of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the historical mission of the proletariat. In fact, scientific communism is countered by a variegated conglomeration of currents which exist among conflicting assessments and "forecasts." The very superficial nature of such evaluations notwithstanding, they display some common trends.

Most theoreticians hostile to the working class are attempting to prove that the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution will inevitably narrow the ranks and continuously reduce the size of the working class. Their purpose is to deprive the leading revolutionary class of its historical prospects and to weaken its faith in its own strength. The Marxist views on the intensification of the class antagonisms and the social polarization of capitalist society are countered by theories of a "new middle class," "bourgeoisification" of the working class and its "integration" within the capitalist system. Efforts are made, on the one hand, to separate from the proletariat a number of working class strata, particularly its highest skilled groups, classifying them as "middle class" and, on the other, to identify as "integrated" within the system of state-monopoly capital even workers employed primarily in physical labor.

In this connection, increasing attention is being paid to arbitrary interpretations of the influence which changes based on the scientific and technical revolution are having on the workers. In particular, researchers hostile to the working class are speculating about the characteristics of the molding of its awareness and the specifics of the sociopsychological processes developing within the individual groups of working people. Frequent attempts are made to prove that the class awareness of the contemporary proletariat is "radically different" from that prevailing in the past and that, furthermore, it is developing in an "essentially different" direction. Concepts which reduce the workers movement to the purely economic trade union forms of struggle, rejecting the significance of the political organizations of the working people, are also directly related to such positions.

The [illegible] by British sociologist M. Mann, based on artificially pitting the interests of some workers' groups against others, is typical of the bourgeois-conservative approach to this problem. M. Mann is trying to prove that the working class is no longer a force capable of accomplishing revolutionary changes (see M. Mann, "Consciousness and Action Among the Western Working Class," London, 1975, p 69).

French sociologist A. Touraine's new book ("L'Apres Socialisme" [Post-Socialism], Paris, 1980) also calls for abandoning the concept of the universal-historical mission of the working class. In his view, the proletariat today has become a "conservative" force which is allegedly unable to remain the focus of the sociopolitical struggle and be the bearer of new ideas. Accordingly, "marginal" social groups and new social movements (antitechnocratic, ecological, regionalistic, women's and so on) have assumed the position of the working class in the workers movement.

In reality, as the materials presented at the forum clearly proved, the position of the working class continues to strengthen, as does its role in all fields of social life in the capitalist countries.

The predictions of its supporters notwithstanding, the development of capitalism under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution has substantially strengthened the structural social changes representing the direct continuation of specific capitalist trends analyzed in detail by Marx, Engels and, subsequently, Lenin. The main direction of these changes is the growing class polarization within bourgeois society. The consideration of such processes is of decisive importance to the workers movement. "The social structure of society and the system," Lenin pointed out, "is characterized by changes without whose clarification no step can be taken in any area of social activity. The clarification of such changes determines the question of the future..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 20, p 186).

On the one hand, the part of the people which, by virtue of its activities and place within the ownership system, is most closely linked with capitalism and with the exploitation of the toiling masses is continuing to decline. Meanwhile, the [illegible] number of people engaged in hired labor, exploited by capital, are [illegible] steadily.

The working class is the basic and biggest social group of individuals hiring out their labor. It is the most active and progressive social stratum. "Regardless of the fashionable anti-Marxist theories according to which the scientific and technical revolution narrows the boundaries of the working class and even leads to

its elimination," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "the real facts show the exact opposite: everywhere, scientific and technical progress is leading to the growth of the working class. This includes the new skills developed by the contemporary production process.

The number of workers employed in the most modern sectors, distinguished by high-level production concentration and monopolization (machine building, chemistry, electrical engineering and so on) is growing as a result of the drastic acceleration of technical progress. Regardless of the equivocal nature of vocational-skill changes under capitalism, at the present stage of technological development the trend toward greater skills is assuming a predominant significance. The scientific and technical revolution is turning the increased educational level into the most important element of vocational training.

When studying the development of class antagonisms under capitalism, we must bear in mind that the qualitatively new stage of development of its social crisis, which was aggravated in the 1970s, introduced a number of new elements into the living conditions of the working class and, consequently, into the social situation of the capitalist countries. The most typical features of this situation were, on the one hand, the intensified attempts of the ruling class to solve its difficulties at the expense of the working people, saddled with the consequences of the economic difficulties and the cost of anticrisis measures and, on the other, the increased readiness and ability of the working class to rebuff encroachments on the social and political positions it has gained.

Historical experience proves that under capitalist conditions scientific and technical progress is a tool serving the strictly selfish interests of classes and social groups holding economic and political power. We can see how with the acceleration of technical modernization, increased intensification and exploitation of labor, the reduction of jobs, increased unemployment, and drastic worsening of ecological living conditions have become the harsh reality of capitalist countries. The economic paradox of spiraling prices of commodities and services and unrestrained acceleration of inflation despite the tremendous growth of labor productivity is a dramatic catastrophe for the working people. The reason for this paradox, in our view, is that inflation is encouraged by the class policy of big business, which is earning profits at the expense of hired labor. It is those who inflate military budgets and, by raising prices increase their profits, reducing to naught periodical wage raises of the working people, attained in the course of their difficult and adamant struggle against the employers, who are to be blamed for inflation. Inflation and unfair prices are also elements of new colonialist policy, a result of which is that the gap between developed and economically backward countries widens rather than narrows. Here again, as in the case of other phenomena, the reasons may be found not in the technology, but in the faulty capitalist economic system.

However, the working people are not only the objects of influence of the scientific and technical revolution, but also the subjects of history, the motive force of economic, scientific and technical and social progress. The problems and tasks of economic, social and cultural development raised and resolved by society depend and will continue to depend primarily on the working class.

This clearly shows that the materials presented at the international forum on research on the working class and the workers Movement are of great interest to science. However, the significance of the forum is defined not merely by the content of the reports and communications submitted. More important, it marked a specific stage in the development of the ideological-political struggle on the question of the position of the working class in the contemporary world and earmarked a specific stage in the development of scientific research on the working class.

Within the context of the ideological struggle on the problem of the working class, the significance of the forum is that it reflects a major shift in social awareness and, above all, in the awareness of the scientist. The work of the forum indicated that the scientific public in the capitalist and developing countries rejects the bold attempts to subordinate the study of the history of the working class and the workers movement to ideological speculations. Major scientists representing various scientific centers and universities essentially rejected attempts to minimize the role of the working class in our age. The entire proceedings of the forum confirmed that most specialized researchers proceed in their work from the acknowledgement of the tremendous and growing significance of the working class in the contemporary world. In this sense, the forum essentially reflected the ever broader ideological agreement of the scientists of the objective nature of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the position of the working class in the system of social relations. The accomplishment of this task has prepared and facilitated a definitive work on problems of the history and theory of the international workers movement, triggered a wide interest among the part [illegible]
The first three volumes of this major work [illegible]
Academician B. N. Ponomarev [illegible] published and [illegible]
forum and in the exhibit [illegible] on the basis of [illegible]
work of the forum [illegible] international [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] operations performed by Marx, Engels and Lenin is that [illegible] the beginning of the comprehensive study of the working class, as also the Marxist-Leninist classic approaches the working class as an integral social factor within the social system that they were able to fight not only as the object of capitalist exploitation but also as the main and leading force of the universal-historical process of the overthrow of class and its turning to a communist society. The scientific conclusion that the working class is the true foundation and starting point of all [illegible] arguments of Marx and Engels, "Basic Works," Vol. 2, [illegible] the possible [illegible] basis of such a comprehensive study at the earliest stage of its development.

The Marxist [illegible] of the comprehensive study of the working class and its [illegible] conflict develops in the socialist countries. Many of these institutions organize [illegible] comprehensive [illegible] of the working class. Similar scientific centers were created [illegible] the capitalist countries.

[illegible] comprehensive study of the working class by Marxist [illegible] international nature. In recent years good scientific [illegible] of social studies conducted by collectives of [illegible] In this respect the activities of the [illegible] Organization Affairs Activists of Centres of [illegible] working class of the Global Socialist Economy [illegible]

[illegible] important [illegible] the nature of the debates [illegible] comprehensive approach to the study of [illegible]

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH: RESULTS, PROBLEMS AND TASKS

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The increased significance of the conscious principle in a developed socialist society is manifested in the enhanced role of the Communist Party as the ruling and leading force in the building of communism, and the increased influence of the social sciences, which have the purpose of providing theoretical solutions to the problems being resolved by the party, the state and the people. The CPSU [illegible] the activities of the Soviet social scientists, including sociologists, [illegible] actively participating in the creative scientific development of social [illegible] This evaluation entails high responsibilities.

[illegible] historical credit for the creation of scientific sociology [illegible] Marx and Engels were the first to provide a materialistic [illegible] of society and to discover the laws governing its development. [illegible] was that, in itself, the [illegible] materialism in sociology was brilliant [illegible] achievement. For the first time it raised sociology to [illegible] (Marx, Engels, Collected Works, Vol 1, p 137). [illegible] Lenin, who developed the great proposition of the [illegible] the leading [illegible] for the development of [illegible] between theory and the practice of [illegible] program for the [illegible] a great [illegible] [illegible] the organization of a [illegible] Lenin's instructions [illegible]

...dy of public opinion and of changes in the nature and content of the work and way of life of the Soviet people; it called for the further development of comprehensive socioeconomic planning and for upgrading the practical results achieved by the social ...

... decree "On Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and Increasing Their Role in the Building of Communism" (August 1967) was of great importance to the development of sociology. Among other things, it ... the condition of sociology in the country and defined its ... Soviet sociological science was given the assignment of developing ... terialism as a general sociopolitical theory and undertaking specific ... the latter, the document noted that until recently ... been developed sufficiently extensively" and ... thodical foundation remains very empirical."

... time that the current system of scientific sociological ... was organized. The Institute of Specific Social Studies (since 1972 ...) of the USSR Academy of Sciences, established in ... became the main coordinating sociological center in the country. Additionally, ... and the republic academies include 68 scientific ... departments, sectors and laboratories of a similar nature. Major sociology departments ... institutions such as the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems ... of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production ... Institute of Economics of the Ural Scientific Center in ... staffed by trained specialists were organized by ... academies of sciences in Kiev, Minsk, Vil'nyus, ... other capitals of union republics. Sociological ... scientific research departmental institutes, ... enterprises and production associations, and voluntary ... organized by party, trade union, ... The network of sociological laboratories ... institutions has been expanded considerably. A ...

... for the future ... journalists,

[illegible] different fields are involved in such studies. The Soviet Sociology Association has over [illegible] collective and some 5,000 individual members.

The development of sociological studies is clearly expressed in scientific publications. The number of articles on various aspects of Marxist-Leninist sociology has increased considerably. The journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, published since 1976, has become a major lever in consolidating the efforts of Soviet sociologists and the dissemination of new scientific results and methodological experience. Positive results have been achieved in the past 15 years in operating the basic categorial level of specific sociological studies. Here again scientific discussion on the subject of sociology, in the course of which one-sided ideas which had been misdirected research practices were surmounted, played a specific role.

[illegible] various attempts to identify the object of sociology to an empirical science of society, with tasks limited to the collection of factual data for other social sciences (some authors even speak of a "universal" or "experimental" science). In reality, Marxist sociology is based on a theory which equips us with knowledge of the general laws governing the functioning and historical development of human society. For that reason, [illegible] is historical materialism which is also the methodological basis of Marxist philosophy, of its social philosophy in the form of [illegible] sociological theory.

[illegible] of sociology [illegible] necessarily include all the most important [illegible] certain aspects of social [illegible] other categories [illegible] Marx [illegible] The [illegible]

Unfortunately, we must admit that the overall methodological and methodical standard of sociological research conducted in our country is still far behind contemporary requirements. Applied studies made locally by small groups of sociologists are [illegible] conducted without adequately prepared programs. They suffer from empiricism and fail to achieve profound basic summations. To this day quantitative and [illegible] methods and computers are still not used with adequate effectiveness in [illegible] work.

A number of reasons could be cited for such shortcomings, the main one being the [illegible] training. The fact is that, so far, essentially our country does not offer [illegible] sociology training. It is a fact that most postgraduate students in sociology are young people without suitable sociological university training. Not the least important consequence of this fact is that ignoramuses and hacks act as specialists. Lacking proper methodology and research methods, they draw up [illegible] surveys and unceremoniously take people away from their jobs. The results of such studies show that the information they provide could simply have been culled from [illegible] texts, while their recommendations are no more than transcripts of orders issued by administrations or decisions of enterprise party committees.

[illegible] the scope of sociological studies could be broadened to [illegible] all. Their quality could be enhanced and sociological services could [illegible] enterprises, associations and sectors by creating sociology departments at [illegible] faculties of universities and in some economic VUZs which would train [illegible] specialists that, for instance, would prevent the economic faculties from [illegible] sociologists for work in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and [illegible] Regional faculties would train specialists to study the social structure, [illegible], culture, spiritual life, public opinion, life, family, or [illegible] dealing within the scope of general sociological theory.

[illegible] is sufficient, the more so since some VUZs have already [illegible] pioneering work in this direction. The philosophy [illegible], Belorussian and a number of other universities [illegible] specialization of students in specific sociological [illegible] institutes. Efforts are constantly [illegible] departments at [illegible] A [illegible] which [illegible] sociologists [illegible]

great deal of detail and an extensive treatment. For this reason, let us consider the situation and the immediate prospects of the basic directions which have developed in accordance with practical requirements, each of which requires a comprehensive approach. Such an approach could be secured on the basis of the unified initial theoretical postulates found in historical materialism and the theory of scientific communism, in a number of individual sociological disciplines, actively applied here, and in the skillful formulation of specific sociological studies which would enable us to determine the deep processes occurring in life with the help of modern methods.

The study of the processes of changes in the social structure of Soviet society has been based on the theoretical analysis of the problem provided in the Programs of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. Here again methodological problems were [illegible]. Two extremes found in scientific publications were surmounted in [illegible]. On the one hand, one-sidedly interpreting the [illegible] workers and industrial intelligentsia under socialism, including the use of some engineers and technicians in work places controlling machine units, handling complex equipment and so on, such sociologists tended to broaden the boundaries of the working class under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution by including the intellectuals in its ranks. On the other hand, the trend toward interpreting the Soviet working class as the sum total of people engaged in physical labor exclusively was surmounted [illegible].

[illegible] sociological studies show. They offered convincing proof of the existence and rapid growth of a stratum of highly skilled workers controlling complex machines and possessing such [illegible] specialties as [illegible]. Especially [illegible] in mental work. Such [illegible] workers (V. I. Stepanov) [illegible] the [illegible] of the working class as a group of individuals [illegible] in physical [illegible] primarily physical [illegible]. Furthermore, this labor stratum is one of the [illegible] of the industrial intelligentsia. The characteristic features of this [illegible] worker [illegible] industrial intelligentsia, applied [illegible] which attracts, on which [illegible] depends [illegible] of [illegible] extends to almost all [illegible] in it the features [illegible] of [illegible] material satisfaction. A similar stratum is growing among [illegible] well.

[illegible]

[illegible] villages and [illegible] social disparities between town and [illegible]; the role of wages based on [illegible], of private auxiliary farms and public consumption funds in the population's income and in surmounting social disparities; the link between the development of the social structure and its reproduction in the course of the [illegible], and the expansion of the scale and significance of social [illegible], i.e., the transition of workers and their children from one social group [illegible], the social sources of the reinforcement of the working class and [illegible] under contemporary conditions; and the tie between changes in the [illegible] and the social class structure. In particular, at least theoretically, an important and very controversial problem such as the interconnection between [illegible] increased specialization in the vocational division of labor and [illegible] in the work and in the growth of social integration has [illegible] developed, not least because of the scarcity of empirical data.

[illegible] socialist way of life and of means leading to its improvement has [illegible] of late. In the 1960s sociological studies in this area were essentially focused on the study of individual features of the [illegible] way of life: labor, living conditions, culture, use of leisure time and [illegible]. [illegible] were [illegible] by a more profound and comprehensive approach to the [illegible] activity and by the aspiration to establish [illegible] features of the socialist way of life, [illegible] its advantages. We have [illegible] with philosophers and [illegible], on the [illegible] "way of life" based on Marxist-Leninist [illegible], its place within the system of sociological [illegible], [illegible] between way of life and living standards, [illegible] life [illegible].

[illegible] means of production of material [illegible] way of life.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

various population [illegible]. For example, workers from the USSR Academy of Sciences [illegible] Institute of Sociological Research studied the way of life of the rural population and formulated forecasts extending to the year 2000. The data were used by the USSR Gosstroy. A number of studies conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography dealt with the life of the rural population based on specific national conditions. Time budget studies indicated considerable potential for a more rational utilization of leisure time, among women in particular. The formulation of a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and its social consequences for 1990 and the year 2000 drafted by the USSR Academy of Sciences used sociological data in the development of communist principles in the Socialist way of life on the basis of the increased social guarantees provided by society to individual citizens in accordance with the new USSR Constitution.

The further study of processes governing the development of the socialist way of life remains one of the most important trends of research in the social sciences. The increased contribution of sociology to the solution of this comprehensive problem requires the concentration of efforts on the following aspects of the problem: increasing the similarity in the ways of life of the urban and rural populations, classes, social groups, strata, nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union; struggle between the new and the old in the course of development of the socialist way of life, including the struggle to surmount consumerist trends and petit-bourgeois philistine vestiges in the ways of life of some population [illegible]; changes in the structure of the leisure time of the different social and [illegible] groups as a result of increased motor mobility, development of tourism, physical culture, sports and tourism, broadened amateur activities, gardening in particular, and so on; and the elaboration of models of the socialist way of life, enabling us to link its qualitative features with the system of quantitative indicators, thus forecasting its further development, which is [illegible] necessary in long-term planning.

The study of social planning problems is the most important direction to be followed in the development of sociological research.

[illegible] is of methodological importance to the development of [illegible] between the social concept in the broad meaning [illegible] in the strict meaning of the term. The first [illegible] is applicable when society is compared with [illegible] with biological dynamics. However, [illegible] K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [illegible] social concept in the narrow meaning of [illegible] or among social groups and classes. [illegible] including the new USSR Constitution, [illegible] of the CPSU and the Soviet state, [illegible] the economic, political and [illegible] and cultural policy, economic planning, [illegible]

[illegible] and social policy in the numerous [illegible] social system based on their similar [illegible] relations, and culture. Social [illegible] critical [illegible] relations [illegible] Soviet [illegible]

[illegible] It is not difficult, therefore, that structural concepts such as the [illegible] and sociopolitical structure of society, sociocultural policy, and so on, have become part of Marxist literature.

[illegible] theories of the social development of labor collectives, developed during the [illegible] five-year plans and approved at the 24th CPSU Congress, gave a powerful impetus to domestic sociology. Sociologists from most scientific institutions and [illegible] became involved in social planning. Sociological services appeared in many enterprises. In the 9th and 10th five-year plans the practice of social planning was [illegible] in a number of directions with the direct participation of sociologists. This required extensive and innovative scientific research. Let us note [illegible]

[illegible] development planning covered tens of thousands of labor collectives [illegible] construction projects and economic associations, it was extended to [illegible], cooperatives, [illegible] institutions and service enterprises. This required the [illegible] of methodical instructions for planning the social development of labor collectives of different types. With the help of the economists, the sociologists drafted a method which played a positive role in the dissemination of progressive experience in this area (a second expanded edition was published by Profizdat in 1975). The planning of social development on the scale of an industrial sector required the extension of this work (a corresponding method was published in 1979).

Second, social planning became widespread in cities and rural rayons and, subsequently, on the oblast scale. Let us note particularly the comprehensive plans for economic and social development of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast, Minsk, Krasnoyarskiy Kray and many other of the largest cities and oblasts, formulated with the participation of sociologists. The experience gained in planning the social development of cities and regions was summarized in a number of scientific works. It was the basis for the drafting of methodical instructions on urban social planning written by a group of sociologists and economists, also published by Profizdat in 1978.

Third, the section on "Social Problems of the Development of the [illegible] and Culture" of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress [illegible] Its Socioeconomic Consequences for 1976-1990 was drafted by sociologists from the USSR Academy of Sciences with the assistance of ministries and departments. At the 25th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev noted that "work on this program must be continued, as it is an organic component of current and long-term planning. It provides guidelines without which the economy cannot be successfully managed." The work is continuing today in the course of formulating forecasts for the period until the year 2000.

Today planning has entered a new stage. The USSR Constitution stipulates that all state plans are comprehensive plans for economic and social development. Instead of having plans for social development which merely supplement the basic--the economic--plan, today social sections everywhere are becoming components of comprehensive plans. Yet, such sections retain a subordinate nature even in the methodical instructions issued by the USSR Gosplan on formulating plans for associations, enterprises for the 11th Five-Year Plan. They are not yet organically linked with production assignments, nor are they totally oriented toward the

comprehensive utilization of social factors for upgrading production effectiveness. The scientific public, including sociologists, has the task of tremendous scale and practical significance of upgrading the scientific substantiation of plans at all levels of management.

The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that the expanded scale and qualitative changes in the socialist economy formulate stricter requirements regarding management. It is no longer possible to be satisfied with its existing ways and means, notwithstanding their previous suitability. The studies conducted by the sociologists lead to the conclusion that the successful solution of a number of national economic problems depends on the fortuitous solution of social problems such as increased cadre turnover, dissatisfaction with labor conditions and content, and so on. References to shortages of capital investments, cadres, new equipment and so on are frequently used as a screen by careless managers who thus "justify" their inability to manage effectively social processes within the labor collective, city, oblast or sector. As practical experience indicates, the improved organization of labor, living conditions, services and health care, and the organization of relations among people within the collective could be as effective as the use of additional material and manpower resources. This has been confirmed by reality.

The elaboration of a system of social indicators and its inclusion in the practice of national economic planning become the most important practical and theoretical tasks facing sociology.

Naturally, the resolution of this problem is no simple matter. The elaboration and improvement of a system of economic indicators in national economic planning took many decades. The practice of the building of communism presented Soviet scientists with the task of formulating a comprehensive system of socioeconomic indicators for all social management levels. Extensive studies are required for the scientific "reading" points of social changes in accordance with the basic objectives of the building of communism. The formulation of such a system of indicators would be inconceivable without a number of preceding specific sociological studies representative of the country at large. This has already been undertaken by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Second, we must interrelate the still frequently uncoordinated social and economic indicators within a single organically integrated system of socioeconomic indicators of national economic planning. This will require extensive and intensive joint efforts on the part of economists, sociologists, statisticians and other social scientists. Finally, the system of socioeconomic indicators should include indicators "operative" at all levels of economic and social planning and management (country-region-republic-oblast (krai)-city-raion, on the one hand, and country-sector-primary labor collective, on the other).

The comprehensive system of economic and social development indicators drafted by Soviet scientists working together with practical workers will be an important link in improving throughout the mechanism of planning and management and in upgrading its effectiveness.

The sociological study of ideological processes within society was formulated in close contact with the party organs. A major study on determining the mechanism governing the molding of public opinion under the conditions of an industrial city of average size was completed in the first half of the 1970s. Studies of

audiences of different mass information and propaganda media were conducted in a number of parts of the country. Their results were put to practical use. The readership of PRAVDA was studied. This enabled us to make a comparison with previous studies conducted toward the end of the 1960s. The USSR Library imeni V. I. Lenin and many other libraries in the country are actively applying sociological methods in their surveys of the tastes and requirements of their readers. Similar studies related to the growth of the cultural standard of the working people are being related ever more closely with plans for the cultural development of the population of specific territories. Sverdlovskaya, Omskaya and many other oblasts in the RSFSR have drafted long-term plans for the development of cultural institutions based on sociological studies of the needs of the working people through 1990.

With the help of sociologists the party organizations of a number of republics, krays, oblasts, big cities and urban rayons have made extensive studies of the effectiveness of various forms of ideological influence and of units within the party educational system (Moscow, Leningrad, Gor'kovskaya, Chelyabinskaya and Moscow oblasts, Stavropol'skiy Kray, and many others).

A number of party committees have created successfully operating voluntary sociological research councils staffed by scientists from different fields (sociologists, economists, psychologists and so on), party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic workers, the party aktiva and representatives of the public. A noteworthy example is that of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee. The solution of the complex problems facing the republic party organization with the familiar CC CPSU decree on the work of the Tbilisi City Party Committee, would have been impossible without mobilizing mass public opinion against deeply rooted tolerance of phenomena such as string pulling, bribery, misappropriation of public funds, and so on. Oral and printed propaganda loudly mentioned shortcomings in the socio-psychological climate of labor collectives, institutions and cities. Specific culprits were named. At the same time the study of public opinion among the various population categories was undertaken to determine the extent to which the party was influencing the minds and hearts of the people. The effectiveness of ideological work is determined by increased public production effectiveness, as a rule not directly, but through its influence on the conscientiousness of the people, their views, mentalities, and concepts and value orientations manifested in human behavior.

Today sociological studies focused directly on upgrading the standard of intra-party work play an essential role in upgrading the effectiveness of party propaganda. A number of propaganda and agitation departments of local party committees have developed the practice of systematically studying the level of satisfaction of the different student categories within the party training network regarding the forms of Marxist-Leninist studies in which they are involved and the quality of the training offered in circles, seminars, and evening Marxism-Leninism universities. This will enable us in the future to take more fully into consideration the requests of party members, to correct shortcomings in the training system, and to improve the quality of propaganda workers.

however, substantial gaps remain in this area of sociological research to this day. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" indicates the need for insuring a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation. A solution to this problem will require the concentrated efforts of all social scientists. Sociologists must make a particularly important contribution to the solution. As we know, sociological methods can and should be used in the study not merely of the objective conditions of human existence but of the reflection of such conditions in the people's minds, arising needs and interests, and changes in value orientations. The decree stipulates that, "particular attention should be paid to the profound and comprehensive study of public opinion through sociological research."

Systematic "samplings" of public opinion on the most important problems of Soviet domestic and foreign policy are needed with a view to further improving propaganda and agitation and to upgrading their influence on the molding of the new man. Here again sociologists face an important governmental assignment: the formulation of an operative and effective nationwide mass survey system which would enable us to reach a level of accuracy and representativeness of results which would turn it into a reliable instrument in party guidance and state management. Consideration of public opinion in social management is one of the most important features of the Soviet sociopolitical system. Effective measures must be taken to expand the use of mass information and propaganda media, radio and television above all, for such purposes. Serious attention should be paid to the study and dissemination of the positive experience acquired in this respect by a number of republics and oblasts as is the case, for example, with the Estonian SSR.

At the same time, more extensive use should be made of sociological methods in the comprehensive elaboration of educational problems with a view to insuring uniform ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing in accordance with the characteristics of the various groups of working people. A high degree of vigilance, opportune rebuff of enemy ideological diversions, and an increase in the effectiveness and intensification of the aggressive nature of all ideological-educational work are needed under the conditions of the pressure applied by the forces of imperialism for the purpose of undermining the process of detente through a new aggravation of international tension and the outburst of the "psychological warfare" waged against the Soviet Union and the energizing of bourgeois propaganda.

The increased role of sociological research in providing scientific support for party ideological activities is inseparable from the task faced by Soviet sociology in the international arena and in the development of studies critical of contemporary bourgeois sociology. Substantial positive changes have been noted in this area in recent years.

Monographs have been published for the first time in the country on the history of bourgeois sociology (19th-first half of the 20th century), and on the history of sociology in the USSR. Works are underway on the history of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the socialist countries and on the history of domestic sociology. Extensive work has been done on criticism of contemporary bourgeois sociology and its various schools and trends (structural functionalism, neo-evolutionism, social interactionism and the theory of social conflicts).

The test of time has proven the scientific groundlessness of contemporary bourgeois sociology. Reality has caused many Western scientists as well to realize its critical condition. This does not mean, however, that bourgeois sociology has left the stage. It continues to exist and to perform its class support functions, ideological as well as practical. Its influence must not be underestimated. The use of modern methods and empirical research technology has enabled bourgeois sociologists to study local social processes and to formulate measures both to control them and to perform an ideological role. Bourgeois sociology is most directly connected with television, the radio, the press and other instruments for the dissemination of the so-called mass culture. All bourgeois information and propaganda media are focused on "proving" that modern capitalism is no longer capitalism but an allegedly "new" society which is able to resolve social problems.

Soviet sociologists have undertaken the more profound study of the works of bourgeois sociologists, in order to analyze the social problems of contemporary capitalism comprehensively and to react to the new trends in the development of American and Western European sociological ideas more rapidly. The criticism of an ideology hostile to us has become more thorough and substantive. We may consider that the concepts of structural functionalism and bourgeois social psychology which influenced some Soviet authors have been essentially surmounted.

Soviet sociologists have paid particular attention to criticizing the various alternative sociological concepts of the "post-industrial society" whose purpose is to "substantiate" the alleged inevitability of the total or partial "convergence" of capitalism and socialism and the following of this "single" model by the developing countries. The theoretical base of such concepts expressed through so-called technological determinism has been subjected to convincing critical analysis. The purpose of "technological determinism" is to derive changes in the social structure and the political and ideological superstructure directly from the trends of technical and economic development, bypassing the main problem of the nature of social relations and the need for a radical change in the form of ownership and, therefore, in the socioeconomic system of bourgeois society.

Unquestionably, the criticism of bourgeois sociology has become more operative. Newly developed concepts ("zero growth" and "organic growth" in the reports of the Club of Rome, the left-wing radical "alternative" sociology, and others) are being interpreted critically in Soviet scientific publications, including the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA and in the publications of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences (INION).

The participation of Soviet scientists in the seventh (Varna, 1970), eighth (Toronto, 1974), and ninth (Uppsala, 1978) world sociological congresses has played a major role in acquiring greater familiarity with the state of bourgeois sociology and in the struggle against it. The results of the participation of Soviet sociologists in the proceedings of such representative assemblies were opportunely covered by the press and were given an overall positive rating. Yet, let us note the desirability of a better organized and more purposeful preparation for international congresses, the timely receipt and study of Western scientific papers, and the even more energetic use of congresses for aggressive discussions and for the dissemination and defense of Marxist-Leninist ideas. This must be taken into consideration in connection with the preparations for the forthcoming 10th International Sociological Congress (Mexico City, 1982).

In their international activities Soviet sociologists are cooperating closely with sociologists of the fraternal socialist countries. The past period has been marked by a substantial improvement in coordinating the work of social scientists from the socialist community. Joint works by Soviet and Polish sociologists have been published simultaneously in the USSR and Poland. Bilateral relations are expanding and multilateral cooperation is being organized. A commission on "Evolution of the Social Structure of the Socialist Society. Social Planning and Forecasting" has been operational since 1974. It includes sociologists from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Central theoretical problems are discussed at commission meetings. Joint studies have been undertaken by a number of fraternal countries on the working class and youth problems. The writing of a collective monograph on "History of Marxist-leninist Sociology in the European Socialist Countries Following World War II" is a major undertaking. Unfortunately, work on this book is dragging.

To this day major shortcomings exist in the areas of criticism of bourgeois sociology and the development of international cooperation. A certain lag remains in the study and the critical analysis of new phenomena in bourgeois and reformist sociology, particularly in exposing their connections with politics. In the leading western countries foreign political forecasting is based on the various concepts of the so-called sociology of international relations used by the opponents of detente. The criticism of these and other bourgeois sociological concepts must be more closely linked with the tasks of the political and ideological struggle waged by the CPSU in the international arena. The insufficient participation of Soviet sociologists in the struggle against Maoist ideology, hostile to Marxism-Leninism, remains clearly inadequate. Little has been accomplished in the study of sociological thinking in the developing countries.

The solution of such major problems requires greater unification of the efforts of Soviet sociologists and scientists in other fields and the interaction between the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research and specialized academic institutions such as the Far East, United States and Canada, Latin America, Africa and other institutes, with the cooperation between sociologists and scientists working in the field of historical materialism and the theory of scientific communism, with members of the other social, natural and technical sciences, and the mass development of sociological studies of different types and scales.

The party demands that Soviet sociology considerably expand the range of scientific studies in order to upgrade the effectiveness of all units within the social organism and contribute to the fuller realization of the tremendous possibilities and advantages contained within the socialist system. The study of human activities, in the entire range of their manifestations and in connection with the specific conditions of their social way of life, is the most important task of Marxist-leninist sociology in the USSR.

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[illegible] MANIFESTATIONS IN U.S. POLITICAL LIFE

[illegible] Communist in Russian No 13, Sep 80 pp 93-104

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[illegible] imperialism means more reactionary attitude of the bourgeoisie in all directions. The [illegible] of the world into two systems and the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, as predicted by V. I. Lenin, made capitalism even more willing to [illegible] the salvation from sharp historical turns of the authority of the ruling class. It cautioned the communists against the [illegible] of the ruling circles of the bourgeoisie as a passing phenomenon, advising them to be always ready for [illegible] shift in the ways and forms of its class rule, from [illegible] to counterreforms, reaction and increased political [illegible]. History and contemporary political experience confirm the correctness of Lenin's [illegible]. A historical example in this respect is provided by the United States where every new aggravation of capitalist contradictions, [illegible] World War II, has triggered long periods of persecution of progressive forces and [illegible] of public hysteria, skillfully excited and directed behind the scenes for the benefit of the rulers.

[illegible] suppression of dissident thinking [illegible] developed in the United States at the beginning of the [illegible] particularly, after October 1917 the U.S. [illegible] a powerful [illegible] institution capable of exerting [illegible] on the [illegible] life. It was assigned the task of sniffing out [illegible] political [illegible] and of the [illegible] of the toiling masses, to prevent [illegible] with true American efficiency, political investigations [illegible] in the United States on a broad basis. The Federal Bureau of Investigation [illegible] these functions. This widespread, mobile and technically well-equipped apparatus [illegible] the ruling class to insure the pursuit of the type of domestic and foreign political course which, as Lenin wrote with indignation, equated American bourgeois democracy with semi-militarized despotic regimes (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 17, p 154). A number of left-wing and democratic organizations were ousted and eliminated with its direct participation. The recently created communist party was chased underground and outstanding leaders of the American workers movement such as E. Debs, Ch. Ruthenberg, E. Flynn, E. Gurley, J. Reed and others were sent to jail.

[illegible] took place in the entire political axis in the country during the [illegible] as a result of which the repressive organs, the FBI above all, were [illegible] in the ascendency. Thomas Mann--the outstanding German anti-fascist writer who had experienced the horrors of the enslavement of Germany by Nazism and had emigrated to the United States, noted as early as 1946 with concern the growth of the familiar symptoms of the poisoning of American society with the malignant pride of national superiority and the "great divine stupidity" of the slogan that this was the "American century," and suspicion and hatred of dissi[illegible] (Thomas Mann, "Pisma" [Letters], Nauka, Moscow, 1975, p 241). His [illegible] were watching to the Americans. "The initial symptoms of [illegible] ... [illegible] Spying, ... critical inquisition, and a budding violation of [illegible] ... [illegible] with an already existing emergency (compulsory situation, necessity) [illegible] can be felt. As a German I can only say that that is how it began in our country as well" (Ibid, p 233).

[illegible] was not misled by the false bravado of the [illegible] ... The verbal vulgarities of the various anti-Soviet and [illegible] ... familiar from the Germans of the 1930s, were unable to [illegible] the intensifying tyranny of the "socially organized apparatus" whose purpose was [illegible] will and way of thinking of the Americans. The class [illegible] was not clear to the writer. However, he was already [illegible] the entire arrogance of idiotically behaving politicians and saw [illegible] the symptoms of a steadily intensifying police despotism in the social life of the country.

Also, [illegible] Mann's remarkable perspicacity was in contrast to the error of the [illegible] ... of the public who believed in the benign, somewhat "self-confined" nature of the disease. It clearly lacked a live feeling for reality, i.e., the writer's perspective the atmosphere of McCarthyism as a reality [illegible] rather than a brief nightmare, a kind of utopia [illegible]. This led to the usual tricks of bourgeois-liberal thinking: [illegible] explain the reactionary paroxisms in terms of someone's [illegible] ... or, finally, the "subversive work" of [illegible] ... the innumerable political trials of the leaders [illegible] ... progressive personalities, the U.S. repressive [illegible] its entire shameful impudence and moral [illegible] ... its secret power reached so far as to make any [illegible] ... literally impossible. On the basis of false accusations [illegible] ... the Bill of Rights, virtually the entire leadership [illegible] ... its middle-level activists were sentenced to [illegible] ... beaten, and threatened with the risk of becoming [illegible] ... of murder attempts.

"The [illegible] ... bourgeois system," K. Marx said, "appear in the [illegible] ... and its oppressed rise against the rulers. At [illegible] ... legalization and justice become totally naked barbarism [illegible] ... But new crisis in the class struggle between those [illegible] ... who appropriate it proves this fact with ever greater clarity" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 17, p [illegible]). Indeed, the [illegible] ... internal and external contradictions within

American capitalism and the upsurge of mass popular movements within the United States in the stormy critical decade of the 1960s, totally exposed the true nature of the activities and purposes of the repressive-police apparatus which had become exceptionally inflated after the war. The police-provocatory stir in the United States at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, the programs and the political assassinations exposed the main function of the U.S. special services, ranging from the FBI to Army intelligence, which was to "keep in check" the workers and general democratic movements and the social activities of national minorities and of the Indians, the country's native population, and to prevent their unification by all possible means (ranging to extremes) and prevent them from receiving any support through organizing and developing an effective armed strategy and tactic in the struggle against capital, racial discrimination and oppression. The dangerously worsened crisis in the credibility of governmental institutions, the decline of U.S. international prestige and the aspiration to destabilize the "free world" by all possible means forced the country's ruling circles to mount a real psychological attack against public opinion under the banner of the protection of human rights."

As we know, in the heat of the post-Watergate "reformation," yielding to public pressure, in April 1976 the Senate committee issued its sensational "final report" on the activities of the U.S. special services. The purpose of the central part of the document was to calm down the public and to lull it with the false idea that a just retribution was unavoidable. At the same time, however (whether the senators wished it or not), the senators' report provided a sufficiently complete picture of a phenomenon in contemporary America: the existence of a huge repressive apparatus trapped in a maniacal fear of the danger from the left and excessive lust for power, always ready in crisis to violate any treaties (not only international). What in America, in the mid-1970s, could be amazing at the persecution of dissidents, or repression of and provocations against progressive forces? Nevertheless, even the conservative bourgeois press was so stunned by the [illegible] revelations covering such a high percentage of the country's adult [illegible] that it no longer considered the term "total" an exaggeration. It is significant that, commenting on the senate's document, the journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT drew attention precisely to this side of the matter. "...The campaign of electronic interception and eavesdropping, mail opening, threatening, surveillance and the wrecking of civic reputation," the journal wrote, "affected hundreds of thousands of Americans covering the entire political spectrum...."

[illegible] the McCarthy period, allegedly in the interest of "public safety," the U.S. law had included a number of stipulations each of which could be used as a police trap. Starting with the mid-1950s, however, yielding to internal pressure and the protests of world public opinion had forced McCarthyism to retreat somewhat. This restricted the open surveillance of dissidents. A certain amount of reorganization was demanded of the U.S. political police. It was thus that in 1956 the counterintelligence program "Cointelpro" appeared. It was invented by FBI inspirators, subsequently described by Senator Church's committee as a phenomenon "unquestionably unworthy of a free society" ("Polozheniye v Oblasti Prav Cheloveka v SShA" [The Human Rights Situation in the United States], Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, p. [illegible].

while the bourgeois press was writing in a pretentious style about the end of the age of "hysteria and cloak-and-dagger operations," the FBI focused its efforts on the secret subversion and elimination of political parties and groups opposing the two-party system. The first target was to bring down the Communist Party. A secret FBI directive read that this should be achieved by "blackening its reputation and that of its leaders in the eyes of the American public, promoting disruption... and creating feelings of disillusionment among the rank and file membership" (U.S. Congress. Senate. Hearings before the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities," Vol 6, Washington, D.C., 1976, p 1). In official FBI language all this was known as "[illegible]." As W. Saxby, a Nixon's attorney general, acknowledged, a large number of operations were carried out by the FBI against the Communist Party in accordance with this program, based, to use its own terminology, on "[illegible] "disruption," similar only to "typical military intelligence" (S. Rept. "FBI, [illegible]," 1976, pp 33, 566). No tool remained unused - even [illegible] whose purpose was to wreck the families of Communist Party members by the organization of acts of terrorism by "specialists" hired from the ranks of the Mafia. "We are within an insignificant percentage of the 1,388 operations conducted against the U.S. Communist Party and its members," states a special publication of the U.S. Communist Party, "were exposed" ("Polozheniye v Kommunisticheskoy Partii SShA," p 64).

Very rapidly "Cointelpro" began to assume the characteristics of an overall program. [illegible], in a secret memorandum addressed to senior FBI personnel, FBI director E. Hoover announced that "Cointelpro" was to be extended to all other [illegible] the Communist Party left-wing groups and opposition movements which, as he declared, "in the past few years have openly propagandized their line on the racial issue [illegible] by nominating candidates for elective positions and supporting [illegible] campaigns in support of Fidel Castro's Cuba or of integration problems [illegible]" ("Hearings Before the Select Committee....," p 172). Let us remember that at that time a number of noted liberal personalities were in favor of [illegible] American-Cuban relations, while U.S. President J. Kennedy supported integration in the South and the granting of basic human rights to Black Americans.

The [illegible] of the FBI's political security actions was conducted in close connection with the [illegible] ever greater real power in the hands of the repressive government apparatus. This was helped by the bourgeois feeling of insecurity in what Marx [illegible] the [illegible] conditions of its own class rule (see K. Marx and F. Engels, [illegible]). A. Schlesinger, Jr., former adviser to President Kennedy, wrote [illegible] Hoover. According to Richard Cotter, who was the head of the FBI [illegible] Bureau center for 26 years, 'Cointelpro' revealed to everyone the [illegible] independent behavior of the FBI in the area of domestic [illegible]" (A. M. [illegible], Jr., "Robert Kennedy and H[illegible] Times," London, 1978, p [illegible]). The [illegible] of illegal actions--the opportunity to establish its own [illegible] provided the FBI with a powerful instrument for political pressure [illegible] and, in the best of cases, any kind of administrative [illegible] of formality. "...The occupants of the White House," the American [illegible] Donald Crosby, "showed no interest in being better informed on FBI [illegible] affairs and secret operations" (THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, [illegible], p 71). "Using its newly gained status, the privileged

[illegible] of intelligence [illegible] automatically doubled its influence on the most important political decision-making process.

In the period of aggression in Vietnam and the aggravation of racial conflicts, as domestic torment intensified, the repressive-police mechanism was raised to full capacity. Characteristically, in its attitude toward the movement of the democratic opposition the leadership of the special services made no distinction among its individual currents. All of them were labeled as "subversive," "extremist" or "red." In the mid-1960s, even while the youth vanguard movement was still forming its final positions on basic problems of social life, the FBI had already pronounced its unappealable sentence against it: "Noted for conspiracy and other activities hostile to the United States in the interest of national communism." The FBI classified participation in the antiwar movement and help in the struggle for civil rights and statements in support of detente as politically suspect as letters of anti-American activities. The "philosophy" of persecution was expressed with extreme clarity in a secret memorandum issued by FBI headquarters, dated 4 May 1968, and addressed to all local FBI bureaus, describing in detail the reasons, objectives and means for planning an extensive punitive action against the youth movement and its "key activists." The purpose of this directive was the destruction of the young American generation, its will to fight and its confidence in its own forces, ideological solidarity and [illegible] of change and a feeling for truth and civic duty.

The next step was the practical continuation of all previous developments. In June 1970 the so-called Interdepartmental Intelligence Committee, chaired by T. Huston, drafted a special report for President R. Nixon (see A. Theoharis, "Spying on Americans: Political Surveillance From Hoover to the Huston Plan," Philadelphia, 1978) which could obviously be considered a secret directive issued by the executive power from top to bottom since, in addition to a general declarative part, the report contained detailed instructions on how to trigger political crisis situations, confusion, disorder, and breakdown in the democratic opposition. These instructions were approved by the White House in a separate memorandum. They called for the use of an entire arsenal of absolutely illegal methods for activating the secret forces which the United States government and the ruling circles classified as being in the opposition and as "subversive." This included the interception of mail, the tapping of telephone conversations, and illegal entry in public or private premises with a view to stealing various types of "compromising" materials, documents and other "proofs" to be used as instruments of blackmail, threats and loss of credit. The task was to block [illegible], with the general democratic and antimilitaristic movement could take and to render it powerless. That is how the "Huston plan" was born which paved the direct road to Watergate. The broader significance of the campaign launched in 1970-71 by the Nixon administration against "political enemies" was not merely to promote a spontaneous aggravation of interparty squabbles among the leadership but, mainly, to use the power and strength of the repressive apparatus and to isolate and defeat the democratic forces and prevent them from growing and consolidating their position in U.S. social life on an entirely autonomous basis. A most grave ideological-political conflict and deep social contradictions remained concealed behind the misleading appearances of the Watergate scandal.

One of the darkest and, as we add, tragic pages of the "Cointelpro" chronicle was the waging of a secret war against the black liberation movement, a war without respite or mercy. It was marked by several alternating phases. The explanation for this fact is that the black movement itself had included several stages in the course of its development, each of them characterized by its specific ways and means of struggle and different numbers of participants. Essentially, from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, the movement used the tactic of nonviolent action manifested in marches, sit-ins, "freedom raids" and various kinds of peaceful demonstrations. The overall result of such mass actions, however, was not commensurate with the hopes invested therein. Aware of the strength of its positions and the support of the judicial-police machinery, racism tried to repulse and terrorize the movement through cruelty and individual actions of terrorism. However, the militant mood of the masses rose tempestuously instead of declining. In turn, this gave birth to various radical black organizations and a certain left-wing current in traditionally moderate currents. Numerous uprisings broke out in the black ghettos. The slogan of self-defense against racist atrocities and oppression [illegible]. The activity of the "Southern Christian Leadership Conference" organization, popular among the masses, headed by Martin Luther King, the outstanding leader of the Afro-American liberation movement, rose. The movement as a whole steadily grew, creating possibilities for the organization of a wide black popular front with an anticapitalist orientation (see POLITICAL AFFAIRS, April 1968, p. 14). That is when the reaction resorted to planned terrorism.

Beginning with the end of the 1950's the FBI surrounded King and his supporters with the type of "attention" which it had paid only to the communist party. The label of "foreign agents" was surreptitiously put on the civil rights movement he headed. In a May 1965 Atlanta speech, M. L. King's widow, Coretta King, stated that the FBI considered the movement like an invasion of U.S. territory by enemy troops. A special report submitted by the U.S. Department of Justice to Congress in January 1972 cited W. Sullivan, head of the "Cointelpro" program, who stated that "there were no holds barred in the war against King."

The FBI headquarters considered the promotion of divisions and squabbles in the leadership's movement, to be followed by King's replacement or voluntary withdrawal, ideal. The suicide plan was tried by sending King and his wife, on the eve of the ceremony awarding the black leader the Nobel Peace Prize, in November 1964, an anonymous letter filled with threats and filthy fabrications. Its purpose was to make King lose his self-control and encourage him to take the fatal step. In the beginning of 1967, when King decided to shift the center of gravity of his criticism of the "American way of life" to the foundations of social and racial inequality in the United States and proclaimed the beginning of preparations for a huge nationwide march of the poor on Washington, the FBI leadership drew up a plan for "bringing down from their pedestal" King and his supporters. J. Hoover's secret 4 March 1968 memorandum to FBI offices on the eve of the march left room for only a single interpretation: if necessary, resort to the physical elimination of the leaders considered particularly dangerous from the FBI viewpoint. The circumstances are well-known. On 3 April 1968 King delivered a strong anti-war speech. On 4 April he was assassinated in Memphis where he had gone in connection with the strike of the municipal workers. Was this a fatal coincidence?

This would be hard to believe, bearing in mind the circumstances of the assassination, the personalities of the murderers and the more than doubtful methods used to investigate the crime. "We are being killed quite easily," bitterly wrote George Jackson, one of the "Soledad brothers," speaking of King's death. Jackson himself was killed three years later in the San Quentin jail. The easiness with which the victims were chosen and the impunity of the executioners are proofs exposing the FBI and the local vigilantes. Blasted Negro churches and schools, children killed, thousands of young black Americans who risked making a protest lynched or thrown in jail--America has lost track of the number of such crimes. We know today where their trails lead: to the offices of the local guardians of "public order" and the FBI branch offices (see DAILY WORLD, May 16, 1980). In August 1978, at the request of the American Civil Liberties Union, the FBI was forced to make public a number of secret documents which showed that at the time of the upsurge of the movement against racism, it was not only sheltering the Ku Klux Klan pogrom-makers in the South of the United States but was directly coordinating their attacks on the participants in the famous "freedom marches."

The fate of the "Black Panther Party" is a separate chapter in the sinister chronicles of "Cointelpro." The hunting of the party began the moment an independent current developed within the black liberation movement whose purpose was to struggle against the oppression of black Americans, bordering on genocide, stating that it rejected the tactic of nonviolence and was converting to armed self-defense. FBI documents, made public in 1975-1977, reveal the entire extent of the cruelty of the guiding punitive principles applied by the political police against the black radical movement. Hoover's instruction on extending "Cointelpro" to the left radical movement of black Americans was issued to all FBI offices on 25 August 1967. According to the instructions, FBI agents were urged to act "with enthusiasm" and "inventiveness," i.e., to spare no effort, never shying away from the choice of means. The overall purpose of the operation was defined as follows: "to expose and obstruct normal activities, promote confusion among the leadership, implant mistrust or use any other means with which to neutralize the activities of black nationalists...." The attempts of the various political groups of the left wing of the black movement "to consolidate their forces or recruit new supporters among the youth must be defeated," the memorandum stated. Fanning "organizational conflicts in the group leaderships" was considered the best means to achieve this objective ("Hearings Before the Select Committee....," pp 383-384). Operating together with the local press, the FBI hoped thus to create the impression that it was fighting not political parties but warring clans of armed gangsters who had made a nightmare of the tranquil life of cities and university campuses. In a 25 November 1968 secret memorandum to the "Cointelpro" leadership, the method of "divide and rule" was raised to the level of a universal principle. It included the instruction to cultivate all weaknesses of the black radical movement and fan the flames of internal quarrels which would thus burn the entire movement to the ground.

"The repressive movement against the Panthers," writes A. Davis, "reflected the racist policy of the U.S. government toward the black population. The criminal logic of this policy represented nothing other than genocide.... Such was precisely the plan of the government which had decided to deal once and for all with the Black Panther Party organizations throughout the country. Edgar " ed

that the Panthers were "the greatest threat to the country's internal security. The police of most big cities turned against the local party branches" (A. Davis, "Avtobiografiya" [Autobiography], Progress, Moscow, 1978, pp 251, 260-261). The Black Panther Party lacked enough strength to counter this avalanche of blows. Even though the crisis and decline of that party cannot be explained exclusively as the result of the repression and terrorism which befell it, it should be acknowledged, nevertheless, that they tremendously contributed to its isolation and decline. In 1976-1977, when the democratic public succeeded in forcing the publication of some Cointelpro heavily censored documents, it became clear that the FBI took full credit for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a national organization.

Incensed at the local vigilantes to give free rein to their thirst for destruction, deliberately encouraged by FBI letters, acquired flesh and blood in the uniquely cynical acquittal verdict of the defendants in the case of the murder by the police of the black students in Jackson, Mississippi (1970). It read as follows: "...Anyone who becomes a participant in civil disorders and mutinies must bear in mind that he could be maimed or killed by the forces of public order in the performance of their duties" (W. Manchester, "The Glory and the Dream. A Narrative History of America, 1932-1972." New York, 1975, p 1012). It is not surprising that no single black action against racial discrimination has taken or is taking place without bloodshed, assault and battery, or cruelty.

Has anything changed after the scandalous exposures of the beginning of the 1970s, after Watergate? The facts prove that in the course of the demagogic campaign in defense of "human rights," mounted by the Carter administration in 1977, initially the repressive machinery was forced to don the clothing of ostentatious piety. What followed was bound to follow: the rehabilitation of the already traditional behavior of the political police toward the left wing and the democratic opposition. Initially it was followed by "guidelines" issued by the Department of Justice on the admissible limits for shadowing the activities of public organizations and individual citizens. The next step was a public relations campaign launched by the new FBI and CIA leaderships expatiating the fact that the "superior interests" of the nation substantiated the "natural right" of the intelligence community to remain outside and above the law. The country was clearly led to understand that the changes would be restricted to a cosmetic reform while the most important thing would be the creation of a rubber-stamp leadership whose makers and interpreters would the same old FBI and CIA.

In this case we could cite H. Heine who said that "there is nothing new in this world, it has always been so." Senator Church's committee was still hearing witnesses on violations of the law and misuses committed by the FBI, the CIA and other special services, while the Senate Committee on Juridical Affairs was already drafting new antidemocratic legislation whose adoption would lead to the legalizing of "dirty tricks" and electronic surveillance, i.e., would inevitably trigger another dangerous increase in the power of the police-repressive machinery. While speaking of "elective and responsible government," the Carter administration stifled this initiative. The democratic public reacted differently. "The shameful legacy of Edgar Hoover remains alive," Coretta King said (DAILY WORLD, May 31, 1978). The periodical THE NATION wrote: "President Carter gained some publicity by criticizing violations of human rights in other countries. At home,

in America, however, is moving toward strengthening the control of the federal government over the private lives of the Americans." Today even those who were misled by the post-Watergate euphoria and the "Carter phenomenon" are bitterly admitting the futility of the hope to see the political process in America cleansed of political espionage and political repressions. The understanding of the government and congressional "courtesy" in the area of civil rights indicates a break in the general line. It remains the same even though changed and adapted to the changes in the social climate and the "new configuration" of the international policy of American imperialism.

[illegible] acknowledged that the results of the noisy "working over" of the [illegible] committees proved to be a passing phenomenon. Senator Church [illegible] acknowledge the hopelessness of attempts to make changes from above. [illegible] was lost through procrastination," he complained. "The effect of the [illegible] on the special services was felt. This could have been predicted [illegible] saying that 'The more things change the more they [illegible] (U.S. News & World Report, September 19'8, p 169).

[illegible] segment of the over 26 million pages of "information" on the activities of Communists and their sympathizers, kept in the special files of the FBI's headquarters in Washington, also speaks for itself (see POLITICAL AFFAIRS, December 1974, p 1). In the summer of 1977 THE NEW YORK TIMES reported: [illegible] "Since 1968, i.e., from the time that wiretapping was legalized, and through [illegible] federal government and the states installed 5,495 taps and listened to [illegible] conversations between 28[illegible],429 people.... More accurate estimates force us to assume that every year hundreds of thousands of Americans are the victims of wiretapping considered in the interest of national security."

[illegible] was in the end put to a peculiar competition between the FBI and professional [illegible] in a field which is known in the vocabulary of the special services as [illegible] bugging" or what crime experts describe as robbers with breaking and entering. In the autumn of 1977, on the basis of new materials released with the [illegible] the Associated Press reported that from 19[illegible] through 1966 the FBI had paid over $1.4 million to hundreds of agents supplying the bureau with [illegible] Communists and members of local branches of progressive organizations, private correspondence, official documents, financial reports, and so on. We must add to this that the 1978 FBI budget had allocated $7 million for political spying, whereas less than one-half that amount had been allocated for fighting crime.

The FBI was able to overcome the difficulties created by the passing of the [illegible] legislation [illegible] hitting some of the "duties," [illegible] political espionage and subversive activities against progressive forces to special [illegible] subunits and private detective agencies which, as a rule, work for the FBI operations. The creation and inclusion in the surveillance system of a "supergovernmental" store of intelligence data resolved the problem of centralizing [illegible] machine processing of data on Communist Party activists, workers and black [illegible], and various dissident groups. The data given the American public [illegible] autumn of 1978 indicated the extent to which the FBI had used these new [illegible] possibilities since 1975 with a view to standardizing its system of political investigations [illegible] improve methods of checking on the activities of left-wing political parties, trade unions and other public organizations.

A great deal of criticism has been voiced by liberal U.S. citizens regarding the [illegible] of the promise made to the people to restore in America faith in representative democracy and order and justice at the highest power levels. However, no mighty [illegible] could correct the situation. Despite all its efforts to rise above social conflicts, liberalism has never been able to abandon its narrow class positions in legal class matters and in assessing the security function of the bourgeois state. Such a sounding statement is not the equivalent of real interest in defending civil freedoms and equal rights for all regardless of social status, material or religious and political persuasions. The shameful efforts [illegible], in the excesses of political repression and the usurping of excessive power by the [illegible] police apparatus in the country in terms of the ill will of a [illegible] by some functionaries or loopholes in political-legal theory are, in the best [illegible], the result of a narrow outlook, naive faith in bourgeois legality, and lack [illegible] understanding of its historical limits. It is being said that despite [illegible] committed by individual officials the "standards of western civilization" [illegible] permanent significance. As a result of self-delusion or, most frequently, deliberate concealment, such statements ignore the changes to which these [illegible] have been subjected by virtue of the dehumanizing of bourgeois [illegible] in the age of state-monopoly capitalism.

Naturally, bourgeois liberalism may feign failure to have noticed such qualitative changes in their relations. However, the headlong increase in the size of the [illegible] sector in all [illegible] social practices and elsewhere indicates the extent to which the principles of parliamentary democracy have been eroded in the capitalist countries and how far the process of breakdown of the ideological-political and [illegible] of legitimation of parliamentary democracy has gone. Purely external manifestations of improper behavior shown by the protectors of power alienated from society, loyal to the traditions of the ethics of the gun and indifferent to the [illegible] of right and humaneness, could mislead only very naive people. It would be pertinent to recall in this connection the thought of Thomas Paine, the noted ideologue of the American revolution according to which any temporary softening of the practice of political despotism does not mean the abandonment of its principles, that it must depend on the dignity of the people in power at a given moment which, in the latter's hands on the valor and courage of the nation and, in the final [illegible], of the existing type of system (see Thomas Paine, "Izbrannyye Sochineniya" [illegible], Moscow, 1956, p 385). The experience of the critical decade of [illegible] taught the Americans a great deal. On this day, however, no one in the United States can guarantee that the worst days of McCarthyism or the horrors [illegible] of those which shook up America in the 1960s would [illegible]. In the final account, everything depends on the ratio among class and political forces in the country and the extent of the people's opposition to the reactionaries.

[illegible] to the United States in the sense of the development [illegible] of bourgeois legality? Obviously, we witnessed the [illegible] controlling the political powers on the part of the [illegible] or, better said, gestures in favor of political [illegible] the [illegible] of a number of measures for going through [illegible] battles waged in the 1960s. While noted administration [illegible] were expounding on the subject of "freedom and justice," there was a

strengthened the right, toward a stricter repressive policy, under the sounds of such loudades and with their entire secret agreement. The extreme right organizations were energized everywhere: the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazis, and the Legionists. The local police forces were given greater freedom. America's jails were overcrowded with political prisoners depicted as criminals. This was pointed out quite recently by A. Young, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Geronge Merritt, the Wilmington Ten, headed by Ben Chavez [Chavez], and many other activists of equality movements spent many years in jail sentenced on fabricated political charges. Recent events in the United States, the May 1980 Miami slaughter, and the racial disturbances that summer in Wrightsville, Wichita, Chattanooga and Chicago as well as the New York black ghetto proved, yet once again, that the tactical retreats and temporary concessions made by the U.S. ruling class do not weaken the influence of its policy by the repressive-police apparatus, the militaristic circles and the right-wing extremist currents of all hues. The same hand which, after a number of failed attempts, deprived M. L.King of his life, shot Vernon Dahmer, the popular leader, in the back.

In its declaration on the disturbances in Miami's black ghetto the U.S. Communist Party comprehensively assessed these events, considering them within the context of the overall processes occurring today in U.S. domestic political life. The declaration states that the racist offensive is being mounted currently "at all levels of state administration and by the huge corporations.... It is precisely the racist actions of the police that trigger explosive disturbances in the majority of cases. Police cruelty is not simply acts of sadism on the part of a racist policeman. It is a planned policy implemented at all governmental levels from top to bottom. That is why police brutality toward black Americans and working people in general is the routine practice of urban police throughout our country" (DAILY WORLD, June 12, 1980).

The motivology of the victims of judicial-police terrorism is continuing to expand steadily. Today it numbers many hundreds of people killed individually, shot to death as a result of mass shoot-outs in the streets or places of detention (as was the case at Kent University in 1970 in the course of the dispersal of an anti-war demonstration or at the Attica Federal Penitentiary, New York State), [illegible] or simply vanished from the face of the earth ("under undetermined circumstances" following contacts with FBI agents or special local police teams. They include black activists, Indian movement leaders, antiwar groups, or trade union leaders. The bourgeois press either conceals such facts or ascribes them to a "universal spread of violence," or the unrestrained activities of fanatical conspirators, whereas the real organizer of the "troubles" is the capitalist system which creates and supports social antagonisms and racism, and sanctions terror and police attacks committed against fighters for equal rights or simply bothersome people. It is precisely the source of the threats to the nation, and no imagined, a real threat, unlike the one promoted in the minds of simple Americans with the help of reactionary [illegible] means of ideological influence, through the promotion of anti-Sovietism and mistrust of the peacefulness of the members of the socialist comity.

Many still remember the following event: In 1838, in a speech on the occasion of the assassination of Lovejoy, supporter of the abolishment of slavery, by a racist crowd, A. Lincoln, the future president of the United States, said: "We, American citizens, live by the laws of the country whose political institutions are far more consistent with the concepts of civil and religious freedom than

anything found in recorded human history. We consider ourselves the legitimate heirs to these most basic rights.... How should we handle them? Where does the danger come from? How should we be ready to repel it? Should we fear falling victim to the blows of some transatlantic military giant who, for the sake of striking at us, would cross the ocean? This is out of the question!... From what direction should we expect the danger? My answer to this will be that should such a danger ever arise, it will appear among ourselves. It cannot come from abroad. Should does threaten us it will originate within ourselves. We shall either exist forever as a nation of free people, or die by committing suicide. I will not be exaggerating. Alas, we are faced with evil omens. By this I mean the ever-stronger disrespect for the law spreading throughout the country, and the ever-stronger tendency to substitute wild and unrestrained passions for sober judgment...." ("The Essential Lincoln. Selected Writings." Edited by G. E. Stearn and A. Feld. New York. 1962, pp 92-93. [Author's paraphrase of excerpts of Lincoln's 27 January 1838 speech.]

We must render the homage due to the feeling for the future and the gift of foresight shown by the great citizen of America who already then realized what would await the country should the cult of force, cruelty, or militant adventurism be definitively raised to the level of national policy. Lincoln himself fell victim to the terror, struck down by the bullet of an assassin sent by supporters of slave ownership. Alas, apparently, the lessons of history have been poorly learned by those at the helm of power in the United States. "Nowhere has the threat facing democratic institutions disappeared. The FBI, the CIA and their colleagues in political robbery are going on with their work. The intensivication of the crisis in the capitalist society is triggering new political Watergates..." (DAILY WORLD, 20 June 1979). Taking this into consideration, the progressive forces in America, the communists, are calling upon the American people even more adamantly today to maintain their vigilance against the danger of a further shift to the right in the policy of the country's ruling circles.

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CIA: A TOOL IN THE EXPORT OF COUNTERREVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 80 pp 105-114

Article by Yu. Shvedkov

[Text] The waves of the unsurmountable stream of revolutionary changes are rising ever higher in various parts of the world. The international prestige of the Soviet Union and of the other members of the socialist comity, confidently building a new society, is growing steadfastly. Such processes cannot fail to trigger the desperate resistance of imperialist reaction and all its assistants. It is for the sake of this resistance that they are continuing to consolidate their forces while mobilizing all available means, including military, to restrain the revolutionary forces and recapture the order they have lost.

Addressing the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, V. I. Lenin emphasized that Russian and foreign capitalists strangled us and plagued us with invasions, "organized internal conspiracies and stopped at no crime for the sake of wrecking our peaceful work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 44, p 328). Lenin cautioned that as long as the historical age of transition from capitalism to the new system "has not ended, the exploiters will inevitably preserve their hope for a restoration and this hope will turn into an attempt at restoration" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 37, p 264).

The anti-imperialist solidarity among world socialism and the international workers and national-liberation movements has immeasurably strengthened since then. After many object lessons, and considering the present ratio of forces in the world, the leaders of imperialism and international reaction rarely tend to resort to the organization of open interventions. For this reason they are making ever more extensive use of most refined and treacherous means to prevent the victory of revolutions and to try to export counterrevolutions to some countries. "The experience of the revolutionary movement of recent years," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, said in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress, "clearly proved that should a real threat arise to the domination of monopoly capital and its political puppets, imperialism would do everything possible and discard even the appearance of any kind of democracy. It is ready to violate the sovereignty of any country or any law, not to speak of humanity. Slander, stupefication of the public, economic blockade, sabotage, organization of hunger and dislocation, bribery and threats, terrorism, organization of

assassinations of political leaders, and fascist-style pogroms are the arsenal of the contemporary counterrevolution which is always allied with international imperialist reaction."

Secret subversive operations organized by the special services of the imperialist countries are among the principal means in attempts to export counterrevolutions. This mainly applies to the so-called "intelligence community" of the United States--a complex of government agencies engaged in espionage and subversive actions, headed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

I

While pursuing a more "intransigent" foreign political course, the leaders of the present American administration do not conceal their intention to continue to energize the activities of their intelligence-subversive services. Urging is heard in the United States Congress and the press to "unshackle" the CIA and to review some legislative stipulations which allegedly "tie" the hands of that institution in its operations abroad. At the same time, the press reports that Washington has increased its diversionary actions against many countries throughout the world, including those which maintain alliances and friendly relations with the United States but whose governments are not entirely trusted by the United States.

In the period of detente in the 1970s created by the changed ratio of global forces and the initiative-minded peaceful foreign policy of the socialist community, Washington was forced to conceal more thoroughly its subversive activities in the world arena and to change some of their directions. Many such actions had been criticized in the American press and Congress. Nevertheless, their overall scope was not substantially limited. Here is the noteworthy admission made on this subject by H. Kissinger, one of the inspirers of a number of adventures of American intelligence, in his otherwise rather tendentious memoirs "The White House Years." "Paradoxically," he notes, "American interference in the domestic affairs of other countries increased extensively ever since secret CIA operations became the target of attacks.... The new doctrine justifies unrestricted intervention with a view to securing internal changes in countries which may be our friends or adversaries: It is aimed against countries which are no threat to our security...."

The American intelligence services developed the practice of extensive use of secret subversive operations in other countries in peacetime starting with the very beginning of the cold war. At that time as well this practice reflected the hegemonistic aspirations of American imperialism and its claim to carrying a "police mission" the world over. The Western European countries, Italy and France above all, where democratic and antifascist forces had become strengthened in World War II and, after it, where real prerequisites for progressive socioeconomic changes were developing, were the initial targets of such operations.

Since that time the active interference of American special services in the foreign political life of Western European countries has become a permanent

factor affecting the situation in that part of the world. Thus, according to information given to the Committee on Intelligence Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives, in the first 20 postwar years the American special services spent many dozens of millions of dollars merely to influence the results of parliamentary elections in Italy. Repeated claims by U.S. officials as to Washington's unwillingness to allow communist participation in the government of one or another Western European country prove that to this day Washington is ready to take all proper measures to prevent progressive political changes.

However, as early as the final stage of World War II and in the immediate aftermath subversive activities against the Soviet Union and the countries which had taken the path of building a socialist society became the primary concern of the American special services. A great variety of such actions were pursued. In the first postwar years attempts were made to use the remainder of Hitler's agents in the USSR and other Eastern European countries. According to former CIA official (H. Rositsky), writing in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, in that period American intelligence tried to send its agents to the Soviet Union "by air, by land and by sea from any point outside it, ranging from Scandinavia to Japan." Such adventures cost the CIA the loss of many of its agents. Invariably, the CIA directed the counterrevolutionary actions which occurred in the GDR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

In the period of detente the main emphasis was focused on the use of legal and semilegal channels of activity by American agents: academic and cultural relations, trips by businessmen and tourists, and operations of diplomatic missions and journalists. When the Carter administration came to power and mounted the "human rights" campaign the special services assumed the main role of extracting, disseminating and publishing in the West so-called "dissident" materials which defamed socialist reality. Great efforts were also made to discredit the foreign policy of the socialist countries and their representatives. As Ph. Agee, for example, notes in his book, "Inside the Company. CIA Diary," "The making of false accusations against Soviet members of diplomatic or trade missions leading to their expulsion from the respective country" is at the head of the list of priorities of American intelligence and its resident agents in different countries.

The United States engaged and is engaging in particularly active campaigns against the Republic of Cuba. The failure of the mercenaries' invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs was followed by "Operation Mongoose" which called for sabotage and subversive activities in that country and the physical elimination of its leaders. However, this dirty deed as well failed. Today, as admitted by American intelligence, in addition to the struggle against revolutionary and national-liberation movements some of the main tasks of leading CIA personnel in Latin American countries include the prevention of the development of good neighborly relations between these countries and Cuba.

In recent decades subversive operations have increased considerably in the developing Asian, African and Latin American countries. These are precisely the areas considered by the U.S. leadership today as particularly dangerous hotbeds of "instability" and as threatening the dominating positions of American monopolies.

such activities assumed unparalleled scope in the fight of the United States against the peoples of Indochina. Together with military and civilian agencies the CIA financed and trained entire armies of mercenaries from other countries and local mountain tribes for the purpose of conducting military and terrorist activities in Vietnam and Laos and engaging in extensive subversive activities in Kampuchea. According to the well-known American researcher R. Barnet, in Laos the CIA organized a "foreign legion" consisting of members of various Southeast Asian tribes, 100,000 strong. It is clear that the current noise being made on the subject of the so-called displaced people from Vietnam and Kampuchea as well involves the active participation of American intelligence services.

The U.S. special services have always paid great attention to the circumstances in the Near and Middle East. Today it is a widely known fact that it was the CIA which organized the 1953 coup d'etat in Iran under A. Dulles' immediate control, as a result of which the anti-people's regime of the shah remained in power for a long period of time. As General M. McCloskey wrote in his book "The American Intelligence Community," it was tied to a complex operation directed against Egypt toward the end of the 1950s. It called for the use of the Muslim Brotherhood, a right wing religious organization, and was aimed at the assassination of President Nasser, the destruction of Egyptian industrial projects and communications centers, and the creation of an atmosphere of terror in the United Arab Republic.

The fall of absolutism in Iran in 1979 was a scandalous defeat for American intelligence. Its leaders overlooked the growth of a mass explosion in the country and obviously overestimated the strength of the shah's regime. Instead of drawing the necessary conclusions, Washington engaged in provocatory actions against the young Iranian republic. The subsequent efforts of the American special services, the adventuristic diversionary landing in the Tehran area above all, merely intensified the crisis in American-Iranian relations. The demonstrative support of the dangerous CIA diversionary action in Iran by the American Congress proved to the world, yet once more, that the United States had raised armed banditry to the level of governmental policy.

The CIA acts as one of the principal, if not the main, executors of subversive activities by American imperialism against democratic Afghanistan. As the American press has frequently noted, the U.S. intelligence services began to supply weapons to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries in the immediate aftermath of the victory of the April revolution. Of late the foreign press has published a number of reports on the considerable increase of such activities, also involving the special services of several other countries, Egypt included. For example, in its 16 February issue THE WASHINGTON POST acknowledged that increased armament deliveries is a measure "substantially adding to the aid which the United States was already giving the Afghan rebels prior to the entry of the Russian forces."

The activities of Afghan counterrevolutionary forces are guided by a special CIA group centered in the American embassy in Islamabad. It is headed by CIA official R. Lessard who spent a considerable time as instructor of SAVAK, the

shah's security service. Noting this, C. Eagle, the editor of COUNTERSPY, a U.S. periodical, wrote that, "We must point out that CIA subversive activities were directed at supporting forces which were trying to prevent by force progressive changes made in Afghanistan--a land reform, equality for women, and so on." The CIA style may be seen in a number of forgeries regarding events in Afghanistan currently filling the pages of the bourgeois press and the air.

In recent decades the CIA has concentrated considerable forces in Africa. In the mid-1970s a major diversionary-subversive action against the Angolan patriots was added to operations in Congo-Leopoldville (today Zaire) and subversive activities against the republic of Congo-Brazzaville. It failed ignominiously even though according to J. Stockwell, one of its leaders, the operation cost about $32 million from the secret fund which is not accountable to the Congress.

The Latin American continent has become an arena of major subversive measures. This is confirmed, among others, by the invasion mounted by CIA mercenaries in Guatemala, aimed at overthrowing the J. Arbenz government in 1954, and the organization of a conspiracy to overthrow the S. Allende government in Chile in 1973. Data on CIA expenditures in Chile in 1963-1973 were made public by the U.S. Congress. They are as follows: electoral propaganda and other means of support of political parties: $8 million; writing and distribution of corresponding materials and bribery of mass media: $4.3 million; influencing Chilean organizations (trade unions, student, peasant, women's) and support of private sector organizations: $900,000; and preparations for a military coup: "under" $200,000. These figures confirm the refined nature of such secret operations conducted by American intelligence and the variety of methods applied.

II

The leaders of U.S. foreign policy, who love to speak so extensively in defense of "democracy," "humaneness" and "human rights," apply in their practical activities the dirtiest possible means which threaten the freedom and independence of the peoples and their peaceful life. It is above all so-called "political action" that is assigned an important role in the subversive work of American intelligence in the world arena. This includes, among other things, bribing of political parties and individual political personalities; the organization of fictitious parties and organizations with which to finance them; the "buying" of electoral votes and forging of ballots; dissemination of false rumors with a view to discrediting undesirable electoral candidates and blackmailing them; the enlistment of hooligans to break up meetings and assemblies and, finally, preparations for coups d'etat.

The "political actions" are closely related to psychological warfare operations whose main element is "black propaganda." It is a question of "dissemination of materials ascribed to nonexistent sources or of false information ascribed to factual sources." In simpler language this means the dissemination of various fabrications and falsifications. Activities of radio stations falsely publicized as "clandestine," publication of false reports ascribed to refugees or deserters, and the forging of documents with a view to introducing dissention in the ranks of progressive parties and organizations and even in intergovernmental relations are all used in waging psychological warfare. Naturally, the activities of Radio Liberty and Free Europe radio stations, set up by the CIA,

and to which increased attention has been paid of late in Washington, are called upon to play an important role in such ugly activities.

A special CIA unit is engaged in the planning and execution of economic warfare operations. This involves methods such as the loss of farm products destined for export to other countries (for example, in the mid-1960s, the case of the loss of a large amount of Cuban sugar in the course of its reloading on one of the Caribbean islands for shipment to other countries became quite notorious), damaging agricultural equipment to be shipped to one or another country, and so on. The purpose of such methods is to undermine mutually profitable trade relations between socialist and developing countries.

Particular attention is paid to anticommunist operations. The CIA has a special department for the struggle against the communist movement. Groups of "specialists" in such activities are organized by this department abroad, locally. The methods used by the CIA in its subversive operations against the communist parties are quite varied. They include attempts by agents to "penetrate" such parties, the manufacturing of forgeries on preparations for a "communist conspiracy" in one or another country, constant awareness of the location of leading communist party personalities, and the organization of groups of provocateurs to spoil mass actions undertaken by the communists. A CIA technical group is engaged in the manufacturing of smoke, tear gas and toxic bombs and the development of other facilities to be used against meetings and demonstrations organized by progressive forces.

Guiding the repressive organs in countries ruled by antidemocratic or dictatorial regimes is, essentially, another direction in the activities of the American special services against the communist parties and other democratic organizations. In his memoirs entitled "The Real CIA," L. Kirkpatrick, a former head of the CIA, recalls that on the eve of the fall of Batista's dictatorship in Cuba, at the end of the 1950s, his agency which was actively cooperating with the counterintelligence organs of the regime, asked them to set up a special bureau "for the suppression of communist activities." He admits that this bureau, set up with the assistance of American instructors, extensively used torture and violence in its dealings with the revolutionaries. Similar organizations were created in a number of other countries, South Vietnam and Iran in particular.

Today Washington particularly relies on cooperation with Beijing in the struggle against the communist and workers movements. As reported by the American magazine NEWSWEEK, Beijing is ready to exchange intelligence data with the United States. This is in the interest of the CIA which is trying to obtain greater information on "differences" in the communist movement.

The CIA also has a special section dealing with operations in international special organizations--women's, scientific, religious or professional. The emphasis here is, above all, on youth and trade union associations. Nor is "work" in the area of sports ignored. According to Ph. Agee, the CIA has conducted operations during all Olympic Games, starting with 1952. "Provocations, attempts to encourage defectors, propaganda, and the recruitment of American athletes for operations in Olympic villages in winter and summer games," he notes, "have always been typical of the CIA."

Over a dozen different departments and agencies, both civilian and military, are engaged in collecting intelligence data, in the broad meaning of the term, for the American government. However, espionage proper, i.e., the sending of agents across foreign borders and the recruitment of agents in foreign countries, is primarily the work of the CIA. According to P. Blackstock, a CIA specialist, a special "human resources" committee operates under the Intelligence Board, the leading organ of the "intelligence community." This reflects the "reacknowledgement" of the importance of the classical espionage agent who, properly trained, could fill critical gaps in the flow of information gathered with the help of air and outer space intelligence and other advanced technical facilities."

So-called "paramilitary operations" conducted by the CIA and other American special services, including "counterinsurgency operations," have taken on a broad scale and a sinister nature. The purpose of such operations is to provide military and material support to counterrevolutionary gangs and groups in the developing countries, the raising of irregular military units among refugees, emigres and members of national minorities, and the hiring of mercenaries in various countries for military operations in Africa and Asia with the clandestine participation of specially trained military personnel and, naturally, U.S. instructors. The "paramilitary operations" include subversive operations and individual or mass terrorism. As was made clear during the hearings by U.S. congressional committees held in the mid-1970s, the CIA has been involved, directly or indirectly, in preparations for the physical annihilation of foreign political leaders such as Patrice Lumumba, Rene Schneider, chief of general staff of the Chilean armed forces, and American stooges who had become embarrassing to Washington, such as Ngo Dinh Diem, the South Vietnamese dictator, the Dominican Republic's Rafiel Trujillo, and South Korea's Pak Chong Khi. The CIA agents have repeatedly tried to organize attempts on Fidel Castro's life. The campaign of mass political murders in South Vietnam, carried out by American-trained groups of professional assassins and terrorists, became quite notorious.

Foreign citizens are extensively used in "paramilitary operations." The outrages committed in the mid-1950s in Congo (Leopoldville) by Belgian mercenaries and South African recruits are well-known. In its operations in Vietnam the CIA relied on South Korean and Philippino mercenary units (according to some data this cost the United States over $3 billion). Today the CIA is recruiting forces for counterrevolutionary activities in Afghanistan and Iran among American citizens of Afghan and Iranian origin.

However, as confirmed by the operations of American special services in Angola, of late their recruitment of mercenaries is becoming ever more difficult. As J. Stockwell writes, when the FNLA and UNITA gangs began to suffer one defeat after another in that country, the CIA turned to the special services of a number of western countries with a request for help in raising new mercenary units for military operations in Angola. Most such requests were refused. The Brazilian intelligence services, whose personnel, hired as mercenaries, would have particularly well suited the American plans for ethnic and linguistic considerations, firmly rejected the idea. Consequently, American intelligence was able to bring together no more than a pitiful handful of adventurers from Britain and France, adventurers who ended by fighting each other.

Dummy airlines are used in preparations for and implementation of "paramilitary operations." The purpose is to transport irregular military units from one part of the world to another. There is a widespread network of training camps and special equipment warehouses. The day-to-day management of "paramilitary operations" is provided by a separate CIA division. However, similar divisions in charge of "special military operations" may be found in the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force.

III

Usually, when failures or exposures of secret actions undertaken by American intelligence are reported American propaganda tries to blame the CIA leadership which, allegedly, "goes too far" and oversteps its powers. However, the entire experience of U.S. postwar foreign policy and the very fact that such actions are sanctioned by Washington, prove that the main responsibility for this is, above all, that of the top leadership of the United States.

National Security Council documents published by the Department of State reveal that from the very beginning of its existence the NSC granted the CIA extensive rights fraught with substantial political risk. A special unit, currently known as the "Office of Operations," was set up by the CIA for the day-to-day handling of secret operations. It is reported that its personnel numbers about 6,000 in Washington and over 3,000 operatives abroad.

Special task forces are set up by the CIA, as well as on an interagency level, if necessary for major secret operations such as those against Cuba, Angola, Portugal, Libya and other countries. Other governmental organs become involved in their execution. A considerable percentage of the expenditures comes from funds appropriated by Congress for economic aid to one or another country. As a rule, weapons supplied by the Department of Defense to foreign customers have taken on decisive importance in the conduct of "paramilitary operations." The agency in charge of U.S. foreign political propaganda is most actively involved in psychological warfare operations.

As early as the end of the 1940s a high-level interagency group was set up to pass on corresponding plans. Initially, it was under the secretary of state. Subsequently, it passed under the control of the President's aide for national security affairs. This group, operating in the greatest secrecy, and repeatedly changing its name, has been one of the most influential within the National security [illegible]. Currently its functions are in the hands of a special coordinating committee of the [illegible] Council managed, however, by Z. Brzezinski. In addition to approving secret operations, this committee also coordinates U.S. foreign political activities in acute crisis situations (recently, for example, concerning Iran) and problems in talks on limiting strategic and other armaments.

Naturally, all important subversive actions are cleared, one way or another, with the U.S. president. The American specialists have even expressed the view that, in fact, an interagency authority in charge of approving secret operations is something like a shield for the president, enabling him, if necessary, to separate himself from any scandal and let others assume the responsibility. According to the Congressional testimony given by R. Bissel, former CIA head of

planning, that office has never suggested to the U.S. president the physical elimination of one or another political leader abroad but has merely mentioned the desirability "of getting rid of him."

According to some American researchers, M. Halperin in particular, the leadership's frequently expressed preference for secret operations is allegedly caused by the fact that diplomatic actions require lengthy interdepartmental agreements, trigger information "leaks" and lead to congressional intervention. U.S. congressional investigations have also shown that neither H. Kissinger, as assistant to the president for national security affairs, or his predecessors have in all cases submitted for consideration by the interdepartmental agency some of the most important and risky secret operations because of their unwillingness to face the opposition of representatives of the Department of State. Thus, the second alternative for subversive operations against Chile, formulated at the very beginning of the 1970s, which stipulated the organization of a coup d'etat in that country, with a view to the overthrow of President Allende, was never discussed by the interdepartmental committee.

A number of American critics claim that Washington's leadership, H. Kissinger in particular, have groundlessly preferred subversive operations to diplomatic and political solutions. They cite Angola and Chile as examples. In particular, in his article, "The Angolan Decision. Personal Recollections," published in the last issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS for 1978, N. Davis, former head of the interdepartmental group on Angola, describes in detail the way even prior to the withdrawal of the Portuguese from Angola, this group had submitted recommendations in favor of seeking a political and a diplomatic solution to determining the fate of that country. However, ignoring the recommendations, H. Kissinger favored the secret financing of individual political groups in Angola and carefully concealed deliveries of arms to such groups.

President Carter did not support C. Vance, his own secretary of state, who opposed the landing-adventionary operation in Iran. This led to Vance's resignation and contributed to the further loss of prestige by the administration in Washington.

Considering the question of their professional positions, some American intelligence specialists complain that reliance on secret actions reduces the amount of effort and resources for "work" with so-called dissidents, defectors and refugees and hinders the gathering of truly essential information. The fate of such individuals "squeezed dry," as the saying goes, by intelligence agents, is most pitiful. "Not surprising," Ph. Agee writes, "that most defectors either become alcoholics or begin to suffer from mental diseases. Once they have been squeezed dry of anything of any significance to us, they are discarded like old rags."

Influenced by criticism of the activities of the special services voiced by the broad American public, the Congress passed the so-called Hughes-Ryan Amendment whose purpose was to increase somewhat the answerability of the CIA to the Congress and formally to bring order to the management of secret operations. However, this amendment failed to yield any really substantial results. Furthermore, recently the White House succeeded in the essentially total elimination of any control over CIA operations on the part of the supreme legislative organ.

According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the Congress decided to replace control with granting "indulgences" for all dirty deals.

The past decade has been marked by a series of scandalous exposures of CIA dirty operations. H. (Rositski) an agency veteran, admits that it has become a "symbol of American imperialism, protector of dictators, enemy of left-wing forces, and principal promoter of coups and countercoups in the developing world." The frequency of admissions that ever more frequently subversive actions by American special services are ending in failures, lowering American prestige abroad and the prestige of the American leadership within the country, is stepping up. In an increasing number of cases disappointed professional U.S. intelligence agents resign and undertake to expose the activities of the CIA and other American intelligence-subversive services. However, trapped in anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, the American public is rarely able to see the profound reasons for the failure of U.S. subversive operations abroad.

These reasons are rooted in the very approach adopted by American intelligence services in their activities, from the positions of defending the interests of a dying social system and the consequent inability to properly take into consideration global realities and their vain aspiration to turn the wheel of history back, despite the entire mass of gathered information and the huge funds allocated for subversive activities. The tireless intrigues mounted by the enemies of mankind, including their intelligence-subversive services, demand of the freedom-loving peoples continuingly to increase their vigilance and always to be on guard.

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CSO: 1802

CRIMES THREATENING MANKIND

[illegible] No 13, Sep 80 pp 115-125

[illegible], vice president of the International Association of [illegible]

Text 1.

[illegible] human history is characterized by the growing struggle waged [illegible] against imperialism and for national independence and liberation from all forms of class oppression, and against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The defeat of fascism in World War II and its failure as a government system and in the most extreme, criminal and man-hating ideology proved to the entire world the strength of socialism and the true humaneness and [illegible] of its ideas.

In the postwar period new and progressive principles guiding intergovernmental relations began to assert themselves. The Nuremberg trials of the main war criminals, who burned in the flames of an aggressive war dozens of millions of people and deprived hundreds of millions of their homes, left a deep mark in the memory of the generations. Essentially, it was imperialism in its most [illegible] form--that was on trial.

[illegible] passed on the Japanese war criminals at the [illegible] Italian [illegible] Fascist atrocities cannot be forgotten. It was [illegible] that progressive mankind came to acknowledge the principle of [illegible] of the statute of limitations to Nazi crimes, codified in the [illegible] legislation of a number of different countries.

[illegible] of the International Military Tribunal, which define the types of crimes most threatening to mankind, have become a universally recognized international legal norm adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. Today, when the imperialists have mounted an unrestrained arms race, riding the wave of frenzied anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, putting the world on the brink of [illegible] nuclear [illegible], let us recall this kind of crimes. They are listed in Article 6 of the statute:

crimes against the peace, including the planning, preparation, unleashing or waging aggressive wars, [illegible] association of international treaties, agreements or guarantees, or participation in general or in a conspiracy aimed at the implementation of any of the above-mentioned actions;

[illegible] violations of the laws or customs of war, including assassination, ill-treatment or enslavement or use for other purposes of the civilian population in occupied territories; assassination or torture of prisoners of war or persons at sea, killing of hostages; the plunder of public or private property; senseless destruction of towns and villages; wreckage unjustified by military necessity, and other crimes;

crimes against humaneness, including murders, destruction, enslavement, exile [illegible] hostilities toward the civilian population prior to or in wartime or persecution [illegible] political, racial or religious reasons with a view to the [illegible] in relation to any crime under court jurisdiction, regardless [illegible] whether [illegible] such activities were violations of the internal law of the [illegible] where it was committed or not.

[illegible] might have [illegible] that the lessons of the tragedy of World War II would have [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] off the hotheads. However, the more distant [illegible] the more loudly are heard the voices of the defenders of [illegible] committed at that time and of the Nazis themselves. Furthermore, a [illegible] has been the revival and whitewashing of fascism and the [illegible] of the history of World War II.

[illegible] people in the west, in the FRG in particular, are ignorant of their [illegible]. They are raised in a spirit of veneration of Hitler and Nazism, a spirit of [illegible] and hatred of the USSR. They are given distorted information [illegible] Nazism and its crimes and on the role of the Soviet Union in the defeat [illegible] fascism in general politics. In this connection, let us recall that in [illegible] with the findings of the International Military Tribunal, the ideological indoctrination of the population in a militaristic spirit is nothing [illegible] perpetration of aggressive war. Some may object that so far there has been [illegible] to speak of world war. Yet, Hitler began by [illegible] immediately after he came to power and started [illegible] period it would be incorrect to [illegible] considerable segment of the [illegible] economically and psychologically ready for war.

[illegible] American [illegible] who raised the myth of the "aggressive [illegible] the myth of the "Soviet threat," while they themselves, [illegible] are [illegible] the arms race. Hiding behind the false slogans of [illegible] peace, they are [illegible] new types of nuclear missiles and are [illegible] the deployment on the territories of a number of European [illegible] countries, which is tantamount to [illegible] a powder keg with American [illegible] of the most [illegible] kinds of explosive at any time.

[illegible] the war of 1941-45 [illegible] unleashing a world war, which cost millions of [illegible] lives, [illegible] by [illegible] behind the false claims of a "communist danger." [illegible] "police operation" was a stage in his preparations for war. [illegible] are not similar to yesterday's. The excessively bellicose [illegible] as well as [illegible] leaders should bear this in mind as they should, [illegible] the [illegible] of the fascist aggressors.

[illegible] the [illegible] and actions of Margaret Thatcher, the prime [illegible] [illegible] policy, full of anti-Soviet poison, suggest that she is

absolutely indifferent to the fate of peoples-women, children, the young and the old. Entrusted with power, combined with irresponsibility, is a dangerous temptation to a state leader.

The actions of the troublemakers of anti-Sovietism strikingly remind us of the activities of those who, on the eve of World War II, either put together or helped to put together the infamous "Anti-Komintern Pact." It is no accident the Chinese emissaries are shuttling among promising to be "irreconcilable" toward the USSR, recruiting allies, buying weapons at fair market prices, spreading anti-Soviet slanders, and sliding closer to the most reactionary forces in the world. In turn, China was visited by Mondale, Strauss, Brown, Brzezinski, Nixon, a number of other bourgeois governmental and party leaders. Something resembling attempts to organize the notorious "axes" is appearing. Beijing is [illegible] power in a possible war. Yet, such actions are entirely within the framework of first group of actions considered by the Statutes of the International Military Tribunal as crimes against the peace.

[illegible] document may be considered too drastic or simplistic. Every jurist knows, however, that not only the actions themselves such as, for example, an aggressive war, are considered criminal but attempts to engage in such actions and even preparations for them are as well.

In the postwar period the imperialist ideologues invented the so-called "limited war." An undeclared criminal war was mounted against Vietnam which was turned into a testing ground for new types of [illegible] armaments for aggressive strikes in the other parts of the world. It is inspiring the Israeli aggressors to commit their "exploits." This tried to bring to their knees the freedom-loving peoples of Libya, Angola and other countries fighting for national and social liberation.

[illegible] Chile, with the help of its special services, imperialist [illegible] its pitches, helping to overthrow the legitimate government and bringing to power that has ever the interests of the people. It was the case with Patrice Lumumba and Salvador Allende. There never was born nor existed a single totalitarian regime or dictator, ranging from Pinochet to Pol Pot, who has not received support from the United States and other capitalist countries.

[illegible] is being done to support the counter-revolutionary elements of the Nicaraguan people who have allied themselves with the remnants of the defeated Somoza regime. This brought about the aggression against Grenada, the "low intensity conflict" in Libya.

The Israeli regime is becoming ever more impudent and its wings [illegible] Lebanon, Tunisia. Together with the Beijing hegemonists, the imperialists, the Israeli rulers, as well, are organizing and arming anti-Afghan gangs and weaving conspiracies against Iran.

There is no peace in the Middle East. The aspirations of the people of Palestine for freedom and independence are suppressed by imperialism.

Nevertheless, the international situation is determined, to an ever greater extent, not by the energizing of forces hostile to peace but, above all, by the growth and fruitful influence of the forces of peace, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the countries struggling for national freedom and independence. Their firm and consistent policy is the most important barrier in the way of those who would like to put force above justice and above the aspiration of the peoples to live without wars and violence.

The United Nations Organization, created after the defeat of fascism under the influence of the peace-loving forces headed by the Soviet Union, has adopted a number of important laws defining the range of actions defined as crimes against the peace and humanity. These laws sum up the experience of the past and serve as a warning to potential future aggressors.

One such document, adopted after long years of discussions, defines aggression. Henceforth not aggression alone but the propaganda of war and aggression will be considered an international crime.

The world also witnessed the unprecedented case of genocide in peacetime victimizing millions of Kampucheans.

In 1948 the United Nations acknowledged genocide as an international crime (the juridical definition of this crime is the destruction of people and their traditions). There are several types of genocide: physical, involving the direct physical destruction of people; biological, when unsuitable people or even entire groups of people are prevented from being born (as we know, the Hitlerites achieved this through the mass sterilization of men and women); there is also national-cultural genocide which involves the destruction of the national culture of entire nations.

According to the United Nations genocide is an inadmissible and inhuman manifestation of barbarism. However, the peoples of the world must remember that the American aggression in Vietnam went a long way in the Nazi direction and so have the Chinese. Mankind was shaken up by the commission of genocide in Kampuchea. It is quite evident that Pol Pot and Yeng Sari were considered by a special court to be guilty of genocide.

In Vietnam American imperialism used previously unknown means of warfare which triggered new crimes qualified by mankind as international. The first of them--ecocide--is the physical destruction of the environment. All life was destroyed in a country [illegible] in Vietnam with herbicides and chemicals. The danger of ecocide lies in the fact that a violation of the ecological balance in any area has [illegible] other distant areas.

The convention prohibiting military or any other hostile use of means for affecting the natural environment was signed in 1977. In practical terms, this document [illegible] ecocide. Biocide is similar to ecocide (literally [illegible] means of warfare with the help of the neutron bomb [illegible] similar new types of armaments for the mass destruction of people.

to prevent mankind from resorting to ban all actions threatening the peace and human life itself, thus tying the hands of today's aggressors. After World War II a criminal action such as apartheid, which consists of separating the people into whites and colored, and the legalized rightlessness of the latter, was banned as well. Apartheid is the offspring of the fanatical tenets of racism and its shameful expression. The 28th UN General Assembly Session proclaimed apartheid a crime against mankind and a major threat to peace and security. It adopted an international convention on stopping apartheid crimes and punishing it. The United Nations General Assembly called upon all countries in the world to sign, ratify and steadfastly observe the convention. It was thus that the international community condemned governments, their systems and their leaders who have raised apartheid to the rank of state policy.

[illegible], the next item is that of declaring an international [illegible] of any kind [illegible] discrimination. "The Soviet people are firmly on the side of the fighters for the equality of all peoples and against racial and national discrimination ...," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote in his message to the World Conference to Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination. We are familiar with countless [illegible] manifestations of racism in the United States, and with the events in Miami where the action of the blacks in defense of their rights was brutally suppressed and which offered a vivid confirmation of the criminal nature of a racist policy.

The progress-loving public and states and governments of countries defending the cause of the peace-loving majority of the peoples consider as criminal the [illegible] which block the aspiration of the people to live without wars and strife. The reactionary forces are finding it ever more difficult to pursue an anti-people's policy. International agreements are substantially narrowing possibilities for the implementation of aggressive plans. This is a very [illegible] process.

[illegible] Third, detente is [illegible] hostile to peace, after a short [illegible] we [illegible] struggle against virtually the same forces, which [illegible] things, their [illegible] plans of operation. The imperialist [illegible] now [illegible] same [illegible] centers and directly. They organize them secretly. They [illegible] limited activities and profit from the crimes.

The [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] of international [illegible] aimed at [illegible] with [illegible] and peoples prepare and promote new [illegible] for [illegible] of [illegible] accomplished not only through foreign [illegible] but [illegible] by [illegible] people cruelty and scorn for moral norms. The struggle of people [illegible] attitudes and crime is a widespread method used by imperialist [illegible] militarists, Zionists and the [illegible] system for the purpose of [illegible] the working people of their countries from the struggle for [illegible] and [illegible]. This is also a method for preparing people for [illegible] actions and criminal actions in the interest of [illegible] circles.

At this point let us emphasize two essential aspects of the concept "crime against mankind" developed as a reaction to actions which became possible in

connection with aggressive wars involving the destruction of the material culture of nations, savage warfare methods, atrocities, tortures, and physical destruction of civilian populations. The peoples condemned these crimes and their perpetrators, and so has history. However, international laws calling for the punishment of international criminals should not be forgotten. Once again they must be applied in the case of criminals unwilling to remember the lessons of history.

Such laws should not be applied only when the reaction unleashes global international conflicts which threaten the existence of all mankind. Unfortunately, there are many forces in the world willing to stand on the edge of war and to urge on and support local conflicts, even though it is clear to everyone that such conflicts could become big conflagrations.

At every step life has proved and proves that crimes committed against mankind and, in general, international crimes may also be committed without global conflicts, in periods of peaceful development of relations among countries and nations. Unfortunately, there has been no precedent so far in the world for indicting those who promote local conflicts for using the most difficult methods for their "resolution."

As we pointed out, following the military defeat of fascism ecocide, apartheid and other actions were declared international crimes. This means that qualifying from the positions of all mankind the new criminal actions threatening to all mankind has become a reality based on the lessons of history. Such crimes are being committed today for the reason that militant and aggressive forces have never desisted voluntarily. That is why today the observance of international agreements becomes particularly important to the destiny of our planet.

4

Reality has shown that in peacetime as well the reactionary circles and forces may commit crimes not classified (so far, at least) as crimes against peace and mankind even though they are dangerous to the life of nations and substantially complicate intergovernmental relations. New crimes appear which must be fought through laws, conventions and agreements. It is an objective characteristic of any law to be a warning measure for the future.

The use of mercenaries is one such crime. There was a time when it was a rather widespread phenomenon. In the ancient world and in medieval times military leaders conquered the world with mercenaries; the forces of Frederick, known as the Great, consisted almost entirely of mercenaries. Napoleon as well did not scorn their services.... Times changed, however, and it seemed as though grounds for the use of mercenaries had been finally eliminated in the 20th century. Unfortunately, today the system has been resurrected on a new basis.

Attacking any country with the help of mercenaries from another should be qualified as an aggression, as a crime against the peace. That is why today the use of mercenaries has been modified. It is depicted as a variety of private enterprise: it is not the state but enterprising individuals who

recruit mercenaries for service in the armed forces.... The most reactionary regimes and those who support them morally and materially, however, recruit mercenaries openly and so do the secret services of the imperialist states, the CIA in particular (this was made particularly clear in the trial of the mercenaries in Angola, the first of its kind in the 20th century).

At all times mercenaries have committed atrocities in lands they have conquered. Furthermore, they were encouraged to commit them by their recruiters. The "conquerors" of our century are equal to their predecessors. Today they are quite flexible! They jump from Africa to the Middle East to help right-wing Christian extremists in Lebanon, after which they fly (incidentally, in the 18th century mercenaries were known as "wild geese") to Latin America.... In a word, there are people ready to kill for money anyone anywhere.

A number of unofficial centers have been opened in the West to recruit people without a future, failed individuals, people cruelly cast aside by life in the "free world" lovers of all kinds of adventures, criminals and sadists. We find in this rabble Germans, Belgians, Englishmen, Australians, Canadians, South Africans, and even New Zealanders. One thing brings them together: the thirst for profit and the totally unexplainable hatred of those they intend to kill. Actually, raising people in a spirit of cruelty, violence and grubbiness is a structural part of life in the "criminal society," as the American sociologist A. Shur noted.

The recruiters pay quite highly for murder and violence. Here is the "price list" for mercenaries hired by the CIA as reported by Roberto Holden, a CIA agent: $300 weekly for 6 and 1/2 months, plus 500 pounds sterling for each tank put out of action and $2,500 for the capture of a Russian (!!). As we can see, here again incitement against the Soviet Union has not been excluded. From the juridical and moral viewpoints people who kill for money are criminals while those who hire and use them are the organizers of the crime. The methods used by the mercenaries resemble those of the Nazis. The type of war they wage entirely fits the description of such wars provided by the Statutes of the International Military Tribunal.

The United Nations has adopted a perfectly clear stand on the question of mercenaries. Here is an excerpt of its special resolution: "The use of mercenaries by colonial and racist regimes against the national-liberation movements fighting for their freedom and independence from colonial oppression and foreign domination is a criminal action, for which reason, accordingly, the mercenaries should be punished as criminals."

It is said that President Carter has an excellent memory. He can quote from memory many documents and data. Apparently, however, he has a poor recollection of the stipulations of the laws (actually, he has already proved this to the rest of the world by "forgetting" the need to observe human rights in his own country), for he should not slander the Soviet Union in connection with the events in Afghanistan but put an end to sending gangs of mercenaries to the territory of this country distant from the United States with the help of China and Pakistan.

Unlike the crimes we mentioned, the hiring of mercenaries has not as yet been defined in international criminal law as a crime against mankind. In our view, however, the protection of the national independence of the peoples who have liberated or are in the process of liberating themselves from colonial or imperialist yoke urgently calls for qualifying mercenary activities as an international crime, as a crime against mankind. The 1949 supplementary protocols to the Geneva Convention themselves stated that a mercenary does not enjoy the rights of a regular army serviceman and that he is a war criminal.

Both the mercenaries and those who organize the commerce in mercenaries and use their services should be classified as criminals. This is the imperative of the times and the assessment based on the changed circumstances in the world.

5

The present period in the life of human society brings to light examples of other criminal actions which worry the people, create an atmosphere of fear and insecurity and hinder normal relations among countries.

In this respect terrorism is a typical phenomenon. Breaking out as the expression of acute internal contradictions and social instability, it skips from one country to another, adopting cruel and aggressive forms. Hundreds and thousands of people are perishing in the flames of terrorism. Having originated terrorism both as a political phenomenon and a crime, the exploiting system is trying to use it in the struggle against progressive forces and political adversaries. The imperialist ideologues are trying to emphasize the criminal nature of terrorism while doing everything possible to conceal its reactionary, its political nature.

Today two trends in international terrorism have become clearly defined: right-wing, of a fascist type, and left-wing which, in the final account, reveals its "alliance sympathies" for the former.

The theoretical base of right-wing terrorism is hardly new, consisting of the theories and ideas created by fascism. Always and everywhere right-wing terrorism has impeded the struggle against progress and democracy. This is a force used by imperialist circles not only within their own system but abroad as well, particularly in suppressing the national-liberation movement. The most common forms of terrorism are assassinations and, in general, attempts on the lives of political and public figures found inconvenient by the reaction (nor do the terrorist spare those people who happen to stand "in their way"). Their typical methods include airplane hijackings, seizure of hostages, murders, blowing up of premises of progressive organizations or similar violent actions.

The right-wing terrorist organizations operate with virtual impunity. Many of them are units of combat formations of reborn fascist detachments. Thus, in the FRG the neo-Nazis have even held war exercises directed by Heinz Hoffman, while the authorities did not even think of stopping them.

Violence [illegible] the main feature of right-wing terrorism. The bourgeois ideologues carefully circumvent this aspect of the problem. Naturally, once in a while an extremist is prosecuted. This, however, happens in exceptionally

notorious case . In the United States the members of the notorious Jewish Defense League enjoy virtual impunity.

It is necessary to point out in this case that the United States finances the most active terrorist organizations throughout the world. Many terrorists receive their "training" in special secret establishments operated by the CIA. All terrorist dictatorial regimes in the world rely on U.S. support and aid.

This terrorism has richly blossomed on the Latin American continent--in Chile, Paraguay, El Salvador, Uruguay and many other countries. The names of dictators such as Trujillo (incidentally, killed by CIA agents) or Somoza have become common nouns. It is noteworthy that the moment a shift toward democracy becomes apparent, imperialism immediately brings right-wing terrorists into action. In Jamaica they tried to kill Prime Minister Manley who had led the country on the way of democratic changes. Following the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal, and to this day, the terrorist groups have not ceased their machinations.

The situation in Italy is typical. The moment the strengthening of the positions of left wing forces became clear the country was shaken up by an explosion of terrorism. Following the inciting signal: the official U.S. declaration of the inadmissibility of the participation of Communists in the Italian cabinet. Aldo Moro's assassination might have seemed the peak of such activities. Today as well, however, the terrorists are continuing with their dirty actions as was tragically confirmed by the monstrous explosion at the Bologna Railroad Station which caused hundreds of casualties.

The role which left-wing terrorism plays today is expanding. In a number of cases it is a form of protest against the capitalist order. However, even this circumstance does not change the assessment of its nature, for this type terrorism as well overwhelms people with its frequently senseless cruelty, distracting the masses from the true struggle for their rights and even hampering this struggle. Furthermore, the imperialist ideologues use left-wing terrorism to slander the revolutionary movement and frighten the Western petit bourgeoisie with its extremes. This is particularly clear in the case of the so-called "Red Brigades" in Italy.

Stating that terrorism is allegedly typical of left-wing forces (in fact, meaning left-wing extremists), "theoreticians" and inspirers of terrorist acts as Strauss and Pinochet "condemn" this phenomenon. Similar statements have been made by Begin, Israel's prime minister.

Leftist terrorist "ideology" is a peculiar mixture of anarchism, Maoism, Trotskyism and fascism formulated by the West German terrorists Meinhoff and Baader. Seemingly opposing the capitalist order, the leftist terrorists objectively help capitalism's struggle against revolutionary and national-liberation movement . The inclination of the leftists to engage in violence and cruelty for the sake of a totally unrestrained "feeling of protest" can easily be channeled into a tool fighting the reactionary forces.

Speaking of left-wing terrorism, we should not ignore the role of Maoism. The Beijing leaders indirectly support right-wing terrorists. This is manifested in China's ever-expanding cooperation with reactionary forces and regimes, Pinochet in particular, while support of terrorism and use of mercenaries has become a virtual state policy of the PRC as confirmed by China's intervention in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

The imperialist circles use quite cleverly the antiterrorist feelings of world public opinion. They try to depict the national-liberation movement of the peoples as terrorism, thus distorting its nature and compromising it. Occasionally, the actions of left-wing extremists are triggered by open provocations on the part of right-wing elements aimed at discrediting the revolutionary movement.

The representatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and of nonaligned states have convincingly proved at the sessions of various United Nations commissions and committees and general assembly sessions the groundlessness of imperialist accusations of terrorism by national-liberation movements. Exposing the true nature of such accusations aimed at democracy and progress, they have exposed the terrorist methods of the official policies pursued by a number of countries. They have invariably emphasized that the requirement of meeting the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine has nothing in common with the approval of terrorism.

The widening scale and extremely dangerous nature of international terrorism, the affiliation of a large number of people with extremist gangs, the many victims and the political (rather than merely criminal) nature of terrorism itself call for treating this criminal phenomenon with particular concern.

Even though today terrorism is more widespread than ever the phenomenon, by itself, is not new. V. I. Lenin made a tremendous contribution to the defeat of the terrorist concept. Theoretical debates on the concept of terrorism became very heated toward the end of the 1920s. Such discussions became particularly sharp at the turn of the 1930s, when it had already become obvious that capitalism was creating fascism, the most terrorist dictatorship known to history.

In recent years a number of capitalist countries have clearly shown a trend toward adopting regional solutions in fighting terrorism without coordinating them with the international community. Nevertheless, we should point out that within that period important international agreements have been concluded, particularly that on punishment for airplane hijacking. The question of punishment for the seizure of hostages is under discussion. All these are positive aspects in the struggle against terrorism. Obviously, however, these measures are insufficient. Furthermore, even though accepting joint decisions, sometimes Western government leaders violate their own signatures.

At the same time, regional regulations are drafted in such a way that, although agreeing on the subject of indicting terrorists, the authorities retain their full freedom of action. Should it become a question of criminal actions by right-wing terrorists, they interpret them as being "politically motivated"

and, consequently, not falling under the jurisdiction of criminal courts. Should unsuitable individuals (unsuitable for political considerations as well) happen to fall into the hands of bourgeois justice, absence of political motivation is claimed and such individuals are tried as common criminals.

A European convention on the struggle against terrorism was signed in January 1977. Article 5 of the document stipulates that the criminal may not be extradited should there be reasons to assume that the individual would be persecuted for his political, racial or other views. The result is that people may be murdered for political, racial or religious considerations without such actions being classified as terrorist. Following the commission of their crime the assassins are given the opportunity to hide in another capitalist country and avoid punishment under the protection of a demagogically drafted law.

The convention was passed following a series of terrorist acts perpetrated by West German left-wing extremists (with the silent approval of the neofascists). A lack of reaction to such actions would have been impossible. Yet, the western legislators lack the necessary principle-mindedness or, rather, the desire to adopt a juridically precise and politically accurate decision.

Clearly, the legislation should stipulate the punishment of both right-wing and left-wing terrorists. In no case, however, should even the slightest possible discrediting of the revolutionary and the national-liberation movements be allowed. Nor should we ignore the clearly political nature of terrorism. Naturally, it is possible that specific acts of terrorism could be perpetrated by ordinary criminals as well.

In peacetime terrorism is a crime which combines the dangerous features of many international crimes. For example, if we are dealing with the "state" terrorism perpetrated by the Israeli government, we are faced with the elements of aggression. Should terrorists kill or seize diplomatic representatives or citizens of another country and hide inside a country whose government openly protects them, it is entirely obvious that this harms relations among countries and is fraught with peace-threatening complications.

It is important to conclude an agreement on the struggle against terrorism according to which a crime damaging to peace and cooperation among countries should be considered a crime against mankind.

We have mentioned here a few dangerous crimes harming the cause of peace, international cooperation and normal relations among countries, threatening mankind. Yet, other similar crimes exist as well. Crimes which threaten mankind and peace on earth should include the illegal broadcasting by various types of instigating antidemocratic radio stations; slavery and, in general, trade in human beings (one of the facets of racial discrimination and human oppression); piracy, used today by reactionary forces for the seizure or hauling of arms; dissemination of drug addiction and pornography as means for depriving people of their human appearance and leading them to commit crimes; forgeries of currency and securities for the purpose of undermining the economy and finances of relatively weak countries; smuggling and illegal emigration, and many others.

laying a peaceful foundation for the development of international relations is a global problem. One of its structural components is the struggle against all crimes threatening mankind; another is the assertion of the principles of law and legality in intergovernmental contacts. This struggle affects anyone who cares for peace on earth, democracy and social progress.

FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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Review by Prof A. Sertsov, doctor of philosophical sciences, of the book, "Politika i Ideologiya" [Politics and Ideology] by Vasil Beyda. On the situation in the party and society in the recent past. Progress, Moscow, 1979, 300 pages.

[Text] The theoretical analysis of most complex social phenomena such as politics and ideology presumes the study of their class content. Ideology as a sum of ideas, views, and concepts expressing the basic interests of specific classes and their objectives and programmatic tasks of their struggle cannot be accurately understood. By the same token, the absence of a clear methodological base would lead to an interpretation of politics, which is the relation among classes and states and a purposeful practical activity for the implementation of specific class objectives, which would deal on the basis of petty and individual features behind which the firm and consistent class line would be lost.

A number of works by Soviet social scientists and foreign Marxists have dealt with ideological and political problems. This is understandable, for this topic is today the subject of a sharp ideological struggle. Naturally, such authors not only study specific experience but provide arguments with which to refute various anti-Marxist falsifications.

Works in which such problems are considered on the basis of specific historical data, covering specific stages of the class struggle, are of particular interest. In this respect the attention of the Soviet readers has been drawn to the book by Vasil Beyda, "Politika i Ideologiya," translated from the Slovak and published by Izdatel'stvo Progress. Interpreting the nature of these social phenomena, the author considers them in their practical manifestation in the development of socialist Czechoslovakia, particularly in the period of the events of the 1968-1969 crisis, when a struggle developed within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the restoration of the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological principles.

The author emphasizes that at that period the threat arose of replacing the socialist policy of the Czechoslovak state, which expressed the interests of the working class and all working people in the country, with a policy aimed at the restoration of capitalist relations, Czechoslovakia's breaking its fraternal

alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and its affiliation with NATO. Any other interpretation of events, which might suit the bourgeois ideologues and, particularly, the emigre Czechoslovak counter-revolutionary circles, merely confuses the essence of the matter.

The preparations for such a switch were gradual, following a strategic plan formulated in advance. It began in the ideological area with the loosening of the Marxist-Leninist positions of the communist party and the sowing of doubts as to the correctness of the policy of building a socialist society in the country.

With the help of extensive factual data the author shows the way faith in Marxist-Leninist ideology--the scientific reflection of reality, substantiated by the practical activities of the communists--was undermined, the manner in which the counterrevolution was being ideologically prepared and the individuals who engaged in the practical implementation of this dirty "job."

Interesting summations are provided concerning the basic directions of the ideological counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s when, using as a pretext criticism of subjective errors and shortcomings, in the course of numerous conferences, symposiums, round-table discussions, and other gatherings, the opportunistic forces engaged in blackening and denying socialist accomplishments. The leading role of the working class in the socialist society was countered by the "elitist" theory. The role of the communist party was belittled and "selected" "intellectual" strata laid a claim to its position. "Theories" and "concepts" substantiating the "need" for profound reorganization of the country's economy leading to the rebirth of capitalism appeared.

By the end of 1967 this process had been completed by the drafting of a revisionist platform by right-wing forces, characterized, as the author points out, by the discrediting of Marxist-Leninist theory which was proclaimed an obsolete or deformed doctrine; open malicious criticism of the leading role of the communist party; defaming the basic values of socialism and rejecting it in general; undermining the foundations of the socialist state which, together with the party, was labeled as the principal carrier of the "bureaucratic-state model of socialism," allegedly automatically borrowed from the Soviet Union; unrestrained praising of the "democracy" of Western capitalist countries and of the so-called Masaryk democracy of the pre-Munich Czechoslovak bourgeois republic; the kindling of nationalism which, in the antisocialist plans of right wing forces, performed the rather important role of a Trojan horse; finally, a propaganda of anticommunism and hostility toward the USSR and the other socialist countries, unprecedented in nature and scale (see pp 93, 95).

By January 1968 the organizers of the ideological counterrevolution and their witting or unwitting accomplices had achieved a great deal in their destructive activities. Operating under the banner of "socialism with a human face," the author writes, they "intensified the crisis within the party and the society, virtually paralyzed the activities of state organs and the administration of the country, brought Czechoslovak society to the brink of unparalleled catastrophe and created a counterrevolutionary situation" (p 96).

The author traces the ideological struggle related to the January 1968 Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Plenum and shows why the objectively inevitable "January," which both the party and the country needed so urgently in order to eliminate shortcomings and errors and, something quite important at that time, to block the growing wave of right-wing opportunistic danger and threats to the revolution, was entirely taken over by revisionist and anti-socialist forces (see p 107).

Discussing in detail the stages of the dramatic 1968 events, when the "peaceful counterrevolution" was readying itself for becoming a "shooting and hanging" counterrevolution (p 143), the author writes that at a certain point "a general breakdown of political power occurred, for which reason the opportunistic and anti-socialist forces were able to have a free hand in the country with impunity, with the help of the mass information media" (p 150).

A counterrevolutionary circumstance developed in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the only solution to which, in the interest of peace, progress and socialism, was the international aid given by the fraternal countries. This aid prevented a civil war and a counterrevolution and protected socialist gains (see p 155).

The book includes extensive chapters on the solution of problems related to the ideological activities of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after April 1969, when a new party leadership was elected at its Central Committee plenum, headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, the loyal son of the Czechoslovak working class, and when the consolidation of forces loyal to socialism and proletarian internationalism began. Particular attention is paid to the 14th and 15th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia congresses which provided a clear orientation concerning the nature and direction of party ideological work and, above all, the education of the people in a spirit of loyalty to the communist ideals, based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. Pointing out that ideological work is not an autonomous area and that it is organically linked with life and with the processes occurring in the development of international relations and in domestic policy, the author quotes the statement by G. Husak in the Accountability Report to the 15th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress: "The ideology of the working class, the most revolutionary force to which the future belongs, is imbued with optimism and with faith in man, in his inexhaustible creative forces and in his dignity" (p 296).

The book convincingly proves that the socialist society can successfully surmount all difficulties as long as the leading communist party is steadfastly and consistently implementing a domestic and foreign policy based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

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