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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 15, October 1980

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

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STARTING POINT OF COMMUNIST PROGRESS

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[Text] Mankind's chronicle strictly selects events and facts, perpetuating only those among them which have had a profound impact on world civilization, on the entire course of progressive social development. For example, we cannot imagine the age of ancient Rome without the uprising of the slaves, headed by the legendary Spartacus, the Middle Ages without the big peasant uprising against feudal despotism, or the period of the "blossoming" of capitalism without the Paris Commune which crowned the noble thrust of the working people of France who, in K. Marx' picturesque expression, dared to storm the skies. These are great landmarks which have left ineradicable traces in the memory of their descendants! However, no single mass historical action of the working people has had such tremendous, basic, and decisive consequences for mankind as the first victorious proletarian revolution which, like the morning dawn which scattered away the pitch darkness of the seemingly endless night of the rule of exploiters and oppressors, illuminated the path to the triumph on earth of social relations of an essentially new and higher type, and marked the advent of the communist era in the life of the nations.

The unforgettable days of October 1917, shrouded in the smoke of gunpowder, are sliding further and further away into the depths of the decades. The sun of freedom, democracy and socialism, put on the historical sky by the Russian proletariat, is shining ever more brightly. The permanent and truly global significance of the Great October Revolution in the assertion of the ideas of justice, equality and social progress, and the humanistic ideals of Leninism are becoming ever more fully and boldly apparent.

The greatest of all revolutions was made in a huge multinational country which was distinguished, however, not only by its infinite size and amazing ethnic variety but by an unusual variety of social strata whose sharp chiaroscuro somehow emphasized the drastic antagonisms within the decaying absolutist regime.

Noted by an average level of capitalist maturity Russia, where the center of the global liberation movement shifted at the turn of the 20th century, was a champion in the level of production concentration (and, consequently, of the factory-plant proletariat--the vivifying yeast of any serious revolutionary ferment) in its big industrial areas. The structural elements of arising monopoly capital neighbored with vestiges of feudalism and even with patriarchal relations; the sprawling and growing cities neighbored with the declining patriarchal countryside, while the high level of education and intelligence of some social strata

existed next to the virtually total illiteracy and ignorance of the broad masses. The glitter and luxury of the privileged classes contrasted with the horrifying poverty and hopelessness of the poor strata and the disgrace and degradation of the people strangled in the yoke of landowning-capitalist slavery, the people with their furious, rebellious, freedom-loving and lofty spirit. How not to remember Nekrasov's lines, filled with emotional pain:

You wretched, plentiful, powerful, yet helpless Mother Russia!

In a word, made of contrasts and contradictions, torn by opposite class aspirations, the autocratic reality was like a strange symbiosis of European dynamism with Asiatic reserve, a new spirit with echoes of ancient times, a blend of the imperialist West and colonial East. It was as though the sharp disharmony of Russian social life reflected the entire social world of that confused and oppressive time, alarming, electrified by the thunderous breath of the approaching revolution, a world drowning in the dirt and blood of human tears, suffering, enmity, conflicts, hopes and disappointments.

"In no other country," V. I. Lenin wrote, "had there been a concentration within such a short time interval of such a wealth of forms, shades and methods of struggle in all classes of contemporary society, a struggle which, by virtue of the backwardness of the country and the burden of Czarist oppression, was ripening particularly quickly...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch. " [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 8). It was precisely the unique intertwining of the characteristic features and relations of the epoch, which made our fatherland the hub of most profound clashes within the entire imperialist system (rather than simply economic underdevelopment, lack of culture, or neglect, as bourgeois and reformist ideologues specializing in the falsification of the history of Bolshevism assert) that was the essential feature of the specific historical nature of Russia. It was a characteristic which concealed the general laws of the irreversibly arising turning point in the social development of mankind, reeling under revolutionary passions.

All our interpretations of the role which the October Revolution played in the destiny of the people bring our thoughts to Lenin. This is natural, for there is no other name which has blended with it so closely and organically. As its leader and organizer, as the direct manager of the building of socialism in the first years of the Soviet system, Lenin was linked with the people, the working class above all, in whose revolutionary-creative possibilities and historical mission he had infinite faith, with thousands of unbreakable ties. Even the most sympathetic among those who were unable to grasp the tremendous transforming potential of the October Revolution thought of Lenin as the "dreamer in the Kremlin." Yes, he dreamed and saw the future. He never lost his inflexible belief in the victory of socialism and the final triumph of the communist ideals. However, these were the dreams of a realist and a revolutionary able to look into the future. He dreamed of the happy and free life of the people, of the heights of the economy and culture for his country, and of the successes of the international labor army. He dedicated all his strength, his entire energy and passion to turn such dreams into reality.

The power and fearlessness of Lenin's genius opened to the proletariat infinite horizons. Thanks to Lenin's tireless theoretical and organizational efforts

Marxism enriched its content and acquired a form consistent with the new historical conditions, allowing proletarian ideology to reflect the deep social trends and to become a powerful factor shaping the entire social image of our time. In other words, Leninism turned Marxism into a science of active revolutionary efforts expressing the most vital needs of the epoch.

The depth of Lenin's thoughts and the power of their influence on the world's liberation process may be explained by the fact that these thoughts were developed on the solid foundations of Marx's philosophical materialism, containing the entire wealth of revolutionary discoveries and accomplishments. Lenin considered the class understanding of social phenomena an inviolable principle of proletarian ideology. He taught the party members to see behind social and moral doctrines the interests of specific classes and to develop their attitude toward them on the basis of proletarian positions. No one better than Lenin could so skillfully combine dialectical-materialistic methodology and the revolutionary theory of social development with the practice of the masses, embodying this unity within the policy of the party of the working class. Thorough penetration into the essence of the dialectics of the general and the individual and of the international and the national, realism and concreteness in the evaluation of the conditions of the proletarian movement, a party-oriented approach lacking sectarian narrowness in the interpretation of the facts of a changing reality, the ability to translate most complex theoretical problems into the practical language of politics along with many other features of Lenin's analytical thinking are today an irreplaceable set of tools used by Marxists-Leninists in the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the class struggle.

"Lenin's writings are not materials for archives but an arsenal. When the hour of battle strikes we leaf through the pages of his books exactly like we load with bullets machine gun belts." These words by A. Montagu, the progressive British publicist, vividly and accurately express the feeling of the communists toward Lenin's legacy.

The socialist revolution is the way to the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. It is the highest point of the manifestation of the international contradictions within bourgeois society, a time of decisive class battles, the point of the highest stress of conflicting and interacting political forces. It is also the battle test of the ideological concepts held by the different classes.

The strict historical test of the formulas and concepts of the theory of the class struggle and of scientific communism took place in the crucible of stubborn social battles and in the practical building of the social system whose outlines were described by K. Marx and F. Engels in their general features only. As the turning point of world history, the Great October Revolution became the most substantive and irrefutable proof of the insurmountable veracity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and of the scientific objectivity and broadest possible scale of its fundamental conclusions.

Loyal above all to its true spirit, i.e., to the very essence of the doctrine, Lenin displayed a creative attitude toward Marxism. Formulating and resolving the social problems of the new historical epoch on a Marxist basis, at the same

time he enriched the principles of revolutionary theory and struggled not only against the revisionist distortions of these principles but against the deadening pedantic-dogmatic separation of theory from live reality. It is useful to recall, in this connection, the differences within the Russian social democratic movement on the future development of the revolution, and the differences which developed into a conflict between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks and, subsequently, on a worldwide scale, between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism.

Two ideological directions, i.e., two theoretical approaches, two different understandings of the class tasks of the proletariat and the means for their implementation, clashed in the struggle for the leadership of the workers movement in Russia. The Menshevik trend linked, above all, with G. V. Plekhanov, unable to keep itself on the level of creative Marxism, was satisfied with the designs and stereotypes of the previous century. It neither wished nor could take into consideration the radical changes in historical conditions in the new age, changes which required different ways and means of proletarian struggle. The ossified Menshevik concept, according to which the socialist revolution could take place only in highly developed capitalist countries, where the proletariat accounted for the unquestionable majority of the population, and where material prerequisites for socialism had become fully ripe, essentially doomed the Russian working class to participate for many decades in the efforts to resolve the problems of a bourgeois-democratic change without overstepping its limits and without undertaking the implementation of purely socialist tasks. History, they claim, had not as yet been able to grind the flour with which the socialist pie could be baked.

The second, the Bolshevik trend, embodied by Lenin, conversely, was able to determine the complex, indirect and dialectically independent nature of economics and politics. This also meant the awareness that under circumstances in which imperialism as a whole was already doomed, extensive opportunities for revolutionary initiative, for the acceleration of social processes, and for charting the course of the socialist revolution were opened to the masses of individual even though economically underdeveloped countries (but countries in which various kinds of social contradictions were piling up with particular intensity, where the foundations of the antipeople's system had been considerably undermined, where the democratic movement was growing, where the bourgeoisie was weaker and less tempted to fight the proletariat, and where the proletarian vanguard was united and organized). "The greatest possible error," Lenin pointed out, "would be for us to lay the complex, essential, and rapidly developing practical tasks of the revolution into the Procrustian bed of a narrowly understood "theory" instead of seeing theory, above all, and more than anything else, as a manual for action" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 44).

Hammering out the party of like-thinking communists, and preparing it for the decisive battles, in his works Lenin extended Marx' analysis of the capitalist socioeconomic system. He revealed the nature of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism. He analyzed in detail the development of a revolutionary subjective factor and the most complex dynamics of class relations. During World War I, when a revolutionary situation was developing in Europe, the conclusions of Lenin's gigantic research efforts directly led to the slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war, and to the slogan of a socialist

revolution--the only means for rescuing mankind from the disasters brought by imperialism.

The reliable Leninist compass enabled the party skillfully to sail the ship of the revolution through the tempests and storms of class battles. However, historical experience proved that whereas the Russian proletariat was able to seize the power relatively easily in the circumstances of a revolutionary crisis aggravated to the extreme by a world war, retaining this power was considerably more difficult. This was not merely due to the adamant resistance of the exploiting classes supported by international reaction which tried to strangle the Soviet system in its cradle with arms, according to the expression of W. Churchill, the inspirer of foreign intervention, but of the incredible difficulties of building a new society alone, in a country ruined by the imperialist and civil wars, economically blockaded, in the throes of hunger and privations, in the difficult conditions of replacing the petit bourgeois mentality of the peasants, who accounted for the overwhelming majority of its population, with a socialist spirit. Under such most complex circumstances, Lenin boldly and confidently formulated the inspiring program of the economic and cultural upsurge of our homeland. Lenin's theory of socialism, which formulated the problems of the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, the cultural revolution, national construction, the development of the political system of proletariat dictatorship, and the advancement of socialist democracy, was the foundation of the transforming activities of the communist vanguard not only in the land of the soviets at that.

The establishment of a communist socioeconomic system is the main feature of social progress today. In a certain general sociological meaning, each pre-communist system has had its progressive content and represented a step forward in world history. However, the development of any antagonistic society presumes the merciless exploitation of one class by another. In this case changes in the production method do not represent improvements in the situation of the working people. The good which becomes available to some always turns into yet another evil, an oppression, to others. Thus, in the capitalist society, machines which have the wonderful possibility to ease and shorten the work of the people bring them exhaustion and unemployment. Technological victories are achieved at the cost of moral degradation, and even the pure light of science can shine only against the dark background of ignorance. Contemporary capitalism turns the great accomplishments of mankind against man himself.

The present confirms Marx' prediction that it is only under socialism that human progress can assume a universal, a comprehensive nature and which "can no longer be compared to the disgusting pagan idol who wanted to drink nectar only from the skulls of the dead" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch. " [Works], Vol 9, p 230). The communist system, which appeared as a result of the tremendous social upheaval of October 1917, and is now being established in a number of countries, is developing on an entirely different, nonantagonistic basis. Social gains are distributed here among all members of society. This insures the equal and independent working people, the joint owners of productive capital at their disposal, freedom from exploitation and political oppression, unemployment and poverty, a higher living standard, a tempestuous growth of production forces for the good of the people, broad access to knowledge and to the values of spiritual culture, and a blossoming of talents and gifts. The confrontation

Between irreconcilable class interests has been replaced by the unity of basic objectives and the awareness of social laws by the people and, on their basis, by a planned social management.

The proletarian revolution is a historically necessary, a legitimate phenomenon leading to a new level of social progress. It opens the stage of the conscious building of the most progressive society in history. The conscious approach to the solution of social problems, based on Marxist-Leninist theory, consists of the maximum comprehensive utilization of the advantages of socialism. This approach is incompatible with a fatalistic observance of objective laws or their voluntaristic neglect. All constructive problems are resolved gradually, as the necessary prerequisites mature.

The growing opportunities for exercising a purposeful influence on the objective processes occurring in the material and spiritual life of our country are particularly visible in the field of planning: the short-term and the local plans of the young Soviet state have been replaced by five-year and longer plans affecting all most important aspects of the national economy and of socio-cultural development. Pointing out this feature of the socialist system, Lenin said: "...We have now gained a historically rare opportunity to determine the time needed for making basic social changes and we can clearly see now what could be accomplished in 5 years and what requires a great deal more time" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 385).

The building of the new society became an outstanding, an unparalleled social accomplishment. The world had no historical precedent in resolving such broad problems of the revolutionary reorganization of life. That is why the profound and comprehensive theoretical interpretation of the specific nature of historical circumstances and the determination of the nature of social processes and of their dynamics and motor forces were the first and mandatory prerequisites for the party's scientific activities and its formulation of realistic plans. In resolving the problems of the building of socialism and communism and earmarking the new heights to be reached, the party relied, and still does, on the firm foundations of Leninism and on a clear understanding of social laws, trends, alternatives, and the class nature of current events.

Ideas live and gain flesh and blood through human accomplishments. Even the most efficient doctrine may remain on paper only if it fails to conquer the masses and inspire them to practical action. As the creative development of Marxism, Leninism has long stopped being merely a scientific theory and revolutionary method. It also represents contemporary reality and universal-historical practice. It is the practice of the land of the soviets, world socialism, and the international workers and national-liberation movements.

Each five-year plan leads our fatherland to the peaks of social progress about which Lenin dreamed. The achievements of the working people in the USSR confirm the accuracy of the leader of the proletariat who saw in socialism tremendous constructive forces and inordinately brilliant opportunities for all mankind. Today Il'ich's implemented ideas are seen in the developed socialist society, in the socialist state of the whole people, in the new historical community--the Soviet people--in the growing prestige of the proletarian revolution and in the powerful comity of fraternal countries!

As it inflexibly follows the route charted by the October Revolution and as it implements Lenin's ideas, the Soviet people has reached the highest level of social development in the contemporary world. Lenin defined this stage as "socialism with completed forms," as the "developed socialist society." As it develops now on its own basis this society manifests most completely its creative opportunities and humanistic nature. It is distinguished by mature social relations gradually developing into communist relations by the processes of the further elimination of class distinctions and the intensification of social integration and by the growing rapprochement among nations and nationalities. As an important step in the building of communism mature socialism is characterized by the existence of an integral economic and political organization, organized development of all realms of social life, and the broad manifestation of its specific advantages expressed by the new type of working person, the position he holds within the management system, and his spiritual world, ideological convictions, and social activeness.

The building of such a society is the result of the inspired and conscious creativity of millions of toiling people. It proves most clearly that the proletarian revolution is not a one-time act on the way from capitalism to socialism, however successfully and rapidly it was able to resolve the problem of the seizure of power by the proletariat. It is the decisive but only the first of the victories of the working class. It is followed by decades of heroic labor, liberated by the revolution. The new system does not appear like Athena out of Zeus' head, suddenly, in the entire splendor of its conquering strength, wisdom and perfection.

Our successes are great but the problems facing the developed socialist society are unprecedented in scale and complexity. It is precisely at this stage that many of the objectives of the building of communism, indicated by Lenin, must be reached.

Economics remains the most important sector in the struggle for communism. Loyal to Lenin's behests, the party focuses its main efforts on improving the economic life of society and its economic mechanism and management. Lenin pointed out that this is our main and most interesting and, as confirmed by historical experience, most complex policy. The party's economic strategy, elaborated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, directed toward the comprehensive utilization of intensive and qualitative growth factors and toward upgrading work effectiveness and quality represents the creative development of Leninist ideas. It is imbued with an innovative spirit and a bold approach to ripe problems.

The revolutionary-constructive activities of the Soviet people, guided by Lenin's party, are yielding results worthy of the makers of the October Revolution, of the discoverers of the new world. Let us consider some general indicators of economic growth. Regardless of the fact that about two decades of the 63 years of life of our state were spent in wars inflicted on us and in the subsequent restoration of the national economy, today, in slightly over 2 days, we produce as many industrial goods as came out in the entire 1913. Before the revolution our country's share of the world's output was over four percent; in 1922 it was approximately one percent; today it has reached 20 percent. The size of this indicator in terms of factual figures could be realized by taking

into consideration that the world's output itself has not been stagnant. The USSR is the leading country in the production of pig iron, steel, petroleum (including gas condensate), iron and manganese ore, coke, cement, flax, chemical fertilizers, and so on. Over the past 10 years the Soviet Union doubled its industrial output. Such an achievement would take the United States 16 years, France 17 years, the FRG 18 years, and Great Britain 26 years.

Crises, unemployment, inflation and unrestrained price increases--the chronic ills of the capitalist world--are unknown to the socialist economy. Over the past quarter of a century the average annual growth rate of our national income, which is the concentrated manifestation of the economic power of society (compared with the prerevolutionary level it is higher by a factor of 73) has been twice that of the United States, while that of the CEMA-member countries has been higher than that of the Common Market by a factor of 1.7. The dynamic growth of the national income confirms the steadily increasing economic potential of the USSR as clearly manifested in the absolute growth of the value of one percent of the national income used for consumption and accumulation: it equaled 1.5 billion rubles in the Seventh Five-Year Plan, 2.0 billion in the Eighth, 2.8 billion in the Ninth, and 3.6 billion in the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Yes, the facts and figures eloquently prove the tremendous opportunities of developed socialism. This is a society which combines the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with those of the socialist economic system. It is a society converting to intensive economic development methods, a society which has reached an unparalleled scale of output. Today it is directly engaged in laying the material and technical foundations for communism and is achieving decisive victories in the economic competition against capitalism.

Our ideological opponents, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in his book "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], are forced "to admit that in many respects the Soviet Union has caught up with the United States, for example, while in a number of most important economic indicators it has far outstripped it. The United States, however, keeps overemphasizing the economic indicators in which this biggest of the capitalist states is still in the lead. Meanwhile, it is carefully ignoring and trying to conceal from its readers and listeners our respective historical conditions. Yet, in this "honest" competition, as they describe it, one of the sides, protected from enemy invasions by the ocean, profited from the wars, while the other was subjected to constant provocations, bore the heaviest possible burden of wars and destructions, and was forced in many areas to begin just about from scratch." This is stated openly! The effect of objective social laws leaves no doubt that within a short historical time the homeland of the October Revolution can become the leading world economic power.

The entire system of socialist social relations, the development of spiritual culture, and the acceleration of processes of surmounting substantial disparities between mental and physical labor and between town and country are improving on the basis of the steadily rising material production, this powerful lever of social progress. All this is assisting our progress toward the higher phase of the communist system.

The forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress will sum up the qualitative changes clearly manifested in the economic, social and political realms of life of the developed

socialist society. It will formulate a program for the building of communism in the forthcoming stage. The party congress is always the result of our work and our plans for the future. Accomplishments, as yet unused reserves, and reasons for one or another shortcoming are matters about which we have become accustomed to speak frankly and critically, with maximum honesty and principled-mindedness. The party congresses play a particular role in the country's history. They shine like beacons, illuminating the distance we have covered and the road which lies ahead. In all periods of the Soviet system the party has been faced with difficult problems. Its guiding role inspired the people in the first five-year plans, during the bloodshedding battles against fascism, and in the period of economic restoration which followed the victory over the enemy. Each congress has marked an important step along this great road and made a substantial contribution to the theory and practice of the building of communism. Today, under mature socialist conditions, even more responsible and complex problems await their solution. Our party and people are prepared for this.

The socialist revolution which converts the "plan" for a future social system, formulated by Marx and Engels, into a living social organism, converts the proletarian ideal from dream to reality. The conversion of the stipulations of progressive theory to practical action materializes the basic humanistic formula of the progress of the new society. This formula has been expressed with maximum accuracy and brevity by Marxism-Leninism: the free and all-round development of the individual as a prerequisite for the free development of all. The implementation of this objective is the principal meaning of the historical experience of the October Revolution and of the global revolutionary process it triggered.

"...The bourgeois social system marks the end of the prehistory of human society" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 13, p 8). The real history of mankind which will unleash all its forces and possibilities, begins with the victory of the socialist revolution which eliminates private property and exploitation and the social division of labor which maims the people. The working class is the one destined to perform this world-liberating exploit. The disappearance of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. This was prophetically written by the founders of scientific communism in the middle of the 19th century.

The October Revolution, which gathered within itself the entire creative energy of the masses, acquired in the course of the centuries, and the highest accomplishments of social philosophy, described by Romain Rolland as "the new day of mankind," fulfilled this prediction. As not only a national but a profoundly international phenomenon in terms of origin and content, under the influence of the global revolutionary process it resolved not local but general, central problems facing the peoples of all countries, raised by social progress. Its universal-historical significance lies in the fact that it opened the way to the solution of ripe problems and, thus, to the creation of a new and ascending civilization.

The radical social changes initiated by the first proletarian state brought about a situation favorable to the struggle waged by the international working

class for both its immediate and final objectives. The organization and unity of its various detachments improved. The victory of the October Revolution firmly placed the working class in the center of the contemporary epoch.

The whirlwind of the October Revolution fanned the spark of the revolution into a powerful flame which spread around the globe. The steadily expanding global revolutionary process is not developing in the least in the manner hoped for by the supporters of the Trotskyite theory of the "permanent revolution," conceived by the "left-wing" opportunists and the Maoist distorters of Marxism-Leninism as being the only possible way. They are substituting doubtful military-strategic estimates for the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine--the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat and the class analysis of reality and of social laws. The social revolution is not born ready-made. It cannot be artificially triggered or exported to another country, making it wherever and whenever radical individuals or groups merely proclaim their desire to do so. It must ripen within society. The ability of the hegemonistic class to wage a daring and dedicated struggle and the existence of a consistently revolutionary party, tempered in battle, providing proper political leadership are necessary prerequisites for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

We know that the basic strategic problem of the October Revolution was that of its motive forces, of the alliance between the working class and the nonproletarian masses, the poorest peasantry in particular. Today this historical experience assumes an essential significance in the struggle against right-wing falsifications of scientific communism. Leninism exposed both the groundlessness of populist-S. R. "theories" of the decisive role of the countryside in the socialist revolution as well as the Menshevik rejection of the revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry. The concept developed by Lenin according to which the role of the proletariat in the historical movement is immeasurably greater than its share of the population mass was confirmed in the course of the revolution. Having rallied around itself all working people in the country, the relatively small Russian proletariat led them to the victory of the October Revolution and succeeded in defending its gains.

Fierce debates related to the assessment of the historical legacy of the October Revolution have continued unabated throughout the world for many decades. The communists see in them instructive lessons for revolutionary and class strategy and tactics, and a very rich material which helps them to resolve the problems which arise under contemporary conditions. In turn, the enemies of socialism tirelessly insist that the October Revolution is an anomaly, an accidental historical zigzag and that, allegedly, it is outside the high road of the nations and that its experience is of no universal value to them.

History itself is the final arbiter in such debates. It fully confirmed Lenin's prediction that, following the Russian proletariat, the path opened by the October Revolution will be followed by other peoples and that the basic features of our revolution must be inevitably duplicated on a global scale.

Naturally, the October Revolution and the building of socialism and communism in the USSR neither exhausted nor could exhaust the entire wealth and variety of revolutionary ways and means. The historical practice of different countries is also enriching our concepts on the laws and characteristics of social progress.

New circumstances create new problems and new approaches to the implementation of specific tasks. That is why it is not a question of automatically duplicating an experience. This could only be harmful. It is a question, above all, of mastering the lessons of a great revolution and of the manifestations of its laws without which a transition from capitalism to socialism would be unaccomplishable. They include the leadership of the toiling masses by the working class headed by a Marxist-Leninist party, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the other toiling strata, the elimination of the capitalist and the establishment of a socialist ownership of productive capital, and the class solidarity among the working people of different nations.

The universal significance of the legacy of the October Revolution is inseparably linked with the international nature of Leninism. As the natural continuation of Marxism and as an answer to the objective requirement of its further development under the conditions of a change in the epochs of world history and a turn to a new, a communist system, Leninism is the scientific summation of the overall revolutionary experience of the proletariat of all countries. It is also the skill successfully and creatively to apply this international experience to the specific-historical features of the individual countries, together with the general laws and principles derived from it. That is precisely why Leninism has exceeded the framework of a single country and become the sharpest theoretical weapon wielded by the international working class. That is precisely why Bolshevism, in Lenin's words, became a "model of the tactic for anyone" as yet faced with the overthrow of the exploiting system.

The 20th century is described as the century of the triumph of Lenin's immortal doctrine. All most important social processes and contemporary trends are strengthening, broadening and deepening under the direct influence of the ideas of Leninism and the accomplishments of the Great October Revolution. Whereas yesterday Leninism was embodied in the victory of the October Revolution and the building of the first socialist society in the world and represented a powerful call for freedom and social justice for hundreds of millions of people who had taken up the struggle, today Leninism represents real socialism embodying the comity of fraternal countries. It is a powerful workers and national-liberation movement. It means the elimination of colonial rule and the creation of young independent countries. It represents a radically changed ratio of sociopolitical forces in favor of socialism and peace. The future of Leninism is a communist society in our country, mature forms of socialist relations in several countries, new waves of unrestrained revolutionary current overflowing the citadels of coercion and arbitrariness, total exclusion of wars from the life of mankind, and the close and fruitful cooperation among all nations.

However great the distance covered by mankind from the beginning of its true history may be, again and again it will turn with its mind, its heart, its thoughts and its feelings to the inexhaustible and truly life-bringing prime source of communist programs: the Great October Revolution. It will admire the heroic accomplishments, firmness of spirit and moral strength of the pioneers of the radical reorganization of the world who, for the sake of the happiness of the working people on earth, accomplished an unparalleled gigantic exploit. This exploit has been the main event of the age. The future generations, the creators and fellow citizens of the worldwide "association of free

producers" (Marx) will proudly chronicle the history of their social and moral values starting with the revolutionary ideals of the Russian workers and peasants, soldiers and seamen who raised over the planet the banner of Leninism in the unfading and ever glorious and stormy 1917.

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CSO: 1802

BY YOUR NAME, COMRADE LENIN....; NOTES ON A VISIT TO SHUSHENSKOYE VILLAGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 80 pp 14-25

[Article by V. Litvinov, Shushenskoye-Moscow]

[Text] I

Some of the Siberian peasants who had once personally known Vladimir Il'ich lived a long time after the October Revolution. It was precisely they who inspired a village meeting to perpetuate the memory of Lenin in Shushenskoye. They wanted to perpetuate it through something very great, to last forever! Some suggested that a plot of the best farmland be cultivated jointly and free of charge, letting Lenin personally dispose of the crop. Others were more ambitious. They called for building in his honor a rural electric power plant generating some 20 kilowatts so that all huts would have electricity and that "Il'ich's bulb" would shine in his memory....

Nothing came out of the power plant idea, as at that time there was such a scarcity of everything that iron could not be found even for shoeing the horses or scythes. Lenin's plot, however, was demarkated and on the leader's birthday the following letter was sent to Moscow: "...This session is presenting you, Vladimir Il'ich, as your birthday gift: the sowing of grain by the peasants of Shushenskaya Volost' on a plot of 50 desyatinas...." When the grain was harvested, it was hauled by a train of carts to the Volga area for the hungry children.

Lenin's field in Shushenskoye still exists. The land of the sovkhos-technical school stretches around it. It is in this farm that over 2,000 local adolescents learn and acquire their initial labor habits on the basis of highly productive "elite" types of work. The scholarships of many of the students are paid by the rural collectives who are sending them to school.

The technical school-"monument" in Shushenskoye was created several years after Vladimir Il'ich's death. The idea of its establishment was energetically encouraged by Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya. The shape of the first school building resembles Lenin's Mausoleum.

The first step which the newly enrolled young Siberian man or woman takes as a student is to visit Lenin's memorial. The first practical training is in Lenin's field. Such is the old tradition.

Another good tradition is that every single manager, whether kolkhoz brigade leader or first secretary of the rayon party committee, must cover the technical program in Shushenskoye. The rayon is agricultural and today no leading position can be held without solid professional knowledge of the foundations of agrotechnology, mechanization, and scientific farm management.

It is thus that through the sovkhos-technical school a great variety of people have come to know each other--directors of neighboring sovkhoses, Shushenskoye workers who went to the virgin lands, agronomers, mechanizers, and the young boy Pavel Akulov who, following his graduation, was drafted in the border troops and was killed by the Maoists on Damanskiy Island. His portrait hangs in the Leninist Room of the technical school--a young very boyish face....

Turning to Lenin, Mayakovskiy wrote: "Comrade, our hearts and beings with which we think, breathe, struggle and live are yours!" Today these words are considered a poetic formula of one of the most outstanding features of the Soviet way of life: literally every serious undertaking and accomplishment in our country is imbued with Leninist principles. It is no accident that the people speak of Leninist directness and exactingness and that, like Il'ich, the people try to anticipate the future of their children, that they are conscious of their work and their international feelings....

This vital principle is felt particularly sharply, viscerally in Shushenskoye. Everything here is Leninist, from the little lake in the pine trees to the gigantic hydroelectric power station. There is a certain deep meaning ascribed to words such as Shushenskoye Technical School, Shushenskoye party members, Shushenskoye initiative.... At a kray women's rally in Krasnoyarsk the hall thundered with applause when a girl holding a fresh loaf of bread stood on the rostrum--it happened at the beginning of October 1979--and said: "I am a combine operator from Shushenskoye...." The way this was said was worth hearing and so was the response of the hall--1,000 delegates who had come here from the most remote corners of the kray, from the Arctic Ocean to Sayan, Siberian women, old and young, all wearing the silk delegate scarfs on their shoulders, a thousand women representing the flower of our life--science, production, heroics, education, motherhood....

Turning to the delegates, Moscow writer Mariya Pavlovna Prilezhayeva, a guest of the rally and author of the novel "Udivitel'nyy God" [Amazing Year], on Lenin's and Krupskaya's Shushenskoye exile, said: "If only Nadezhda Konstantinovna could see you now.... If she could only imagine you, even for a minute, during those dark Shushenskoye nights, when she was writing her study on 'The Woman Worker,' full of pain and hope...."

The exhibits in Lenin's memorial in Shushenskoye include one of the first editions of this work. Lenin carefully guided the author by selecting for Nadezhda Konstantinovna the necessary statistical tables and newspaper clippings, and advised her as to how to present one or another fact in the light of Marxism. The work "Woman Worker" described the terrible lot of women in the world of autocracy and capitalism, the Draconian rules in factories, the "placing of women" in workshops, and the horrifying infant mortality in Russia.

The very aspect of Shushenskoye today provides a certain historical antithesis to everything Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Vladimir Il'ich saw as political exiles, at the end of the 19th century, exiled by a police regime in places about which one could only say that "there is no more remote spot than Shusha-- it is beyond the very end of the world."...

This "antithesis" is visible in the multiple-story residential houses and the streets, wide like city streets, looking like ribbons of greenery and asphalt. Today Shushenskoye has its combines and factories and a powerful construction trust. It has a beautiful house of culture, a wide-screen movie theater, coffee shops, restaurants, and a library containing 100,000 books. It has its bus depot and airport and, in the distance, the river port made of concrete and glass along the Yenisey is visible. It has a big hospital, a polyclinic and a maternity home. All in all, the medical personnel in the village exceeds 300 people. In addition to the technical school we mentioned, the youth of Shushenskoye can attend several general educational and vocational-technical schools and three special schools for the arts, sports, and music. It is as though today's Shushenskoye with its lovely houses and streets is part of the famous Leninist memorial.

This common thought has been well described in the visitor's book of the memorial by the secretaries of aymach committees of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party: "In this Siberian village the tremendous changes in the social appearance, in labor, and in the entire way of life of the Soviet peasantry, achieved on the leader's behest are reflected like the sun in a drop of water."

II

Like the sun in a drop of water. . . . But the name of the Shushenskoye memorial is rather harsh: "V. I. Lenin's Siberian Exile." It may be that, seized by a good feeling and love for his native country, a guide (or even a literary worker, an author of fictional Leniniana) may unwittingly become idyllic: Where else could Vladimir Il'ich find such a rich natural environment, healthy air, or hospitality? Yet, this was exile, a prison without fences.

Adjectives and metaphors may disappear with time. The primordial pain, however, is reflected in the brief lines which have become documents, historical facts. From a report to his superiors submitted by the okrug police superintendent: "...Vladimir Ul'yanov, the political administrative exile, reached his assigned place of residence, Shushenskoye Village, Minusinskiy Okrug on 8 May of this year and proper police surveillance for a period of 3 years was organized." The inhuman nature of this "proper" supervision is described in the memoirs of A. T. Davydov, a Shushenskoye peasant: "Il'ich was constantly watched. He was forbidden to leave the village without the permission of Supervisor Zausaylov. Zausaylov daily "checked" on the political exiles."

There was more than the constant checks like in jail, such as surprise searches conducted in the middle of the night. "Following the old Petersburg custom, clandestine publications and correspondence were kept separately. True, they laid on the lowest shelf of the bookcase. Vladimir Il'ich would bring a stool to the policemen to start their search with the upper shelves containing a

variety of statistical collections. This would wear them out to such an extent that they would not even look at the bottom shelf...." (N. K. Krupskaya).

Nothing was more remote than Shusha.... "At the beginning of my exile I had decided not even to look at the map of European Russia and Europe: I felt such bitterness by opening these maps and looking at the various black dots," Lenin admitted in a letter to his sister M. I. Ul'yanova ("Poln. Sobr. Soch. " [Complete Collected Works], Vol 55, p 107]. The distance separating Shushenskoye from St. Petersburg was 5,924 versts. Today this figure stands engraved on the verst pole on top of Dumnaya Mount. It was from this place that once Vladimir Il'ich saw the Shushenskoye countryside for the first time.

People were exiled here not simply in order to cut them off from the entire world but to stifle the "state criminals" with an alien type of life, yearnings, and needs. All kinds of things happened among political exiles. Some of them became drunks, turning into pitiful petit bourgeois. Others hired themselves out as farmhands working for the hard Siberian kulaks. Fedoseyev committed suicide, Vaneyev died of consumption, while Yefimov became insane....

It took someone like Lenin under such circumstances, when one's entire existence was limited to the village, when it was painful to look at a map, and when the past became nonexistent, to gain control over one's self from the very first days of exile, and to live, here as well, an intelligent, active, inspired life. Lenin was 27, at the prime of his life and creative strength! He alone could awaken all political exiles around him, encourage the militant spirit of someone, help someone else regain his health, look for a physician and for treatment, and encourage others to engage in serious political self-education so that to the young social democrats exile became a truly revolutionary university; he organized among the political exiles scattered around Minusinskiy Okrug the exchange of books, periodicals and newspapers; scorning police bans and the special "reprimand" of the police superintendent, he organized regular communications and face-to-face meetings using all possible pretexts such as name-day celebrations, carnivals, or geological studies of the surroundings.... Keeping in touch, maintaining contacts, discussing party matters was not enough. One had to be active, to struggle, to involve everyone in active life! Lenin started a debate with exiled Narodniks; Lenin organized an improvised picnic in the spring; Lenin wrote the draft of the collective "Protest of the Russian Social Democrats," which exposed the opportunism of the "economists" in the revolutionary movement....

A simple peasant hut is carefully preserved in Yermakovskoye Village. It was here that, on Vladimir Il'ich's initiative, 17 like-thinking people gathered around Vaneyev's sickbed to discuss and sign this militant "Protest:" the entire atmosphere of those distant days, each petty item has been preserved so thoroughly and thoughtfully that one has the feeling of hearing the voices under the low ceiling, one feels the burning fuse of the people who look at us from the photograph on the wall, young, full of spirit and faith.

There is a tombstone on Vaneyev's grave with words of parting and one of them is the daring word "Comrade," both as a challenge and an assertion. The cast iron gravestone was ordered from the nearby plant by Vladimir Il'ich.

It may appear as though everything he accomplished "organizationally" (as we would say today) would have taken more than a lifetime, day after day. At the same time, however, in less than 3 years of exile, Lenin wrote over 30 works--pamphlets, articles, reviews--and, on top of all this, the major study "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," a brilliant model of the creative implementation of the Marxist doctrine under the specific historical conditions and times.

"He is always writing something," the local village constable testified. "He must be a writer. I have frequently reported this to the police superintendent, so that nothing may come out of his writings. Let him write, the police superintendent answered, as long as he keeps quiet and does not engage in something else. As to this, it does not matter...."

The powerful impetus provided by Lenin's thoughts was felt not only by the exiles in the okrug or the entire Yeniseyskiy Kray (numerous documents allow us today to see most clearly the great influence of Shushenskoye on the development of revolutionary Marxism in Siberia); the ideas which Lenin recorded on this simple little wooden desk put together in one end of the hut turned into a new flow of energy inspiring the workers and social-democratic movements, developing Marxist theory, and raising the people of Astrakhan', Petersburg, Finland, and Krasnoyarsk to the struggle.

The purpose of all this was one. Everything such as the daring trips outside Shushenskoye, the meetings and arguments, the hundreds of letters sent to various parts of the country or abroad, and the articles and studies, with their amazing perception of the future of the revolutionary process as a whole and of the vital needs of the present, the real circumstances; the firm criticism of the errors of the liberal narodniks and the "legal Marxists," and of treacherous opportunism within the social democratic movement; the steady work on theory and the practical combination of scientific socialism with the workers movement, which marked a new, a Leninist stage in the development of Marxism and in the class struggle of the proletariat; finally, the innumerable newspaper clippings, cryptography and the mastering of foreign languages, entire nights spent over manuscripts, and the very act of living were all for the sake of one thing only: Lenin was preparing the creation of a party, a militant Marxist party of the Russian proletariat which would seize the political power in the country and lead Russia to communism.

We can feel the greatness of any page in the book of Lenin's life, wherever we happen to open it--Petersburg or Switzerland, Ufa or Moscow; it always seems to us that it was precisely then that the most important actions were taking place... Nevertheless, looking at Shushenskoye we stand still as though we are at the very source of history. It was here that Lenin developed the idea of a newspaper as the organizer of a party. It was here that its decisive tactical and ideological-programmatic principles were elaborated. Everything was comprehensively considered, put together, its details repeatedly checked and scientifically substantiated.... "One of my last walks with Vladimir Il'ich along the banks of the wide Yenisey has remained quite memorable," G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy was to recall years later. "It was a frosty moonlit night and the endless spread of Siberian snow sparkled in front of us. Vladimir Il'ich was talking

with inspiration about his plans and suggestions following his return to Russia. The organization of a printed party organ, moving it abroad and creating a party with the help of its central organ which would thus become the necessary timber for the construction of the entire building of the revolutionary organization of the proletariat was the focal point of his arguments."

It was here that they walked, along this shore and under this sky. They lived in these log cabins with plank roofs, surrounded by high thick Siberian-style fences. A kerosene lamp would be burning in front of a wealthy home--one for the entire street. Today this, as everything else, is part of a memorial zone. It is a busy place during the day but at night, when darkness falls, the huts--museums seem to retreat within themselves. One could imagine the type of life here....

Another memorial which will be 50 years old this year are the poplar stakes once stuck along the banks of the Shusha to protect the huts from the drifting ice. They caught roots and have grown into branchy trees. Initially there were two Lenin huts. As early as 1924 the people of Shushenskoye raised the question of their preservation. Since 1970 the area has been a museum-reserve. Standing under the open sky is a bit of a village as it was at the end of the 19th century. It includes some 30 yards with their homes and outbuildings, the volost' government house, the jail protected by a five-meter tall spiked fence, the house of a kulak and the shack of a horseless poor migrant, the "drinking establishment," or the tavern of those times. It is the old Siberia as it was, with its mores, atmosphere, utensils, and farming and artisan tools. The memorial complex combines the historical with the ethnographic, the domestic with the social, and the revolutionary relics and priceless proofs of Lenin's life.

The two huts are in the very center of all this. "Carefully stepping on the floorboard," are the words of the poet, endlessly repeated. Some visitors are noisy. A tourist, particularly a foreigner, would ask innumerable questions. More frequently, however, the visitors maintain a long silence. Such is the atmosphere of the place. Here a person must concentrate and has a great deal to think about....

The Zyryanov hut contains a rough peasant table covered by a homespun tablecloth, simple floorboards, and a copper washstand. There are newspapers and bound books. We see the porch on which, after a long separation, Vladimir Il'ich embraced his wife ("the owners and all the neighbors crowded inside the hut, looking at us closely and asking us questions," N. K. Krupskaya recalled).

The second premise, the Petrova house on the bank of the Shusha is richer. It was from here that they would leave the moment the exile was over. It was here that they would welcome the new century--the year 1900. A Christmas tree stands in the courtyard in remembrance of the one decorated for the local children; there is a summer house covered with bright Siberian hop-plants. ("We made a garden in the yard--Il'ich and I went into the forest, brought in the hops and worked on the garden").

The original fountain pen used by Lenin, the tableware used, and the table itself have been preserved. The heavy winter sheepskin coat used by the entire

family, the small wooden writing desk and the famous "green lamp," so frequently described in literature and poetry, which Nadezhda Konstantinovna had brought from Moscow, have been restored. The bookshelf brings to mind the unexpected night search.

Not only the tablecloth and the forks with wooden handles, but the lake on which Lenin hunted occasionally, and the 952 trees of local pine standing "by Il'ich" have been preserved with touching concern. Cedars, firs, larches, birches and pines are vigilantly watched over by Pioneers.

Even by today's standards Shushenskoye is very much outside popular tourist tracks. Last year alone, however, about 250,000 people coming literally from all parts of the globe, visited the village and Lenin's memorial. The huts, little streets and exhibits are impressive. That is how it was planned: "...Particular attention was paid to the colorful and emotional saturation of the museum complex and to the creation of a feeling of truthfulness of everything. This could be achieved only by providing specific details of the surroundings and in the course of live exposure to the surroundings, something which cannot be obtained from literary sources" ("V. I. Lenin i Sotsialisticheskoye Preobrazovaniye v Sibiri" [V. I. Lenin and Socialist Transformation in Siberia], Nauka, Moscow, 1974, p 302). Along with such "visible" items there also is a so to say "invisible" part of the work of the Shushenskoye museum associates, a part unseen by the public. These are involved people, enthusiastically doing their work. For many years they have engaged in painstaking and purposeful scientific research in an effort to enrich our knowledge of the Shushenskoye period of exile of Lenin and his associates. Let us merely say that in the past 3 years 100 new documents and items have been added to the museum exhibits.

The museum has a rich stock of recorded recollections of local residents, documents and testimonies contributed by relatives of Lenin's fellow workers. The picture of the contacts which Lenin had with the social democratic movement at that time is becoming ever more detailed. A more precise knowledge is being gained of the works used by Vladimir Il'ich in his exile on the basis of a large number of sources ranging from letters by private individuals to post office and police reports. Sometimes unexpectedly the "Shushenskoye topic" is discovered in nearby or distant files. The memorial's personnel are in friendly touch with the Leninist museums (the establishment of a branch of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum in Krasnoyarsk--the eighth such museum in the country--will unquestionably enhance such contacts even further).

There is no museum instruction book to teach us how to make the memorial visitors feel the entire complexity of the situation and the character of the person. How do we describe the pain of life in exile coexisting with captivating creative victories, when every step taken by Lenin, every day was a great example of how a revolutionary should behave even under most incredible and extreme circumstances! Furthermore, these "circumstances" have their own dialectics: on the one hand there is the wild remoteness with its cruel mores and ignorance; on the other, this is native Siberia, powerful in its drama, with its age-old folk traditions and wise customs. Lenin must be seen as a philosopher focused on a single objective, a scientist, and a lover of books and, at the same time, an exceptionally communicative person. "He looked at

life thirstily," N. K. Krupskaya recalled. "He loved life passionately. He talked with the peasants, handled their accounts, observed, and studied country life." He was known as the wisest of the political exiles, as a teacher and a tutor. Yet, Vladimir Il'ich was young, he liked to skate, he liked to go to the mountains, he was a newlywed, he was loved, he was a young man. "We were newlywed and this helped the exile. The fact that I do not describe this in my memoirs does not mean in the least that our lives lacked poetry or youthful passion...." (N. K. Krupskaya).

Such is the dialectics. Nevertheless, above all this and above the cherished features of an outstanding personality, there was something else, the most important thing: whether we are describing Lenin at work or talking with people, or concerned and sad; whether we talk about his personal correspondence with relatives or his esthetic tastes, or discuss Lenin's simplicity or punctuality, we are always talking about a genius. We are talking of the simplicity of the genius, the work of a genius, the spiritual health and historical optimism of a genius.... In some memoirs on Vladimir Il'ich this thought is repeatedly expressed. It was aptly formulated by Gor'kiy: "I would describe this basic feature of his character as the militant optimism of the materialist. It was precisely this that particularly attracted me to this person. He was Man, with a capital M." Again and again anyone who tries to achieve a profound understanding of Lenin's character and the complex unity of his features--be it a museum worker, a writer, or a propagandist--must think again and again about this.

III

When we say artistic Leniniana we mean professional works of art. The concept of Leniniana is broader, however, for we must consider the oral folk works (heroic poems and tales about Il'ich have deservedly drawn the serious attention of literary workers and scientists). Many more things are worth thinking about. Lenin's accomplishments, his character and his unique personality represent our very life, covering our daily work and holidays, occasionally appearing in original and even unexpected forms, for everyone imagines them differently. Knowledge of Lenin frequently means to a person knowledge of himself and the world around him, knowledge of what is described as the meaning of life.

Let us take daily life in Shushenskoye and we see the many refractions through which this most human attraction toward Lenin appears! Members of people's units swear their loyalty oaths in the memorial, in "Il'ich's home." It is here that the red ties are presented to the children for the first time. It is here that new Komsomol members are accepted or workers are dedicated in their field. Years may pass but it will be remembered that everything began with Il'ich's name, as though with his fatherly blessings....

In the visitors' book I found the entry of a former front line veteran who recalled how he went to war in 1941 from this very threshold. Next to it was a very recent entry: "We, a group of border guard lieutenants with our families, on our way to our assignment, have visited the Shushenskoye memorial and now we are on our way to protecting the sacred borders of the homeland with a feeling of tremendous spiritual upsurge...."

Here are other entries: "We report to you, Comrade Lenin, that we have produced the first sample of industrial aluminum;" or "We have just finished testing a new passenger airplane."...

Several dozens of such thick books are stored in the memorial, containing entries in all conceivable languages, the feelings of people old and young, people of different professions and with different destinies expressing profound feelings, as though representing the very dynamics of life and the self-awareness of the people. Their incalculable number is a virgin field for sociologists, psychologists, journalists and writers.

Let me go back to the thought of the variety of hypostases of folk Leniniana. Leninist Fridays have become an organic part of Shushenskoye life. On this day a party member—a rayon leader, a representative of a rayon party committee or the prosecutor's office, the social security administration, or the rayon department of public education would show up among the labor collectives and, without any particular agenda, would engage in an intimate discussion on the most topical problems of the day. In the sovkhos-technical school the graduating students would be presenting to the Leninist Room a gift they have made themselves, invariably related to Lenin. The schools have their own Leninist museums. The village library keeps a file of all books depicting Lenin. Several thousand titles have already been filed. The young people would be interested in a readers' conference on "The World Through Lenin's Eyes" or "Volodya Ul'yanov's Bookshelf." The rayon newspaper sponsors a literary association. The best writings of beginner poets and prose writers are inspired by thoughts on Lenin's personality and the aspiration to see him along this bank of the Yenisey, looking at the snow-capped Sayan....

The following is a true story. It may, some day, interest a writer.

A peasant boy named Vanyushka Rekhlov lived in this area. In the 1930s, when the call "Young people, go beyond the Polar Circle" was heard, this voluntary Komsomol member went to Noril'sk and worked there as an ore grinder in an ore mining-metallurgical combine. The first picture he used to decorate his space in the hostel was the familiar portrait of Lenin against a background of red flags. Time passed and the boy acquired an entire collection of paintings—landscapes, still lifes, and genre scenes. In the bitter polar winter people would end their shift and would come and look hungrily at the flowers, a meadow in the sunshine, the juicy slices of a watermelon, or amusing children's faces.... Realizing that not only he but the entire collective needed such paintings, the young collector daringly began writing letters to various parts of the country: Help us to set up an art gallery in the Siberian backwoods. Well, half the letters were answered by publishing houses, painters and cultural societies, both at home and abroad. When Rekhlov retired and returned to Shushenskoye he brought with him no less than several thousand paintings and books on art, either received as gifts or purchased year after year with his own money.... He made all this wealth a gift to the village. That is how Shushenskoye acquired its own art gallery. Today it consists of over 10,000 reproductions of the best paintings of world masterpieces and about 7,000 originals—paintings and drawings by Soviet painters such as V. Meshkov, A. Gerasimov, A. Laktionov, B. Ioganson, Ye. Kibrik, D. Nalbandyan, P. Vasil'yev, N. Zhukov, V. Oreshnikov....(now the people of Shushenskoye can proudly say, if

you want to see some originals come to us!). The kray trade unions council assumed sponsorship over the gallery. Rekhlov became its unpaid director. He was assigned experienced assistants and given a special bus. A public gallery council was organized and a group of secondary school students became voluntary art guides. Mobile exhibitions of the Shushenskoye people's gallery are continually organized at the Leninist memorial ("Lenin and Children in Graphic Art," or "Lenin in Siberia"). They may be seen in sovkhos clubs and in the field camps of the rayon, at the movie theater, at rallies of leading workers and at conferences. Furthermore, Shushenskoye traveling exhibits have gone to the Moscow Journalists Club, the Novosibirsk Academic City, Tuva, the Kuban', the BAM, the GDR, Mongolia, Paris....

The list of names of those who personally helped this working man to put together his collection and who, presenting him with paintings and books, frequently sent words of friendly admiration for the enthusiasm of the Siberian is amazing. They include Palmiro Togliatti, Dolores Ibarruri, Wilhelm Piek, Gustav Husak, Janos Kadar, Luigi Longo, Waldek Rochet, Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal, Rodney Arismendi, Jawaharlal Nehru...Rockwell Kent, Nadia Leger, the widow of the famous French painter-communist, a painter herself, FRG painter Arnulf Erich Sterman... On a grayish-yellow leaf of a gift book there is an inscription by Ho Chi Minh which reads as follows: "Do not be surprised at the poor quality of the paper of the book you are holding in your hand: this is no ordinary paper. It was made by us in the jungle"

During our visit to Shushenskoye I. V. Rekhlov, honored worker of culture of the RSFSR, and L. M. Budakov, senior scientific associate of the gallery, were preparing the next mobile exhibit for the builders of the Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydroelectric Power Plant.

....The old idea of the Shushenskoye peasants of having a hydroelectric power plant in honor of Lenin has also become reality. It is being built 60 kilometers away from the village. However, it will generate not 20 kilowatts of which they dreamed but 6.4 million! As they say here, smilingly, a little bit more.... While the dam built at the Karlovskiy Canyon of the Yenisey is nearing its final height--245 meters--three turbines are already operating and producing industrial current. There will be 12 turbines, each one developing the capacity of the entire Dneproges. Nearby a powerful industrial complex will be built. It will be the main consumer of the energy, manufacturing railroad cars, steel castings and aluminum, processing nonferrous metals, manufacturing electrical engineering goods, extracting marble, and producing light and food industry goods....

The huge portrait of Il'ich on the dam under construction leads us to the thought that this construction as well is, in its way, Lenin's achievement, a road to Lenin. The builders, mostly young people, are building the biggest hydroelectric power plant in the world in an area where a small kerosene lamp burned at night under a green lamp shade. "What I want most and what I dream of most is the possibility to write for the workers," Lenin said in Shushenskoye ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 46, p 12). Today everything his brilliant pen created is turned to the working people on earth, including the builders of this hydraulic power plant and the million workers who will work in the 100 enterprises of the Sayansk complex.

Complex is a word quite frequently heard here in a great variety of meanings. It applies to folk Leniniana as well; everything is interrelated, part of a single essence, whether big or small, from a school composition on Volodya Ul'yanov to the workers' report: "The First Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydrolic Power Turbines are Already Working for Communism."...

IV

Possibly, it was this consideration that guided our writers in their decision to hold their creative conference "With Lenin and Following Lenin's Path" precisely in Shushenskoye. Literary workers from all republics and guests from the socialist countries came here. The Moscow and Siberian writers' organizations were extensively represented. Someone aptly described the two-day discussion of topical problems of artistic Leniniana, held in the spacious hall of the local house of culture, as a concentrated "collective meditation."

A powerful Leniniana has been developed. Its foundations were laid by M. Gor'kiy, V. Mayakovskiy and Al. Tolstoy; addressing themselves to Il'ich was very important in the development of such a variety of artists as S. Yesenin, Ye. Charents or K. Fedin.... If someone were to undertake chronologically to classify all books on Lenin it would become apparent that, one way or another, Il'ich's entire life has already been recorded through the art of N. Pogodin, M. Shaginyan, A. Korneychuk, E. Kazakevich, A. Koptelov, A. Shteyn, K. Yashen, M. Prilezhayeva, M. Sokolov, D. Yereyin, S. Dangulov, V. Osipov, S. Alekseyev, V. Kanivets, V. Tel'pugov and others, in the popular Politizdat series "Ardent Revolutionaries." These works cover his entire life from his childhood years in Simbirsk to the sad days of 1924. In this artistic panorama Shushenskoye is presented quite strikingly: the years of Lenin's exile have become pages not only of history but of many artistic genres.

Despite all this, many of the addresses at the conference were imbued with the feeling that artistic Leniniana is merely taking a running start. Its first stage was saturated with serious works dealing with facts. We owe to them the establishment of a number of details and the assertion of a clearly realistic principle in resolving a complex and important writing task. However, books are already appearing in whose artistry we see this captivating premonition of something new, something ripening. The time has come for works which can recreate the image of the leader on an epic scale and depict Il'ich's experiences through the means of truly high drama. It was said at the conference that today true passion and inspiration, daring artistic thinking, the ability to reach the essence of facts, and the skill to express the optimistic tragedy of the century powerfully and on a broad scale are to be expected of authors dealing with the Leninist topic. The reader needs books which would turn the soul upside down, works which would be a revelation and would become lifetime favorites.

Our literary-artistic critics and experts deserve a great deal of credit in dealing with this major topic. No single more or less serious book (or motion picture or play on Lenin) has been ignored; a systematic course has been charted over the past 30 years in developing this topic in all national literatures in the country; the critics are firmly resolved to protect this sacred field of art from hack works, amateurish bad taste and tactlessness. However, does our literary science of today have enough strength not only to record but creatively

to anticipate the main trends of this movement and broadly open to the writers both the possibilities and the ways to their noble objective?

The report by Comrade M. A. Suslov "A Matter for the Entire Party" states that the solution of basic social problems—including those of cultural development—directly depends on the depth of their scientific interpretation, on the truly creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology. This, however, can be accomplished only as the result of daring searches intolerant of speculative views and scholasticism or formalistic exercises presented as innovations. The main lever in this case is to focus on the study of what is most important, what is already ripe.

This applies to the tasks of all party ideological work. However, it very accurately applies to the specific creative searches of artists and literary experts! Actually, the report includes lines addressed directly to the artists: true success is possible only with the development of a single tie, a single criterion of idea-mindedness and artistry, when deep historicism in a work is indivisible from the author's understanding of the economic, social and spiritual processes taking place in modern society.

As we reread the minutes of the Shushenskoye writers' and critics' conference we see the "collective thinking" at work—purposefully and sharply. (What could be closer to Lenin's spirit, to the spirit of our time, than the aspiration to note the great date with an action and with a turn to the essence!). It was a question of the fact that today as well we are far from resolving the problem discussed in writers' circles in the anniversary days of 1970: How do we depict more extensively the image of Lenin—the head of the Soviet government, the leader of the party's Central Committee, and the organizer of the international communist movement.

One of the important tasks facing Leninism is the raising of a new, a socialist individual. He will be the type of individual who will defend to the end the communist principles, like Lenin, always and whatever the circumstances, never losing even for a minute the feeling of personal dignity, showing his organic morality above all in action, in the performance of social duty! Not surprisingly, the problem of the hero of our time naturally arose in the discussion of today's condition of artistic Leniniana. The main guideline was the image of the communist of today.

If we try to name the central idea of the conference and its slogan and its lesson, the conclusion becomes self-evident: the prerequisite for tomorrow's power of artistic Leniniana is to consider it not simply as a "special topic" but as the very pivot of the entire contemporary art of socialist realism and to judge precisely on the basis of Leniniana the condition and general trend of the entire literary process. Its power field covers everything which governs the life of the Soviet people.

Vitaliy Ozerov said that our conference is a writers' search for Lenin's advice. We must approach the facts of today with a Leninist yardstick. We must remember that Soviet literature is a literature about mankind following the path of Lenin. In our books we must describe the society of mature socialism and the

Soviet way of life—the Leninist way of life—in such a way that the entire world will feel our inspiration.... "Our contribution to world artistic Leniniana must consist, above all, of works on the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for socialism, the gravity of the ideological struggle in the world, and the way Leninism is practically asserting itself throughout the world," said Vietnamese writer Nguyen Van Bong. Today, when the Leninist topic is firmly broadening its horizons and penetrating more deeply into morality and ethics, said Ukrainian Boris Oleynik, it is particularly valuable that the image of Lenin, as established in our literature, is not presented in the spirit of legends and myths but as a living person, close and precious to the people.... Boris Polevoy summed this up in PRAVDA as follows: "The literary workers were inspired by the opportunity to visit the area where the young Vladimir Ul'yanov engaged in most daring dreams, and to see with their own eyes the famous Siberian village perpetuated in memoirs, novels, the graphic arts, and the motion pictures. In my view, no better place could have been chosen..."

This is indeed so. At the conference the writers worked together with the people of Shushenskoye. They were addressed by party leaders, a weaver, a sovkhos worker. The literary workers visited labor collectives, fields, the construction site of the power plant, and the various corners of this big kray. There is an accurate Siberian saying that sometimes advice on the road is more precious than a horseshoe. It was of exceptional importance to the writers to seek advice on the further development of artistic Leniniana by consulting those among their readers to whom the memory of Lenin is particularly sharp and inseparable from their daily lives, people whose kray, to use a poetical metaphor, has now become a laboratory for communism, and where the strength of the basic principles of our system is being tested.

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CSO: 1802

SPIRITUAL WEALTH AND COMMUNIST MORALITY; ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF V. I. LENIN'S SPEECH AT THE THIRD RKSM CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 80 pp 26-37

[Article by A. Frolov]

[Text] "The task of the youth league" is, as the saying goes, something for the textbooks. However, if scholastically understood, this textbook task could be misapplied and conceal the true content of Lenin's legacy to the youth.

People become accustomed to words. At that point, even the most accurate words become commonplace and Lenin's speech could be considered as just about a collection of wise statements to the effect that knowledge is light. In this case its most profound meaning and vitally topical nature are lost. This, precisely, is to be feared....

On 1 or 2 October 1920 Lenin received a delegation of the Third RKSM [Russian Young Communist League] Congress and agreed to address the congress. It was the autumn of 1920.... Dislocation. No peace treaty had been signed with Poland yet. Vranghel' was in the south. The Japanese were in the east. Carpet-baggers and bandits had become energized. The biographic chronicle drily lists hundreds of varied matters with which the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars dealt. At the beginning of October Lenin chaired on two occasions meetings of the Sovnarkom and the STO [Labor and Defense Council] and took part in Central Committee Politburo meetings. On the day of his speech to the congress he wrote the letter "To the Poor Peasants of the Ukraine," and addressed the congress of workers and employees in the leather industry. In both cases the topic was the same--the current situation. Everything in the fight against Vranghel'! Everything for the Red Army! Was what we were to hear at the Komsomol congress not clear?!

It was obvious that Lenin would discuss the current situation. Yet, what scale must be used to measure the current situation as experienced by those gathered in the hall? And so, we witnessed a superb dialectical turn of thought: not attempts to explain what could not be comprehended by a brilliant application of the concept of specific truth. The truth contained in Lenin's speech was specific and precisely for this reason he did not say a word about Vranghel' or Poland. This was because now he was not facing "poor peasants" or "leather workers." He was facing the future of the country, the generation which would be the first to convert from "worker," "peasant," or "intellectual" into "simply

a worker," into a communist person. In his view the current situation had reached the scale of an entire historical age.

And so, it is 2 October 1920, 2000 hours....

Seventeen years later N. K. Krupskaya was to write that, "...Painters frequently paint him like a sort of a teacher with his arm raised and pointing with his finger threateningly, passing the verdict that "one must study, study, and study." This was not the kind of gesture Il'ich would make.... Such an instructive gesture immediately distorts Il'ich's image" (N. K. Krupskaya, "O Lenine. Sbornik Statey i Vystupleniy" [On Lenin. Collection of Articles and Addresses]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, p 100).

The efforts of the educator are unquestionably lost if the pupil notices that he is being merely "educated." The position of a mentor is unnatural. It is precisely it that contains the frightening features of the reality of the ancient sophism, "making the uneducated person educated means to kill him." It leads to the additional stand of the schoolboy who not only does not object but is willing to be "educated," the situation of a "blank sheet of paper" on which one could draw anything one likes. This already represents the atrophy of the individual and the complete success of the mentor, the success of a system of education reduced to the simple transfer of information from one brain to another. The ancient Greek sophist who invented the paradox may have unwittingly yet accurately expressed the nature of his own work as a hired "teacher of wisdom."

Could this be an exaggeration? Not in the least. The sharp rejection of Lenin as a mentor has its profound reasons. It was not at all in vain that N. K. Krupskaya wrote that Lenin must be depicted and accepted "not as a 'tutor' but as a person who would like to convince his interlocutor" (Ibid, p 101). At this point it would be pertinent to ask the following question: Did Lenin encounter many people who were prepared not "to heed" him but to accept him as a person "who would like to convince" his interlocutor? Did Lenin frequently come across an understanding of his method of communication which he identically applied when talking to Plekhanov, the brilliant theoretician, or a semi-illiterate petition-bearing peasant?

Once, in a letter to Inessa Armand he bitterly answered the question as follows: "Most people (99 percent of the bourgeoisie, 98 percent of the liquidationists, and about 60-70 percent of the Bolsheviks) are unable to think. They merely memorize words" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch. " [Complete Collected Works], Vol 48, p 242). Was one to accept the fact that most people are not quite bright, to say the least? One is what one is, what he is born with.... Lenin would not have been Lenin had he satisfied himself with merely noting this fact. He explained it as follows: "Each class, even in the most educated country, even in a most progressive time of exceptionally high upsurge of all spiritual forces there always are and, as long as classes exist, as long as a classless society has not been fully established, strengthened, and developed on its own basis, there will inevitably be representatives of a class which neither can nor is able to think ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, pp 52-53).

The culprit has been found and accurately identified. The deadening force of social alienation alienates everything, including the human mind, the ability to have a critical judgment. Who is the beneficiary? The system of exploitation of man by man is the direct squandering not only of natural but of spiritual resources. A person "integrated" within this system finds resisting it very difficult. So, Lenin turned to the youth, to the generation which was to assume the main burden of destroying the machine of capitalist exploitation and alienation.

The struggle against capitalism cannot be limited merely to material activities in the hope that a changed way of life will automatically change the mind. It also presumes a struggle with the opposite end—the struggle for the minds and the hearts. This struggle is waged not through general appeals but on the level of daily training. "It is only by radically transforming the system of youth training, organization, and education that we shall be able to see to it that as a result of the efforts of the young generation a society different from the old one, i.e., a communist society, will be created" (Ibid, p 301).

Lenin's words on "enriching the mind" with the knowledge of the entire wealth produced by mankind had become a slogan. Yet, is it so important to rely on memorizing, on memorizing "everything?" Today, taken literally, this would be wrong. Lenin perfectly knew the essential difference between memorizing words and thinking. What Lenin further said is far more important: "If a communist would begin to boast of being a communist on the basis of ready-made conclusions, without engaging in most serious, more difficult extensive work, without understanding the facts which he must consider critically, such a communist would be a rather sad one" (Ibid, p 305).

Lenin frequently explained in detail the nature of the sociopsychological type of the "sad communist." Such people join the party "in the days of victories," in periods of universal upsurge, when it seems that the time has come to blow the trumpet and "the heavy chains will fall." But should circumstances change, if there are defeats and retreats, it turns out that they have "neither succeeded or been able to take from the proletarian party anything other than a few memorized words and 'vivid' slogans" and "have started hastily to develop 'their own line'..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 19, p 107). To such people Lenin opposed others, people who "did not repeat memorized words but attentively looked at the new historical conditions, thought of the reasons for which a situation had developed in one way and not another, people who worked with their heads and not only with their tongues...." (Ibid).

What is it that prevents people from using their heads? "A single word" explains this: An inadequate standard in general and a thinking standard in particular. However, let us not hastily try to explain this shortcoming by citing a lack of "convolutions of the brain" in one or another individual. The inability or even unwillingness to think is determined by the social circumstances of human life, by the social, the cultural-historical "context" within which his personality is molded.

Once Hegel wittily noted that everyone believes in his ability to think, for he takes as a yardstick his own natural mind. However, not everyone would undertake to make a pair of boots, even though he has an absolutely accurate natural

measure for the boots in his own feet. Hegel perfectly understood that talk about the "natural light of the mind," initially found in everyone can only confuse matters. The measure of intelligent human activities is not found in the human body, in the human "feet" or "convolutions of the brain." However, Hegel placed this measure somewhere beyond the limits of the real world, describing it as the Absolute Idea. It was only Marx who was the first to prove that the "intelligent" or "unintelligent" attitude of man toward nature and toward another man (and, consequently, toward himself) is the objective "measure" of human thinking and that it is only by entering the world of such relations that the individual becomes Homo sapiens. Depending on whether or not he becomes part of such relations and of the standards which they obey "comprehensively" (as their master) or "partially" (as a useful instrument), the person develops comprehensively or partially.

The problem of the penetration (and introduction) of a person into the world of culture was subjected in Lenin's works to a further profound elaboration. He resolved it not on an abstract-theoretical but on a specific-practical basis. The entire novelty and complexity of the problem is determined by the fact that, for the first time in history, not individuals but broad popular masses may be exposed to culture. It is not the education of individuals but a universal cultural revolution that is on the agenda.

The task of eliminating illiteracy is great and noble. However, it is merely the first small step, merely a prerequisite for a cultural revolution. Knowing something is not enough. One must have the knowledge to apply it, to apply it not on the basis of a memorized algorithm but each time on a new, a specific way. Only this protects knowledge from stultification, from converting it into a meaningless set of words. However, this ability presumes the development of a clearly defined logic for the mastering of knowledge. The understanding and mastery of this logic is the task of the teacher and the student.

This was the task set by Lenin at the Komsomol congress. In an extremely clear way he formulated a program for the training and education of the youth based on the only possible scientific concept of thinking: dialectical logic. Here is its nucleus: "...The old studies, the old memorizing, the old drill must be replaced by the ability to absorb the sum total of human knowledge in such a way that communism will not be considered by you as something memorized but something you have thought out yourselves, a conclusion which becomes inevitable from the viewpoint of modern education" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 306).

It is no accident that the [Russian] words "ability" and "mind" have the same root. It is frequently said that as you learn you acquire intelligence. However, the mind cannot be preserved for future use and produced out of one's pocket as needed. It exists only as a process, as an activity, whether material-practical or spiritual-theoretical. If you stop this process the result will be not the mind but its meaningless result, most frequently in the form of traces of ink or color on a piece of paper. The entire system of "study, memorizing and drill" is based on replacing the mind with little flourishes on paper, with the belief that it is sufficient to convert such flourishes into a brain, into a "neurodynamic system" to make a person intelligent. The classical

description of this ancient and, unfortunately, largely adopted system by the contemporary school . is described by Goethe who has Mephistopheles say,

Seriously working, try to stuff the human mind with what cannot be stuffed; whether you are successful or are not is no problem: a high-sounding word will always bail you out of trouble! But in the first six months, my dear friend, you need order more than any kind of science; five hours a day of classes is normal; be punctual when the morning bell rings! Before that, at home, try to locate the paragraph so that you can follow in class what claims the teacher, word for word, and only that which is in the book and nothing else....

Fortunately, this old scholastic tradition is opposed by a no less ancient dialectical tradition of the doctrine formulated by Socrates himself. He described his teaching method as midwifery. It would be hard to find a more apt description of the method which does not "put" ready-made knowledge into the head of the student but does precisely the opposite--facilitates the independent creation of new knowledge by the student. Creation from what? Naturally, not "from the depth of the soul" but "from the entire riches created by mankind." In other words, the education of the individual must be a repetition of the knowledge experiences throughout human history. The knowledge must be taken in its development. Only then will it become not something memorized but something thought out, the inevitable conclusion based on all previous knowledge. At that point the mastering of knowledge will mean the development of the mind.

In this case the role of the teacher is to help the student accept knowledge in its dynamics, give him a proper direction for independent motion. This is achieved in the course of a Socratic talk, in the interaction between the teacher and the student who, together, form the "model" of knowledgeable mankind. The teacher assumes the role of the student's "second I" so that, in the future, he may let the student assume this role as well, and develop his thinking as an internal dialogue reflecting the external dialogue of mankind with itself, in which the battles among theoreticians yield to the practical battles. Only in such a case does knowledge become cultural knowledge and the training process becomes the cultural "context" within which, and only within which, a person can develop as a person.

"This must be remembered," Lenin said, "for example when we are discussing proletarian culture. We cannot resolve this problem without a clear understanding of the fact that only a precise knowledge of the culture created through the entire development of mankind, and only by reworking it, could we build a proletarian culture. Only this knowledge will help us to resolve this problem.... Proletarian culture must be the legitimate development of the stock of knowledge acquired by mankind under the oppression of a capitalist and landowning society, a society of officials. All these big and small roads have led, are leading, and will continue to lead us to a proletarian culture...." (Ibid, pp 304-305).

The fact that Lenin addressed himself to the problems of culture was not accidental in the least. The dialectics of the human way of life has the specific feature that, by transforming and molding the world around him, man

transforms and molds himself. An individual can become a person only by mastering the entire cultural wealth of society, by "extracting" his "tribal essence" (Marx) from the tangible body of culture, i.e., from his surroundings transformed as a result of his own efforts. This leads to the appearance of a paradox. A person can be exposed to culture only by "getting into it," by reacting to it like a person, in a specifically cultural way. However, mastering the necessary cultural way of activity is possible, in turn, only through exposure to culture. The result is a magic circle. Breaking it and comprehensively introducing man into the world of culture is a problem of education.

Resolving this problem, the skillful educator always selects his own method. However, where are we to find such an educator for everyone, for all? Who will become "the second I," the guide in the labyrinth of culture? There is no such super-educator. The only solution is that everyone must become his own educator. The success of self-education must be determined not on the basis of the number of books read or the number of tons of steel smelted but by the level of self-awareness, of conscientiousness, of the ability of a person to adopt a critical attitude toward himself, the ability to structure his behavior not in accordance with the needs of his body but on the basis of the culture of the society in which he lives and which he is building himself or, stated more simply, on the basis of his conscience. "It is necessary," Lenin said, "for all education, instruction, and teaching of contemporary youth to focus on developing in it a communist morality" (Ibid, p 309). This, precisely, is the peculiarity of the methods for the mass teaching of communism. The only possible and factual measure of the human personality has been found. Naturally, it would be senseless to look for it in moral maxims. Morality, however, does not consist of maxims: "Morality serves the enhancement of human society..." (Ibid, p 313). Communist morality, conscience, are precisely the internal educator, controller, and regulator of actions in the course of the dialogue with which the personality is molded and without which the individual is nothing but a sum total of unconditioned and conditioned reflexes. Morality is a specifically human means of the existence of man for culture and of culture for man.

Morality cannot be "learned" theoretically. The only real way was pointed out by Lenin: the young generation "can learn communism only by linking each step of its learning, upbringing and education with the steady struggle of the proletariat and the working people against the old exploiting society" (Ibid, p 312).

The development of a communist morality is the only way leading to the comprehensive entry into the world of culture and the exposure to the entire wealth created by mankind. Why? Because morality makes culture alive. Lenin raised the question of morality precisely by answering the question of what should be done "to turn communism from ready-made and memorized formulas, advice, prescriptions, stipulations and programs into something living which brings together your work, which makes communism a manual for your practical work" (Ibid, p 308). Morality is the only door offering mass access to the treasury of the mind materialized in books and in the tons of steel and which, deprived of a moral attitude toward them, would remain no more than flourishes on paper and piles of scrap metal.

The loss of the moral nucleus directly leads to cultural stagnation and degradation. This is vividly confirmed by the decay and self-destruction of bourgeois culture in the imperialist epoch. However, using this as a basis for the rejection of all previous accomplishments in the fields of technology, science and art would be a totally unforgivable error, an error which was made by the "specialists in proletarian culture" in the 1920s. Noting the lethal outcome of bourgeois culture, they failed to note the fact that communist culture itself is the legitimate development of everything already created by mankind.

The essence of this development involves more than the changing and improvement of the object of culture and of their external shape. It means that the functions of objects change and assume a new moral meaning. They begin to "serve" man rather than work against him. Lenin greatly emphasized the importance of the understanding of this fact by the youth. Speaking of Marx, Lenin emphasized that, while developing everything acquired before him, Marx "drew the type of conclusions which people restricted by the bourgeois framework or bound by bourgeois prejudices were unable to draw" (Ibid, p 304). What are these bourgeois frameworks? Does it suffice simply "to be unwilling" to be restricted by them?

The unwillingness to become integrated within the bourgeois "system," youthful fervor and a healthy disgust for the "establishment" are, unquestionably, excellent. By themselves, however, they do not guarantee success. Material destruction must be based on an essentially new attitude toward what one is destroying, which goes beyond the bourgeois frameworks. Otherwise this would turn into a rebellion which might even benefit the "system," the way the owners of properly insured property find a fire "useful." The "system" has insured itself through a number of means, including the fact that, since childhood, the future rebels are trained in the only way of reacting within "the system" and toward it--either the consumption of objects or, conversely, the rejection of their consumption. That is precisely why any protest within such predetermined frameworks can be easily "channeled," and may turn a rebellion against material relations which turn even man into an object, into a rebellion against the objects themselves, for the purpose of replacing them with other objects. Such a rebellion is useful for expanding the market for used jeans, fashionable records, motorcycles, and all sorts of other accessories of a "radical" vanity.

Sometimes the struggle against the "nefarious Western influence" is waged within the ideological frameworks established by that same "West," under conditions in which the ideological confrontation between the two world systems is reduced to the level of material relations, and in which all scientific and moral guidelines have been mixed up and distorted. Focusing one's anger on objects while ignoring object relations means either failure to understand the problem or deliberately misleading people.

What separates dead from living culture is the fact that it does not unite but separates human activities, putting everyone in his own narrow cell, turning him into a "cog." Material relations among people trigger a combination of extreme individualism with the lack of personality, creating a faceless personality which is ideally suitable for external manipulation. The "personality features" of such a person are easily provided and changed with the type of drink he

consumes, the model car he drives, the width of his trousers, or the color of the eyes of the candidate for whom he votes. The huge machinery of advertising and props, movie stars, and political leaders has been set up to mold and serve such an "individual." "Images," models of "ideal characters" are created for the "individual" to imitate in consuming, consuming, and consuming....

"...The personality," wrote the outstanding Soviet psychologist A. N. Leont'yev, "cannot develop within the framework of consumption. Its development necessarily presumes a shift to the need to create which alone has no limits" (A. N. Leont'yev. "Deyatel'nost'. Soznaniye. Lichnost'" [Activities. Awareness. Personality]. Moscow, 1977, p 226). This applies not only to the consumption of material products. The so-called "objectism" has its back side—a consumerist attitude toward spiritual culture.

The 25th CPSU Congress indicated that recurrences of philistine and petit bourgeois psychology were possible wherever the growth of material possibilities was not accompanied by a steady enhancement of the ideological-moral and cultural standards of the people. This ideological-moral growth itself, and the all-round exposure to culture also require a certain cultural method and, above all, high-level logical standards.

In this case the school bears a tremendous responsibility, for it is precisely within its walls, in the course of learning that human relations and the "models" of such relations to be applied in the future are molded. We must admit that the traditional training system, developed in the course of centuries, the system of simply transferring information from one mind to another is, essentially, similar to a consumerist attitude, to a system of material relations, for which reason it may not agree with morality. It may not be in harmony with it simply because it does not have a direct attitude toward morality, because it does not contain a moral nucleus. By suppressing independent thinking the "Mephistophelean system" can create a petit bourgeois consumerist mentality.

In his "Tasks of the Youth League" Lenin pays particular attention to clarifying the connection between the mentality of the petit bourgeois and the logic of his thinking. Their roots are one and the same. They are nurtured by the same food and feed on each other. "The old society was based on the principle that either you steal from someone or someone else steals from you. You either work for someone or someone works for you. You are either a slave owner or a slave. Understandably, it could be said that people raised in such a society adopt, with their mother's milk, one may say, the mentality, the habit, the concept that one is either a slave owner, a slave, or a petty owner, petty employee, petty official, or intellectual, in a word, a person concerned only with his own welfare and with nothing else" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 312). The old society "arranges" the people according to an entirely defined rigid system in positions and roles within which the people are doomed to live their entire life. This system assumes the strength of a prejudice and the status of an eternal law of life and is reflected in the minds of the people not only in the form of customs but of concepts, of "a logical figure." This is an "either-or" figure. It is a yes or no, there is no third choice.

A society which turns a person into an object cannot offer anything other than "the exclusion of a third choice," i.e., the possibility for man to go beyond the framework of material relations, nothing other than a ban on contradictions which are the source of all movement and vitality. It is natural that the official conscious upbringing and education of a person in such a society is aimed at the protection of material relations and is subordinate to their logic. It is the system of interaction among inanimate mechanical objects, the "either-or" system. "In such schools the young generation of workers and peasants were less educated than fitted to serve the interests of that same bourgeoisie. They were raised in such a way as to make suitable servants for the bourgeoisie, able to give it profits without disturbing its rest and idleness" (Ibid, p 303).

The best way for making a slave is to accustom him to absorb ready-made "unappealable truths" thoughtlessly and to repeat them just as thoughtlessly. Above all, the slave must be deprived of the ability to make a critical judgment. Religion assumes most of the duty to suppress the mind by developing in the slave a blind faith in the divine authority of the master. Blind faith alone, however, is insufficient. A certain method for "rational" thinking, a certain logic is needed which could encompass all thoughts, however irrational or illogical they may be.

The worst enemy of such logic is dialectics which offers to the "stupid" access to logic. How could it be otherwise, since dialectics was born precisely in the struggle against any kind of "universally known" base homespun way of thinking. In his defense of dialectics Epicurus said, and Marx repeated, that "Profane is not he who rejects the gods of the crowd but he who supports the opinion of the crowd about the gods" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch. " [Works], Vol 40, p 153). Socrates, the brilliant dialectician, was sentenced to death precisely for rejecting the crowd's opinion of the gods, having hammered out the most frightening weapon against shallow ("formal") thinking—dialectical irony.

Both old and present petit bourgeois fear irony, for it forces them to face themselves and their contradictions. We can determine whether any kind of thought is concealed behind the external appearance and whether we are dealing with a living organism or a corpse by watching whether or not such a conflict would trigger a spark of creative thinking or merely a trickle of stench. The base philistine mind does not tolerate "correlation within itself" and the conflict this triggers. Dialectical irony destroys the "selfness" of the petit bourgeois or, rather, reveals the absence of any kind of selfness within him. The petit bourgeois feels that he is being "scoffed at." That is why he does everything possible to get rid of the contradiction, to ban it, to bind it with the chains of logic or, in extreme cases, to restrain it with criminal laws. The ability to withstand a contradiction, naturally, is not obvious but implied. It is the main characteristic of fruitful thinking. It is precisely this ability that Socrates detected and trained in his students through irony and a critical look at himself.

Truly scientific thinking is ironical to the extent to which it adequately reflects objective motion and expresses the objective optimism of history, the optimism of mankind which happily parts with its past (Marx). A specific truth

always carries within it the embryo of its own negation. Even though in the case of the individual this frequently turns into tragedy, science as a whole is free from ossified conclusions. It is always ready to mock itself ironically.

If one day a high school student in Zurich had not been able to discover that algebra is a funny science he may have been unable, subsequently, to formulate the theory of relativity. This minor event in Einstein's life helps us to understand the famous paradox according to which the overwhelming majority of great changes in science, for whose accomplishments we usually credit dialectics, subjectively have not been the result in the least of conscientious dialecticians. Dialectics ruled their minds in a converted, an emotional form, manifesting itself as esthetic or moral general cultural principles (as in the case, for example, with Einstein's familiar ideal of "inner perfection"). This is the manifestation of the great "cleverness of the mind" which "has always existed but not always in a sensible form" (Marx). The deep irony of the mind is seen in the fact that, subjectively proceeding from the reactionary philosophical theories of E. Mach, Einstein drew conclusions which objectively refuted Machism and which confirmed dialectical materialism. This took place because Einstein was "gaily" looking for the truth, considering Mach's views ironically, something which A. Bogdanov and his friends totally lacked.

It is precisely this healthy irony with which Lenin firmly armed himself when he wrote to A. M. Gor'kiy, who had gotten philosophically bogged down, that the artist could draw a great deal of use for himself from any, even idealistic, philosophy and draw from it conclusions which would be of tremendous benefit to the workers party ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 47, p 143).

Gor'kiy's broad moral-esthetic culture could help him to digest and surmount "any" kind of philosophy. As we know, Lenin was not mistaken in his expectations. In precisely the same way the most profound moral potential of the people's masses, fructified by communist ideals, should help them to convert bookish communist science into conviction, into a live manual for practical action.

Irony means a dialectical self-correlation of the mind and coincides, therefore, with morality and with our conscience—our internal controller and "second I." Etymologically, the words "conscience" and "conscientiousness" are quite similar in their meaning. They are equally similar in nature. By the will of history, for quite some time they were "divorced" in the world of exploitation and alienation. During all that time, however, the brightest minds of mankind struggled with the problem of bringing them back together. Plato himself tried logically to prove that a person who is unfair cannot be intelligent at the same time. However, merely logical conclusions deprived of truth, justice, intelligence and morality do not suffice. Such conclusions may turn into misadventures. This problem can be resolved only in the course of the practical struggle for a new society and for a system of human relations which prevents the appearance of intelligent scoundrels as well as virtuous fools. The logic of history is also a process of ascension from the abstract moral-esthetic truth of ancient philosophy to the specific scientific truth of Marxism. This process can be nothing but a broadening of the historical initiative and revolutionary activity of the masses who change their living conditions, and of their all-round exposure

to world culture. "All the problems of training must be organized in such a way that every day and in any village or town the young people may practically resolve one or another problem of joint labor, be it the smallest or the simplest" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 318).

The ideas expressed by Lenin at the Third Komsomol Congress shed a bright light on most topical contemporary problems of education and upbringing.

In his time Marx noted that "the means through which the mind exists and through which something exists for the mind is called knowledge" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 42, p 165). Indeed, within the mind and for the mind everything exists as knowledge. However, we cannot fail to notice the tremendous difference between the existence in the mind of laws (knowledge of laws) of objective reality (Archimedes, Ohm, and others) and the laws of "culture"--the principles of morality and beauty and the means for practical and theoretical activities and linguistic norms. The latter are nothing but the socially inherited general systems of activity of the social man who can successfully implement his objectives only by following them. At the same time, these systems exist not somewhere outside the real world, as claimed by objective idealism, but are embodied in objects used in human activities, in the entire material body of human culture, and act as the properties of the objects themselves. However, these properties are no longer natural but social, they are "sensory and supersensory," as defined by Marx.

Simple naturalism, which accepts the social characteristics of objects as their natural characteristics, is equal to fetishism, i.e., to the most primitive form of idealism. The lack of distinction between these two aspects of recognition and knowledge leads to gravest theoretical errors. More than anything else, it affects the area of the sharing and mastering of knowledge, the area of training and education.

Man develops as a conscious being and masters existing reality in which the natural and the social characteristics of things seem to be "superimposed." It is impossible to achieve their pure separate knowledge, for it is only in the process of culturally developed activities which reproduce the objective logic of their object that an adequate reflection of objective reality may be developed. Nevertheless, we are faced with two essentially different levels of knowledge. The knowledge of something that objectively exists in the world, independent of man, represents a certain volume of "information" which could be simply "memorized." Unlike it, the knowledge of the laws of "culture" does not exist as impersonal information but only in the form of an individual active (external or internal) ability, as a sum total of certain physical and spiritual "skills" without which the study of nature becomes impossible.

If we try to achieve a knowledge of "nature" in its pure aspect, without going through "culture," we would obtain an automatic mirror image, a "transplantation" of material objects in the human mind with no contradictions, without any "flights of the imagination away from life," as Lenin said. The result of such an abstraction will be a formal-logical ideal of nonconflicting knowledge whose exceptional strength would be based on ignoring said difference, and on the firm conviction that knowledge of the first type alone, knowledge in terms of a

description, as a direct reflection, and the transmittal of information may be considered as true knowledge which becomes a model not only for acquiring any type of information but for mastering any type of skill. It would become a model not only for knowledge but for transmitting the acquired knowledge, i.e., for education.

Knowledge of the second type--exposure to the world of material and spiritual culture, and mastery of the universal means for human activity--however, does not entirely fit within the system of the simple transmittal of information: it contains a contradiction which constantly appears and is constantly resolved but not in the area of "pure thinking" but in the practical area. Therefore, one cannot "learn" how to think or develop morality, a feeling for beauty, or any "talent" in general. They can be only taught. The gap between knowledge and skill and between knowledge and conviction, and the entire difficulty of bridging it stems from ignoring the indirect role which the material and spiritual culture of society plays in the area of knowledge and, in general, in any human contact with the outside world.

Lenin's concept of logic as a philosophical theory of thinking in relation to life calls for the treatment of thinking not as a simple, even though very important, ability (data processing, for example), but in terms of the entire volume of its historical development. Lenin required that all human practice should be applied to the full determination of an object. Therefore, moral awareness, a feeling of beauty, and everything which is traditionally classified as culture, must be used in the thinking process not as a certain "meaning" of universal and, therefore, meaningless thinking system but as the essential and necessary logical guidelines of the thinking process.

The proper organization of any kind of effective educational process would be impossible without a clear understanding of this circumstance. Not only the development of creative thinking but even the retention of a spontaneously developed creative ability would be impossible. As long as this has not become clear there will always be people who, displaying the industriousness of ants, will be "processing information" "without thinking and unable to think."

The party's program for comprehensive--ideological, labor and moral--education, which is the direct development of Lenin's ideas, must never be interpreted as a program for combining independently existing elements. Their separate existence is the unfortunate legacy, the product of the old exploiting society. The main task is to protect and develop the initial unity of human cultural activities on which the unity of the still not "divorced" truth, goodness and beauty is based.

Unfortunately, the understanding of this fact is still very difficult to achieve in practical education. V. A. Sukhomlinskiy noted that "Until recently the exposure of secondary school students to labor was explained with the need to surmount the tendency of the school to engage in excessive intellectualism. It is stupid to believe that idle hands threaten to inflate the intellect!" (V. A. Sukhomlinskiy, "Rozhdeniye Grazhdanina" [The Birth of the Citizen], Moscow, 1971, p 143). No, Lenin did not speak of the mechanical combination of different types of education. In order to understand his idea we must look at labor not

as the regular "accurate" means but as the only means for the existence of the human individual.

Recurrences of petit bourgeois psychology are not in the least the result of idleness. They may appear and work as well where the meaning of human labor activities has been distorted. In itself labor is not a cure for moral deformities. It is always a struggle. However, the objective of this struggle is not the expenditure of physical and moral efforts. It is created by the general cultural-moral climate.

Wherever the struggle is waged not "for the strengthening and completion of communism" (Lenin) but for material possessions, not for man but for his external appearance, philistinism blossoms. That is why today the socialist society faces in its entirety the tremendous task of developing a communist attitude toward labor which would be not simply "morality," "conscientiousness," and so on, but an entirely objective production relation, in the full meaning of the term. The level of development of this relation can no longer be assessed through the quantity or quality of output, profit, or any other economic category. Naturally, it would be senseless to deny the importance of production effectiveness and quality. In no case, however, should a basic economic requirement be confused with the true purpose of social production which can be formulated only as "the all-round development of the individual."

Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the fact is becoming ever clearer that science and technology serve man not only through the satisfaction of his needs. They are a powerful means for the development of the human personality as it creates itself through labor. Production forces are humanized. Among others, this is expressed also by the fact that further scientific and technical progress is impossible without the molding of a new type of worker-creator.

Socialism eliminates the class roots which create the "partial" man and which divide the people into creators-organizers and blind performers. For the first time it creates a real base and possibility for molding a communist attitude toward labor.

The task of the modern school is to address itself to this opportunity. This represents its contribution to the utilization of the historical advantages of socialism. Lenin's speech at the Third RKSM Congress provides us with the scientific, the dialectical-materialistic solution of this problem.

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HIGHEST RESULTS WITH LEAST OUTLAYS

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[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor P. Derunov, general director of the Rybinsk Motor-Building Production Association, USSR State Prize laureate]

[Text] Under the conditions of the ever rising pace of scientific and technical progress, problems of upgrading socialist production effectiveness and of insuring the more efficient utilization of manpower resources become particularly important and require the application of new ways and means of organization and management. The main way for the solution of these problems is achieving the highest possible national economic results with the least possible outlays and the accelerated growth of labor productivity. This five-year plan the collective of the Rybinsk Order of Lenin Motor-Building Production Association has adopted as its slogan and adopted in its daily practice the production of as many goods as possible with a lower number of workers.

The initiative of the collective became widespread in Yaroslavskaya Oblast. It was supported by 142 of the biggest enterprises and associations accounting for 86 percent of the industrial output. The recently passed CC CPSU decree "On the Initiative of the Yaroslavskaya Oblast Party Organization on Achieving in the 11th Five-Year Plan a Growth of Industrial Output Without Increasing the Number of Workers" emphasized that the Central Committee considers the dissemination of this initiative one of the important factors contributing to the further enhancement of public production effectiveness, the solution of the problem of manpower resources and the successful implementation of the plans for the country's economic and social development in the next five-year plan.

The way chosen by the collective of the Rybinsk motor builders and, subsequently, by the working people in the oblast is totally oriented toward the technical retooling and reconstruction of operating shops, and the comprehensive mechanization and automation of output. At the same time, it insures the social development of the collective and the improvement of working conditions.

On the Basis of a Single Comprehensive Plan

The Rybinsk Order of Lenin Motor-Building Plant which was converted into a motor building production association in 1974 is engaged in the production of a variety of goods. A very partial list of the goods produced by the association includes diesel engines for plowing, sugar beet and towing tractors and road-building machinery, drilling systems, mobile electric power plants, Buran snow

vehicles, extensively used in the north and the Antarctic, Saturn milk separators and, finally, modern twin-circuit turbojet engines for intercontinental IL-62M passenger airplanes. This output is successfully used in over 60 foreign countries. Demand for its output is steadily growing. As a result of this, at the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan a plan through 1985 was to be formulated based on a drastic increase in output by a 2.8 factor for the general output and a factor of 4 for aircraft engines.

Calculations proved that if the technical equipment and the organization of production and labor were to remain unchanged, such a planned volume of output would make it necessary for the association to more than double the size of its personnel over the 10-year period.

The decisions of the 25th party congress and of the subsequent CC CPSU plenums led the collective to review the internal possibilities of the enterprise. At the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan we predicted the difficulties related to manpower reinforcements needed by the high growth rates of our output, averaging 10-12 percent per year. Immediately the entire collective of the association undertook a deep study and formulation of technical and organizational solutions and efforts to find internal reserves. The suggestions made by workers and engineering and technical personnel on upgrading production effectiveness were reduced to the following: achieving a substantial increase in the volume of output per unit of labor, material and financial outlays. After reassessing its possibilities, the collective launched the initiative of insuring high growth rates of output without increasing the number of workers. This was the most effective means for the implementation of the tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The solution of such an important problem required the formulation of a comprehensive plan for the technical retooling and social development of the association. This became the program for action by the collective for the 10th and 11th five-year plans.

The main purpose of the program is to achieve high growth rates of output and labor productivity, upgrade the quality and reliability of output, and insure the highest possible effectiveness covering all technical and economic indicators without increasing the size of its industrial personnel. The entire collective participated in the elaboration and discussion of the plan. The party members played a vanguard role in this matter. The association's party organization intensified its search for new, more advanced and more effective methods of organizational-party and ideological work insuring the implementation of the complex and responsible assignments. The party members were highly active in the discussion of the plan. They expressed a number of valuable practical recommendations whose implementation could yield considerable economic results. The question was raised of the need to reconstruct a number of sectors, replace obsolete equipment, and many others.

In a word, the plan was developed jointly, on the basis of strict economic computations and substantiations. It included progressive domestic and foreign experience and called for the fullest possible utilization of scientific and technical achievements. In a number of areas it exceeded the norm indicators. For the first time in the practice of the association detailed planning was

provided for the reconstruction, technical retooling and development of the enterprise on a long-term basis, covering two five-year plans. As we implemented our assignments, we found out that the 10-year comprehensive plan is the best possible form of work for a major production unit such as an association. It enables us to work with an eye to the future. It strengthens the planning in the efforts to prepare and develop production facilities. It promotes discipline and enhances the responsibility of every worker of the association, the ministry, the scientific research institutes, and the supply and construction and installation organizations.

The main way for insuring high growth rates of output without increasing the number of workers is lowering the labor-intensiveness of output. This has a most decisive impact on the growth of production effectiveness. It insures the reaching of high end results from the production activities of the entire collective.

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" emphasizes the need for "systematic implementation of measures for production specialization and cooperation, and centralization of auxiliary, support, and management functions of the enterprises and organizations within the association."

The association is doing a great deal of work to automate the production process and mechanize auxiliary and manual work. An ever larger amount of progressive equipment is installed with every passing year: automatic lines, programmed machine tools, and robots. Latest scientific and technical achievements such as wasteless technology, and electrophysical, electrochemical and laser methods for machining parts are being extensively applied. Essentially new technological processes were developed and applied insuring a considerable growth of labor productivity and a lowering of material outlays and material savings. Operating shops and sectors are being radically reconstructed. This insures the development of output with minimum capital outlays and enables us to upgrade technical standards and improve labor conditions. A course has been charted for production specialization and for the use of computers in production management and technological processes.

As a result of the measures implemented along these lines the labor intensiveness in the manufacturing of engine series is being reduced at a high pace (the 10-year plan calls for a reduction by a 2.9 factor). In the first 4 years and 8 months of the 10th Five-Year Plan the labor intensiveness of aviation engines for the IL-62M airplane was reduced by 44 percent, or 8 percent below the estimates of the sectorial institute.

In the machine shops the main direction of technical progress is the installation of machine tools with digital programming. Currently the association has 470 such machine tools which machine parts with the help of 4,660 programs. The importance of this may be judged by the results: this number of programmed machine tools is equivalent to the additional opening of three or four machine shops using general purpose equipment. The use of programmed machine tools radically changes the nature and content of the workers' job. It makes it

closer to that of the engineers and increases opportunities for multiple machine tool and aggregate handling.

This greatly reduces the number of workers, for their functions are reduced mainly to supervising the work of the equipment. The creation of sets of industrial robots totally eliminates the need for workers. The first such sets are already in operation in the association.

The plan calls for high-level production specialization in the manufacturing of parts and assemblies for airplane engines. A total of nine specialized shops will be created. Furthermore, by reconstructing the existing shops 18 specialized sectors with 23 mechanized assembly lines will be set up. By 1985 the production of parts and assemblies by the specialized shops and sectors will account for over 60 percent of the output of airplane engines. Such high-level production specialization will enable us extensively to use specialized, automated and combined equipment and means for the mechanization and automation of basic and auxiliary operations, and assembly line mechanized and automated systems. It will increase multiple machine tool handling by 45 percent and increase the rhythm of output, labor productivity, and production quality.

The metal utilization coefficient for semifinished parts will be increased by 35 percent. Compared with 1975, by 1985 the variety of precision cast items will be higher by a 1.5 factor; the overall volume will be by a factor of 1.4, while the amount of cast blades will be increased by a factor of 3.7. All in all, in 10 years 1,108 improved blanks will be applied. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the machine assembly system will be increased by another 500 programmed machine tools and over 150 multiple-drills. The variety of parts machined electrochemically or through welding, laser treatment, blast stamping, and hydraulic mold extrusion will be increased. A total of 43 machine processing centers and 100 robots and manipulators will be installed. Compared with 1977, by 1985 the share of the latest equipment will be increased by a factor of 1.83. All this, along with conversion to assembling and testing based on the one-time principle will reduce the basic labor intensiveness of airplane engines by 34 percent.

In order to insure the comprehensive coordination of design and technological problems with organizational-economic problems and problems of automated control of technological processes, an automated control system for the association (ASUO) was set up. The purpose of most of these undertakings is to insure a drastic increase in the labor productivity of engineering and technical workers.

Machine designing of technological processes is being systematically applied and machines do a considerable amount of design operations. Machine designing increases the labor productivity of engineering and technical workers in the mass skills several hundred percent. Designers and technologists are relieved from routine operations, the gathering of reference and norming data and all possible computations, designing details, and repeatedly drafting recurrent operational charts which, under conventional conditions, account for 90-95 percent of their working time. Far broader opportunities are created for technical creativity and engineering research. In the final account, this leads to the highly effective use of the new equipment and technology.

The growth of labor productivity based on lowered labor outlays is achieved in both basic and auxiliary production facilities. With the steady reduction of the size of the personnel, during the period of technical retooling a course was charted toward the production of a large quantity of instruments, equipment, mechanization and automation facilities and nonstandardized and one-of-a-kind equipment; the steadily rising amount of loading-unloading and transportation-warehousing operations are conducted with a lesser number of workers.

In this area labor outlays are being reduced steadily. The number of workers is declining and labor productivity is rising. Suffice it to say that since the beginning of the five-year plan the absolute number of auxiliary workers has been reduced by 580 people. This was achieved through the installation of facilities for comprehensive mechanization and automation, new highly productive equipment and intraplant transport vehicles, and improvements in the organizational forms of production management. The main trend here is the centralization and specialization of auxiliary operations. All in all, 95 percent of the association's intraplant transportation has been centralized. This year the share of packet and containerized haulage will reach 80 percent, rising to 96 percent by 1985. Capital repairs of equipment, plants, and installations, and the gathering and processing of shavings and production waste have been equally centralized.

In accordance with daily-shift assignments, tools, equipment, and the necessary parts are delivered to the workplaces in advance, before the beginning of the shift. A system of similarly organized preventive planned servicing covers 93 percent of basic operations. By reducing working time losses this system eliminates 300 jobs.

The current level of mechanization of loading-unloading and transportation operations has been raised to 92 percent by rail and 78 percent by truck. As a result of the organizational and technical improvements made in auxiliary production facilities, over 300 people from this area have been switched to basic production work and the idling of railroad cars has been reduced by more than one-half.

The reconstruction of operating shops and sectors is one of the most effective means for the development of output, upgrading labor productivity and improving the technical-economic indicators of association activities.

In the CC CPSU accountability reports to the 25th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that 'material and financial resources must be channeled, above all, into technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises, where production facilities can be expanded without new construction or with lesser specific capital outlays.

In our association the reconstruction plan calls for the rational utilization of existing equipment through its optimal deployment; maximum replacement of morally and physically obsolete equipment with new, highly productive tools or through modernization; application of means for the mechanization and automation of basic and, particularly, of auxiliary loading-unloading and warehousing operations; equipping production sectors and shop services with means for operative

communications. The association is expanding the capacity of its construction base and instruments, power and repair facilities, thus creating a potential for the flexible restructuring of the entire production process.

All this enables us to achieve the comprehensive reconstruction of four to five shops annually. Since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan 24 shops have been reconstructed. Reconstruction outlays are redeemed faster by a 2.6 factor compared with outlays for new industrial construction. The shop for precision mold steel casting is an example of the high effectiveness of reconstruction and technical retooling. Last five-year plan the shop had already reached its planned casting production capacity. As a result of its reconstruction, installation of new equipment, and development of highly productive processes, accomplished within a short period of time, in the 10th Five-Year Plan its volume of output rose 70.6 percent and the variety of cast parts was increased by 135 new items.

Scientific Organization of Labor and Socialist Competition

The technical retooling and reconstruction of the association is always combined with the scientific improvement of the organization of labor, production and management. This complex NOTPU [Scientific Organization of Labor, Production and Management] had become, in its time, quite popular in the country. It became the basis of the Rybinsk experience in applying a scientific organization of labor and upgrading production standards in industry, approved by the CC CPSU.

It covers the planning-production activities of subunits, quality control, labor organization and standards, work with cadres, workplace services, and indicators of effectiveness of production-economic activity. The system enables us to assess the level of organization of the individual production subunits and of the enterprise as a whole.

Long practical experience in the use of the system proved its positive influence on the entire production-economic activity of the association. Over one-third of the growth of our labor productivity is secured through its scientific organization. The advantages of the system are that it enables us, through a set of corresponding indicators (coefficients) objectively to assess the level of scientific organization of labor of all production subunits and of their individual activities, and, on this basis, organize new forms of socialist competition and of material and moral incentives. The formulas used for the monthly determination of coefficients call for either reaching the normative standard or maximum end results. The objective reflection of the level of organization forces managers at all production levels constantly to analyze the state of affairs, find additional possibilities, and develop and implement effective measures which upgrade this standard. The activities of the collective using the NOTPU system enable us to obtain most effective results from reconstruction. They accelerate its completion and insure a more rational utilization of the latest equipment and technological processes.

Experience has shown that wherever the necessary attention to problems of improving the organization of labor and production is lacking technical progress does not yield expected results. The NOTPU system is being constantly

improved, developed, and given a new content with the active participation of all production collectives within the association. Guided by the strategic party line of upgrading work effectiveness and quality, as defined at the 25th CPSU Congress for the 10th Five-Year Plan, and in accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism, we substantially reviewed the NOTPU system with a view to insuring its improvement.

The system includes indicators for the fulfillment of the plan for commodity output and growth of labor productivity based on direct labor outlays and norm/hours instead of the previously used computed indicators based on value.

The coefficient of participation of basic workers in the struggle for upgrading the effectiveness and quality of their labor is a new element in the improved system. Individual contributions are assessed through this coefficient. Its use has increased workers' labor productivity by 5-15 percent.

The scientific organization of labor presumes steady improvements in production quality. The entire collective is aware of the need to manufacture goods distinguished by particularly high reliability. The engines produced by the association are used in airplanes which carry large numbers of passengers over very long distances. Therefore, prime importance is ascribed to improvements in the quality control system. This system covers all manufacturing stages: design, manufacturing of prototypes, their adjustment, series production, and further improvements based on operational results; it involves all enterprise levels ranging from services, shops, and sectors to the specific performers--workers and engineering and technical personnel, and a large set of technical, economic, organizational and social measures.

Before being allowed to perform important operations, all workers undergo training and must be periodically certified for the right to perform a specific operation. The certification system literally covers all stages of the production process: parts, technological processes, equipment, tools, and production sectors themselves must meet the formulated standards.

Previously the enterprise applied operational control provided by technical control department personnel. Such control is now applied only as the goods come out of a shop. Internal operational control has now been entrusted to the workers, brigade leaders and foremen themselves.

Steady improvements in the quality control system have enabled the collective to achieve good results in upgrading the reliability and power of the goods produced. It is no accident that 100 percent of the goods subject to certification, including cultural-domestic household goods, have been awarded the state Emblem of Quality. The safe life of D-65 diesel engines (8,000 motor hours) is the highest among domestically produced tractor engines. In terms of reliability and economy today the airplane engines for the IL-62M are among the best in the world.

Achieving high rates of production development without increasing the size of the personnel largely depends on the stability of the collective, particularly in the case of the production of complex items. This requires high skill which can be reached after a considerable amount of work. The connection between the

high rates of growth of labor productivity and the high quality of output, on the one hand, and cadre stability, on the other, as reached by the association, is obvious. Today, for example, our cadre turnover equals 5.3 percent whereas 10 years ago it was double that. The association's management and the public organizations were concerned with this situation. The cadre and plant sociology services were asked to study the reasons and to formulate the required recommendations to stabilize the collective. The studies determined that the basic reasons for cadre turnover were dissatisfaction with labor, living and norming conditions, and an adverse psychological climate in some units.

This led to the implementation of a broad program for the social development of the association. Labor conditions are being improved through the comprehensive reconstruction of shops and sectors in the course of which the necessary hygienic and esthetic requirements are met and the problems of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes and of substituting machines for manual labor are resolved. In a word, favorable circumstances are provided for highly productive creative toil.

The number of people who quit because of shortcomings in the norming and organization of wages has been reduced to a minimum. Technical norming is being steadily improved. In 1979 and the first half of 1980 over 400,000 norms were reviewed and their quality was upgraded. Technically substantiated norms account for 86 percent of the overall labor intensiveness of output and for 100 percent in the manufacturing of the D-65 tractor diesel engine. Based on the achievements of scientific and technical progress and progressive experience, they place the workers under equal conditions, eliminate disparities between profitable and unprofitable operations, and stimulate the creative energy of the working people.

The number of workers failing to reach their output norms dropped from 12.4 percent in 1975 to 3.1 percent in 1980. Those who fail to meet their norms are mainly recently hired workers lacking adequate job experience and skills.

The implementation of the planned measures for the installation of new equipment and use of new technology, comprehensive mechanization and automation, and reconstruction of production facilities have a positive influence on the content and nature of the work and on changes in the professional-skill and social structure of the collective. Every year one out of four workers upgrades his skills at the production-technical and specific courses and courses in progressive labor methods, sponsored by the association, and through the study of related skills. Currently over 4,000 people are studying progressive labor ways and means.

Retaining the people in the association and, consequently, the level of their production efforts largely depends on the condition of intracollective relations and ties. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are steadily working on the promotion of relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid and on the creation of a favorable psychological atmosphere in big or small collectives. Such efforts are yielding positive results. Nearly 90 percent of the workers consider the "psychological climate" favorable and their labor collectives as united and fully able to meet their production assignments.

The successful implementation of assignments largely depends on the level of labor and social activeness of the motor builders, embodied in the scope of the socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. The socialist competition has become the most important factor for involving the working people in social activity and in production management. Over 97 percent of the workers have their individual plans for upgrading labor productivity and production effectiveness.

Public defense of individual plans and collective obligations is an important link in the system of organizational-ideological support of the socialist competition. The individual worker defends his obligations to the sector's council. The public defense of draft socialist obligations insures broad publicity for the competition and open control over implementations. The responsibility of the participants in the competition for their obligations has been increased and so has the role of the labor collectives in this matter.

The individual plans establish the extent of the participation of the individual worker in the solution of the problems facing the collective and insures a favorable combination of private with public interests. The organization of the socialist competition based on individual plans for upgrading labor productivity makes it possible for the association to achieve substantial annual savings. Thus, in 1976 such savings totaled 1.87 million rubles, rising to 2.46 million in 1980.

The participation of most association workers in the competition under the slogan of "Engineering Support for Workers Initiative" helps the entire collective to apply new design and technological developments more rapidly and to master new technological processes, equipment and progressive tools. Every year over 1,500 rationalization suggestions are submitted on a voluntary basis. The involvement of the working people in mass technical creativity is assisted by the socialist competition for the best organization of invention and patent-license work in shops, departments, and services. Another contributing factor is the specific reviews-competitions, topic planning, and attending young rationalizer courses.

The holding of public reviews of improvements in work effectiveness and quality and on the effective utilization of raw materials, materials, and fuel and energy resources has become an inseparable part of the socialist competition in the association. In the final year of the five-year plan 4,437 people are participating in the movement for conservation and thrift. A total of 1,607 suggestions were made and 1,259 of them were applied, yielding 874,000 rubles in conventional-annual savings. Within that period 349 tons of ferrous and 61 tons of nonferrous metals, 133 tons of gasoline, 82 tons of diesel fuel, 358 tons of cement and 266 cubic meters of timber were saved.

Economic Effectiveness of the Comprehensive Plan

Our entire comprehensive plan is aimed, above all, at the maximum utilization of internal reserves and does not require any substantial increase in the amount of funds invested in recent years for equipment or capital investments. The search for reserves was conducted in all directions. Technological searches were always combined with economic searches. The association's management

demanded of everyone to learn to compute. Every worker must be aware of production outlays for the manufacturing of one or another commodity, and of problems of quality and productivity. Today each production subunit--shop, section, service--is directly responsible for lowering labor intensiveness as stipulated by the plan. Assignments on volume and deadlines are submitted, on a differentiated basis, to each sector, brigade, or individual performer.

The results of this work are taken into consideration in the current moral and material incentive systems. Interest in lowering labor intensiveness is boosted, furthermore, by the association's system for planning and rating the work of shops and sectors based on direct labor outlays and a system for assessing the labor effectiveness and quality of basic workers. A lowering of labor intensiveness is planned, on a differentiated basis, for each individual worker and foreman through a system for assessing the effectiveness and quality of their work and, in the case of engineering and technical workers, through shop and sector assignments.

A characteristic example of the effectiveness of the application of an essentially new technology may be found in a traditional work such as three-dimensional swaging. Previously it was done on mechanical presses whose accuracy was relatively low and has considerable allowances. The average time for stamping a single blank was 6 minutes; after that, it took 94 minutes for several turners to machine the part with a number of operations. The metal utilization coefficient was low while the labor intensiveness of the parts was high. A group of our specialists developed an essentially new technology for isothermic three-dimensional pressing, increasing the precision of the blanks tenfold. Today 47 minutes are spent per machined part instead of more than 90. Fifty-three out of 100 workers engaged in the production of such mass parts have been released. The cost of the parts has been reduced by a factor of 5. A social problem is being resolved as well--grinders operating under particularly harmful working conditions have been released. The metal utilization coefficient has increased by an average of a factor of 2.5. As a result labor intensiveness per compressor using such parts has been reduced by 590 norm/hours and 400 kilograms of expensive titanium alloys are saved.

The entire personnel of our association is actively participating in the struggle for upgrading effectiveness and quality. Here the organization of cost accounting, covering all basic and auxiliary shops, plays a major role. The cost accounting indicators stipulated in the plan systematically direct each production subunit toward achieving high results while reducing outlays of material and manpower resources and upgrading production quality. Such indicators include the volume of marketable goods, in physical and value terms, norm/hours, the overall number of workers, labor productivity (output per worker), reduction of labor intensiveness and production costs, and others. The material incentive of workers and engineering and technical personnel is directly related to such indicators. Production workers are given bonuses based on the indicator of the association's coefficient of the level of their labor effectiveness. This includes the achieved labor productivity, quality of output, workplace standards, and discipline.

The fulfillment of the monthly plan for the volume of output in terms of norm/hours and variety, labor productivity, and reduction of labor intensiveness and production costs are mandatory prerequisites for bonuses to engineering and technical personnel and employees in production shops and sectors. The bonus is affected by the level of outlays of the wage fund, the level of the coefficient of quality output and the reaching of work quality indicators specifically set for each shop service.

The system of cost accounting relations among production subunits used by the association which stipulates, in particular, the payment of penalties for delayed deliveries of parts and assemblies has increased the responsibility of the individual collectives and workers for the quality of the work. This has increased the rhythmical nature of the production process and strengthened relations among all units within the production process. At the same time, the acquired practical experience proved that in order to insure a systematic orientation toward high end national economic results the size of the labor contribution of the individual collective must be determined more accurately. Even though labor intensiveness played an important part in the system of cost accounting indicators used by the association, "gross output" with its classification of "profitable" and "unprofitable" types of output had an adverse influence on the work results of the individual production subunits.

The adoption of the normative net output indicator as of next year, in accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism, will help to eliminate such shortcomings. The participation of our production association in the economic experiment yielded a certain amount of positive experience in the application of this indicator in planning and assessing the activities of production collectives. The association formulated and approved net production indicators for all manufactured goods and types of operations and, on this basis, is formulating plans for the volume of output and the growth of labor productivity. The study of the application of the new indicator proves that it enables us to define more precisely the extent of the labor contribution of the individual collective and that it encourages quality and effectiveness improvements.

Naturally, appropriating a considerable share of the national income for the increase in productive capital, the socialist society is interested in its most rational and effective utilization and in the growth of capital returns.

The comprehensive plan for technical retooling is entirely consistent with this principle. Its purpose is to insure high growth rates of the volume of output and labor productivity, upgrade the quality and reliability of output, reduce the time for mastering the use of new equipment and, as a whole, achieve the highest possible effectiveness of all socioeconomic indicators of our work.

As the result of the implementation of this plan, in the 10th and 11th five-year plans the volume of output will increase by a 2.8 factor while the production of airplane engines will quadruple. The entire increase will be achieved with virtually no increase in the number of workers but through increased labor productivity based on the high pace of reduction of labor intensiveness which will

be lowered by a factor of almost 3 over the two five-year plans and for the basic commodities. The effectiveness of the utilization of productive capital will be increased considerably: by 1985 capital returns will be higher by almost one-half. Compared with 1975 output per square meter of industrial area will rise by a 1.9 factor.

In the 10-year period the capital-labor ratio per worker will increase by a 1.8 factor, while the capital investments included in the comprehensive plan will be recovered in 3.5 years. According to our estimates the additional increase in the volume of output obtained through increased capital returns will account for nearly one-third of the overall volume of output in 1985 or for about 89 percent of the 1975 volume of output. In other words, increased effectiveness has eliminated the need for the construction of an enterprise almost equal in output to the existing one.

These data are the overall results of lowered production costs based on the high growth rates of the volume of output, reduced labor intensiveness, improved quality of output, and conservation of raw materials, materials, fuel and energy. Let us add to this data that in addition to reduced production costs and the increased amount of profits, in the course of the implementation of the comprehensive plan of the association the country's national economy is benefiting from considerable savings as a result of the implementation of a number of operations aimed at increasing the guaranteed, inter-repair and amortization safe life of aircraft engines for the IL-62M and tractor engines. Such savings are estimated in terms of dozens of millions of rubles.

Currently, when the enterprise collectives are formulating their plans for the 11th Five-Year Plan, the party ascribes great importance to the initiative of Yaroslavskaya Oblast enterprises, aimed at production intensification. The CC CPSU decree emphasizes that the implementation of the comprehensive plans for upgrading production effectiveness will enable us in the next five-year plan to insure the entire increase in industrial output throughout the oblast without increasing the number of workers. The practical experience of the Rybinsk Motor-Building Association in this respect indicates that even with the best possible labor organization further reserves can always be found for upgrading production effectiveness. The participation of a large number of collectives in this movement will increase available experience in the struggle for high effectiveness and will enable each enterprise successfully to resolve the problems set by the party.

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NEW ORGANIZATIONAL FORM FOR THE USE OF AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT

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[Article by I. Bodyul, Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee first secretary]

[Text] The main objective of the party's agrarian policy is to insure the further growth and greater stability of agricultural production and the all-round improvement of crop-growing and animal husbandry effectiveness in order to insure the fuller satisfaction of the population's requirements for food products and of industry for raw materials. The solution of these problems largely depends on strengthening the industrial potential of agriculture, the modernization and renovation of its productive capital and the improvement of its structure and the advancement of the entire economic system of the country's agroindustrial complex.

As a result of the tremendous amount of work done by the party to implement the measures planned in the area of strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture, the amount of powerful means of production made available to this sector increased considerably. Between 1965 and 1979 the fleet of rural tractors increased by a factor of 1.6 in terms of units, and by a 2.4 factor in terms of engine power; deliveries of chemical fertilizers increased by a 2.8 factor; agricultural productive capital increased by a factor of 3.2 while electric power consumption, by a factor of 4.5. Within that period Moldavian agricultural productive capital more than quadrupled while the labor-power ratio rose by a 3.9 factor.

The party has always been concerned not only with increasing the availability of equipment for agriculture but with its effective application and the formulation of organizational methods for connecting industry with agriculture which would be entirely consistent with the level reached by production forces and would create conditions for further upgrading their effectiveness.

I

For the past several years interfarm mechanization and electrification associations have been operating in Moldavia. These are organizations of a new type which arose as a result of the conversion from the use of equipment directly by kolkhozes and sovkhoses to its concentration and joint utilization by comprehensive-mechanized detachments.

As the Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee Buro noted, following a discussion on organizational-economic improvement of the forms of utilization of technical facilities, this radical measure was dictated, above all, by the uneven levels which had developed among the farms in terms of the acquisition, increase and utilization of agricultural equipment. The economically strong kolkhozes acquired it in considerable numbers, occasionally ordering totally unnecessary implements. Meanwhile, the economically weak and even the average farms were unable to purchase equipment, particularly power-intensive implements, for the application of industrial technologies in a number of farming sectors. As a result, by 1973 some Moldavian farms had double or triple the amount of equipment compared with others. A major gap existed in the level of the power-labor ratio. This trend intensified the already clearly visible economic differentiation among the farms which stemmed from objective reasons such as differences in the nature of the soils, weather conditions, and distance between the farms and natural water resources, industrial enterprises which accepted their goods and returned fodder waste, main roads, and so on.

On the economic level said differentiation was manifested in the losses experienced or the low profitability of some farms and the high profitability (up to 60-70 percent) of others; on the social level it led to substantial differences in payments for equal labor.

Let us note that disparities in the increase and utilization of technical production facilities developed not only among kolkhozes purchasing the equipment with their own funds, but also among state agricultural enterprises whose assets were largely acquired through centralized capital investments.

Another reason which determined the need for a conversion to new methods of machine utilization was the successful development of the farms in terms of production concentration and specialization. As a result of the organization of interfarm cooperation and the use of industrial technology, a number of big kolkhoz and sovkhoz sectors acquired the necessary conditions for farm specialization. On this basis they consolidated their output and tried to increase technical facilities. Unfortunately, there was a shortage of equipment needed for the creation of technological machine sets with a view to insuring the comprehensive mechanization of sectors such as truck gardening and feed production and the cultivation of sugar beets, sunflower, corn, and other crops.

For example, corn growing based on industrial technology requires 16 different types of machines, while sunflower and tomatoes require 15. It would be difficult for a single farm to acquire and make effective use of such machinery in its own small fields. Most rayons had virtually all the necessary machines needed for the cultivation of the various crops. It was necessary to assemble and concentrate them in rayon mechanization and electrification associations, organize comprehensive mechanized detachments, and use them in consolidated intrafarm and interfarm crop rotation systems.

Major shortcomings in the engineering and technical servicing of the machine-tractor fleets of the farms were the most important circumstance which determined the urgent need to concentrate technical production facilities. We know that the effective utilization of modern agricultural equipment requires highly

skilled mechanizers, engineers and other specialists, well equipped repair workshops, technical servicing stations, and so on. This is not within the possibility of each kolkhoz or sovkhoz. Consequently, the repair base, engineering services and organization of the utilization of the machinery were below the level of the available equipment. This adversely affected the effectiveness with which the machines were used and the organization of mechanizers' work. As a result the technical and economic indicators of the work of the machine-tractor fleet systematically declined. Between 1958 and 1972 the annual output per conventional standard tractor in the republic declined by 12 percent while the daily output dropped from 14 to 6.5 hectares. Whereas the reduction of the annual output could be explained, to a certain extent, with the increased number of machines, the lowering of the daily and shift output, which predetermines the pace and quality of the work and, consequently, the end results--the crop and the gross harvest--remains totally unjustified. In the crucial agricultural seasons--sowing, cultivation, and harvesting--such output should have reached its highest point. Work costs rose considerably and outlays for equipment repairs rose to 90 percent of the balance sheet cost of the equipment.

The inadequate repair facilities put the mechanizers in a difficult situation. In addition to technological operations, they were forced to look for spare parts and engage in the repair and preventive servicing of the machinery, frequently in the open. For this reason the workday of the mechanizers was, in fact, unnormed, and labor productivity rose slowly. In many kolkhozes mechanizers' wages were low, frequently reduced to the wages of rank and file kolkhoz members. There were considerable disparities in the wages paid mechanizers between economically strong and economically weak farms.

The kolkhozes launched the initiative of the concentration of technical production facilities in the republic. Their example was followed by the sovkhozes and the sovkhoz-plants. This important reorganization began in March 1973. It was implemented gradually, as practical experience was acquired and increased. Today technical associations are successfully operating in all republic rayons.

The party members played a major role in this project. Following a profound study of the new economic and social processes occurring in the countryside, they effectively contributed to their development. The party organization steadily improved the deployment of the party members in the most important production sectors and promoted the comprehensive strengthening of party and state discipline. The rayon party committees and primary party organizations showed particular concern for the training of cadres able to resolve agrarian problems on the level of modern requirements. The party organizations of mechanization and electrification associations focused on work with farm specialists and concentrated on upgrading their role and responsibilities as production organizers and technologists in charge of promoting scientific and technical progress in agriculture and effectively insuring the utilization of the land, the equipment and other material facilities, and the successful implementation of socialist obligations. The rayons are encouraging all specialists to formulate their creative plans for the practical utilization of the achievements of science and progressive practice, active participation in the implementation of measures for the better organization of rationalization efforts, improving the activities of specialists' councils and scientific organization

of labor and economic analysis bureaus, and comprehensively contributing to the strengthening and development of cooperation with scientists in scientific research institutions and schools.

Mechanization and electrification associations were created through the concentration of the equipment belonging to the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the existing workshops, warehouses, petroleum depots, field camps, tractor brigades and reclamation equipment and a certain percentage of available trucks. This way all the equipment and equipment servicing facilities at the disposal of the farms were concentrated within the rayon associations. This improved machine maintenance, repairs and utilization and the work of workshops, brigade camps, fuel and lubricant depots, and mechanizers' activities.

In practical terms, the initial period of the establishment of the new production organizations on a rayon scale consisted of shifting by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of their technical facilities to the new organizations, creating the latter without additional investments, with a view to improving the utilization of productive capital. Initially, the equipment of the mechanized detachments was kept in the best field camps of the farms which had joined the association. A number of these camps, providing that they were suitably located in terms of the land worked by the mechanized detachments, were gradually consolidated, becoming territorial technical servicing stations and parts of the unified system for the location and servicing of association machinery.

On 1 January 1980 the productive capital of the rayon associations was worth 410 million rubles. Today they have over 160,000 different machines, tools and mechanisms, 1,200 field stations, different in size and type of organization, machine parking areas, yards, garages and sheds, 425 repair workshops and technical servicing centers, 854 fuel and lubricant depots and many other industrial buildings. They are the technical support base of the machine-tractor fleet. This base, set up by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, may be considered a transition to a new system for machine technical servicing.

Therefore, the rayon interfarm mechanization and electrification associations require no additional material and technical resources. This is the reason for the great vital force of interfarm cooperation. Thanks to it the farms themselves, without imposing financial burdens on the state, are creating new powerful production organizations which assume total responsibility for agricultural operations.

The comprehensive and the specialized detachments are the main structural subunits of the technical associations. Their optimum size, in terms of manpower and equipment, is based on the amount and nature of their work. The comprehensive mechanized detachments, which operate as permanent production units, work on the basis of technological charts for programmed yields in all farm sectors. Specialized detachments are set up for specific technological operations. They may be permanent or temporary: the permanent detachments do work requiring the concentration of extensive equipment such as, for example, the one needed for land reclamation; temporary detachments are set up for seasonal operations in the fields of one or several farms.

The associations set up sectorial services such as agronomical, mechanization, electrification, reclamation, material and technical supplies and equipment repairs, operative management and communications, planning-economic, and financial. The administrative apparatus is based on the production principle. It consists of engineers-organizers, engineers-technologists, agronomists-organizers and agronomists-technologists. Each of them heads a given production sector.

The vocational technical schools function as part of the complex of the mechanization and electrification associations. The associations supply the schools with material facilities, contribute to their proper maintenance, and select and assign for training young people interested in agricultural equipment. This comprehensive arrangement is a most important factor in the activities of the new organizations.

Let us point out that the rayon party committees are steadily following the development and functioning of the interfarm mechanization and electrification associations and, should this become necessary, make the necessary corrections in their work. In the past two years alone, for example, the Ryshkanskiy Rayon party committee discussed the items "On the Work of the Associations in Training Specialists' Cadres and Developing Their Initiative and a Feeling for What is New and Progressive," "On the Work of the Party Organizations of the Association for Upgrading the Production and Political Activeness of Party Members," and "On the Tasks of Mechanization Associations Related to the Timely and Qualitative Harvesting of Late Farm Crops and the Plowing for the 1980 Crops." Questions of the work of the new interfarm associations are always on the agendas of the buros of the Suvorovskiy, Chadyr'-Lungskiy, and many other rayon party committees in our republic.

The Brichanskiy Rayon association for the mechanization and electrification of agricultural production set up a unified party organization totaling 237 CPSU members. A party committee was elected. The party members and mechanizers of the production sectors are organized within nine such party organizations having the status of primary party organizations. The Brichanskiy Rayon party committee buro heard a report on the work of the association's party committee on the application of progressive experience in growing grain and industrial crops.

The mechanizers of this party organization have formulated a number of valuable initiatives which contribute to the enhancement of labor discipline, labor productivity, and work quality. The Tetskanskiy mechanized detachment passed the decision to work under the slogan of "The Collective is Answerable for Everyone and Everyone is Answerable for the Collective." Thanks to the active involvement of all mechanizers in this movement, every year, throughout the entire 10th Five-Year Plan, the collective has been awarded the red challenge banner of the rayon party and executive committees for its agricultural achievements.

II

Most mechanization and electrification associations were established some 5 years ago. Despite the short time, substantial changes have taken place. The

gradual equalization of the opportunities of kolkhozes and sovkhoses regarding the use of modern equipment has become the most significant result of the associations' activities. Identical machine and machine unit systems are used in the fields of all farms (big and small, strong and weak). The result has been that all work has been performed on an identically high agrotechnical level and equally promptly, and that good results have been achieved everywhere.

Considerable improvements in the operational effectiveness of the machine-tractor fleet have been an important result of association activities. Whereas previously the daily and the shift output was showing a steady decline, in recent years it has improved by 39-40 percent while the effectiveness of the powerful power-intensive machines has risen by a factor of 2-2.5; the seasonal output per grain harvesting combine has improved 34 percent. This is of decisive importance in reducing the time needed for the completion of field work.

Considerable fuel savings have been achieved; fuel outlays per hectare have been lowered by two kilograms. The associations have saved over 260,000 tons of fuel which is the equivalent of the annual norm of fuel outlays of the entire Moldavian kolkhoz sector. In terms of comparable indicators, the cost of mechanized work per hectare dropped by 8.3 percent. In 1979, together with the general farm outlays, it averaged 4.50 rubles. This is considerably below the countrywide average. As a result of lowered production costs savings from the work done have already exceeded 52 million rubles. Overall outlays for equipment repairs and maintenance have declined as well. In 1979 they accounted for 17 percent of production costs.

The streamlined utilization of spare parts yielded tremendous savings. Currently spare parts have been concentrated in 34 warehouses of the base farms of the rayon associations rather than being scattered among the more than 1,000 kolkhoz warehouses. This enabled the associations in their first year of work to operate without additional purchases of a number of spare parts. Despite an increased number of equipment and amount of work, today the associations use spare parts worth 5 to 7 million rubles less. Premature equipment write-offs have been lowered by over 10 million rubles per year.

Equipment purchases have become more orderly. Today they are based on technological requirements. Despite their increased volume of work, the associations have purchased tractors, combines, and other machines for a total of 35 to 40 million rubles per year, whereas in the past kolkhoz purchases exceeded 50-60 million rubles.

We already mentioned the poor engineering service and repair facilities of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. In order to develop such facilities, as we know, a special decree was passed by the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on 20 July 1970, entitled "On Measures to Improve the Utilization of Equipment in Agriculture." In accordance with the decree the republic drew up measures according to which 480 new workshops, 1,100 technical services centers, and 320 garages were rebuilt in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, requiring capital investments totaling 634 million rubles. However, in order to concentrate technical production facilities on the rayon scale, 34 central base facilities and 278 territorial technical services stations must be set up at the cost of

369 million rubles, despite the increased number of machines and mechanisms, or 265 million rubles less. This economy can be achieved as a result of the increased capacity of bases and stations and by equipping them with modern facilities.

Central base facilities have already been built in Ryshkanskiy, Leovski and Chadyr-Lungskiy rayons. Such bases are under construction in another five rayons and will be gradually built in the remaining rayons between now and 1985. By that time we shall also complete the establishment of territorial stations offering technical services, one per three farms; 80 such stations are already under construction.

The labor conditions of the mechanizers have been radically improved in the associations. Those who operate the machines are no longer required to look for spare parts, make repairs and engage in preventive servicing and the elimination of malfunctions. Today their working time is spent entirely in carrying out the agrotechnical operations stipulated in the technological charts. Others are employed in repair of and care for the equipment.

The work of the mechanizers has become better organized and their skills have improved thanks to the division of labor among the associations' personnel. Whereas in the individual farms the number of certified first and second class mechanizers did not exceed 40 percent of their total number, in the associations 60 percent of the mechanizers are first or second class. The responsibility of the personnel for meeting deadlines and for qualitative implementation of agrotechnical measures has been increased. Labor productivity, yields, and production effectiveness have risen and, consequently, so have the wages of mechanizers which are now entirely dependent on the volume of output and its quality and production costs. Compared with kolkhoz wages, they are 30 percent higher.

Other indicators may be cited proving the increased effectiveness of the machine-tractor fleet. The most obvious advantage of the concentrated utilization of equipment, however, became apparent in connection with the consolidation of crop rotation systems and the extensive use of highly effective industrial technologies which not only totally eliminate manual labor but reduce the volume of mechanized operations as well.

Let us take as an example Suvorovskiy Rayon. It was one of the first to convert to a qualitatively new type of land utilization. Until 1975 the rayon's kolkhozes had totaled 46 crop rotations involving 327 fields averaging 115 hectares each. The organization of a rayon association necessitated bigger crop rotations. Areas planted in identical crops are concentrated by planting them on adjacent farm plots, thus forming single fields 1,000 to 2,000 hectares in size. They are cultivated by comprehensive-mechanized detachments of mechanization and electrification associations.

One such crop rotation field is the Karagasanskiy which includes the fields of two kolkhozes--Imeni Lenin and Zarya. Last year it was cultivated by two mechanized detachments. From an area of 1,102 hectares planted in winter wheat they harvested an average of 41.1 quintals of grain per hectare, with labor outlays of 0.99 man/hours per quintal; the corn crop on an area of 800 hectares

averaged 52.1 quintals; sunflowers planted on 450 hectares averaged 25.7 quintals.

Even higher indicators are achieved by detachments whose work is better planned and structured. In 1977, without irrigation or manual labor, the mechanized detachment of the Chadyr-Lungskiy Mechanization Association, cultivating the Vlaya-Perzhskiy crop-rotation field, headed by party member S. M. Parmakli, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, averaged on an area of 800 hectares 57.9 quintals of corn grain; it averaged 70.2 quintals the following year and 72 quintals in 1979. The detachment spent no more than 0.04 man/hours per quintal of corn, a reduction by a factor of 5-6 compared with the old technology. The mechanized detachment of the Ryshkanskoeye Mechanization Association, headed by G. P. Stoyka, harvested 81.4 quintals of corn per hectare, and the detachment headed by P. Z. Repida, from the Slobodzeyskoye Association, averaged 81.5 quintals of corn grain and 51.3 quintals of wheat per hectare.

Last year, with weather conditions worse than the previous year, from a total of 97,000 hectares in corn, raised in accordance with the new technology, using no manual labor and without irrigation, the detachments throughout the republic averaged 49.1 quintals of grain or 13.2 quintals more than in the remaining farmland cultivated with the use of manual labor.

High effectiveness is insured through the utilization of industrial technology in the cultivation of industrial crops. The mechanizers of the Ungenskoye Association, using the new technology, averaged 23.3 quintals of sunflowers per hectare, while those of the Glodyanskoye Association averaged 25.2 quintals per hectare.

Prior to the creation of the rayon mechanization and electrification associations, truck gardening in most farms was a losing sector. The profitability of feed crops was low as well. Currently, within the consolidated crop rotation fields, covering areas ranging from 300 to 900 hectares, associations using no manual labor average 450-650 quintals of tomatoes per hectare; on 300 hectare areas they average 650-700 quintals of carrots; on areas of 100-200 hectares they average 250-300 quintals of onions; on areas of 2000-3000 hectares in alfalfa they average 60-70 quintals of fodder units per hectare. In 1979 the interfarm vegetable crop rotating field of the kolхозes imeni Michurin and Progress, Grigoriopol'skiy Rayon, a complex detachment cultivating 650 hectares without manual labor harvested 24,000 tons of tomatoes. Profits from their sale totaled 4.4 million rubles with a net profit of more than 2 million. Labor outlays per quintal of output averaged 2.9 man/hours and production profitability was 77 percent. Thanks to the industrialization of vegetable growing, between 1970 and 1979 tomato yields in the public sector rose by a 1.8 factor, while their gross harvest rose by a factor of 3.3.

An equally high labor productivity and production effectiveness is insured through industrial technology applied in tobacco and fruit growing and other sectors.

The most important indicator of the activities of the associations has been the reduced outlays of labor, time and means for the production of the goods. In the first three years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, during which the associations

developed their activities, labor outlays were reduced by 35 percent for grain production, 39 percent for vegetables, 37 percent for grapes, 23 percent for fruits, and 28 percent for tobacco; labor outlays for alfalfa and other feed crops were lowered by a factor of 1.5. In 1979 the average worker engaged in agriculture in the republic produced goods worth 3,700 rubles, compared with 3,100 rubles in 1976, despite the better weather conditions of that year.

III

Economic relations between the mechanization and electrification associations and the cooperating farms, based on total cost accounting, are a basic feature of their activities. Let us point out that despite the entire complexity and novelty of such relations they were suggested by reality itself and tried experimentally. Today they have proved to be the most expedient.

In order to establish effective relations in the use of the technical facilities and insure more effective economic operational criteria, the technical associations have had to abandon a number of obsolete indicators and adopt new ones. In particular, the associations abandoned the system of payments for work done based on the standard hectare of conventional plowing, for this failed to reflect factual labor outlays, and led to the padding of work records and violations of technological discipline. A new accounting procedure was introduced, based on the physical volume of specifically performed operations of plowing, cultivation, sowing, harvesting, and other operations, in accordance with technological charts for yield estimates. This makes it possible to control and insure the implementation of all necessary operations within the necessary time and on a high quality basis.

At the present time all mechanization and electrification associations are basing their activities on the principles of cost accounting while their structural subunits operate in accordance with intra-cost-accounting rules. The basic sources feeding the funds of the association and the social development of the collectives of mechanizers are entirely dependent on the effectiveness and quality indicators of the work and the end production results and production outlays.

The first is formed out of funds saved by reducing the cost of mechanized work compared with the previous year's production costs taken as basic. Such savings are achieved by reducing outlays for repairs and technical maintenance, fuel, lowered labor outlays, and reduction of general farm, production and other outlays. Currently overall savings from operational expenditures by the association average 8 to 10 million rubles per year.

Amortization withholdings are another source of accumulations. They are established for each separate type of equipment in accordance with the norms on the basis of the collective decision of the cooperating participants and are used to finance capital investments.

The next most effective source of accumulations, from the viewpoint of its impact on upgrading production effectiveness, is the farm's withholding of a certain percentage of the value of the increased gross output and net income

compared with the average annual indicators of the three preceding years. Such withholdings entirely depend on the end results of the associations' activities and encourage them to reach high production indicators for the individual kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

For example, at the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Kaushanskiy Rayon, compared with the three preceding years, the 1979 increase in gross crop production output totaled 581,000 rubles while net income from crop growing was 753,000 rubles. According to the adopted system the farm withheld from these amounts 137,000 rubles for the association. This makes the association interested in increasing the above plan output and the net income of the farms, for it is on the basis of such indicators that it acquires its basic accumulations.

If the associations do not insure a growth of gross output and income to the farms they must use their own accumulations to compensate for up to 10 percent of the value of output and income which have fallen short compared with the planned figures. In good seasons 40 to 50 million rubles may be added to the accumulations funds. In the case of lesser accumulations the associations borrow funds from the USSR Gosbank, repaid out of subsequent accumulations to the extent of 70-80 percent of the overall amount of accumulations; in poorer seasons up to 90 percent of the accumulations are used for the renovation and expansion of productive capital and for strengthening the production base of the associations, while some 8-10 percent are added to the working capital. The balance is used for cadre training, workers' bonuses, and construction of housing and children's preschool establishments.

The economic relations between associations and kolkhozes and sovkhoses call for measures aimed at equalizing the farms' share of the associations' capital assets. This stipulation is based on the fact that when the associations were established the kolkhozes and sovkhoses transferred to them different amounts of equipment in terms of the amount of land in their possession. The transferred equipment also varied in terms of capacity and degree of wear. Such differences are taken into consideration in the share with which the farm participates in such cooperation. It is gradually eliminated through the adoption of a differentiated approach used in recomputing farm profits earned as a result of the reduced cost of mechanized operations. In 1979 four million rubles from said profits were used to equalize the contributions of the farms to the funds.

On the other hand, loans are used to improve the farms which have transferred to the associations a lesser amount of assets compared with the size of their land. They are given credits on the basis of higher norms than farms whose share in the productive capital of the association is higher.

The contract is the main tool in controlling production-economic relations among mechanization associations and participating farms. Its main indicators are based on the production-financial plans of the kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and associations. The contractual obligations of the parties stipulate production outlays, crop levels, gross harvests, volumes of sales of goods to the state, distribution of income and production profitability. The associations plan the amount of mechanized operations, recorded in technological charts and work

plans, in accordance with contractual obligations. In accordance with their contracts with the associations, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses must assign manpower for still not mechanized operations. They must provide mechanizers with food and cultural-housing conditions. They must supply the associations with proper quality seeds and organic fertilizer and perform other services. The farms must also supervise the implementation of mechanized operations and their quality and keep up to date accounts on such work.

The conversion to rayon interfarm associations and their successful activities create decisive prerequisites and opportunities for raising the level of agricultural intensification. Soon after an association begins its work production indicators are equalized and a noticeable improvement occurs in the economic indicators of all farms. Losing sectors become profitable while poor farms are able to catch up.

Let us give as an example the farms in Suvorovskiy Rayon. In 1973 corn yields in the Druzhba, Rassvet and imeni Suvorov kolkhozes were, respectively, 28, 37.3 and 43.3 quintals per hectare; sunflower yields averaged, respectively, 16.3, 12.9 and 18.4 quintals. Substantial disparities were noted as well in the levels of wheat, fodder, and industrial crop yields. Following the concentration of technical production facilities within the rayon association and the organization of the Kopchakskiy consolidated interfarm crop rotation system, the kolkhozes achieved higher levels of technical and organizational output, as a result of which, in 1979, overall yields in the crop rotation area averaged 46.1 quintals of corn per hectare and 19.6 quintals per hectare for sunflowers. The gross harvests of grain and oil seeds were distributed among the farms in proportion to the areas in crops.

Production costs become substantially lower and, consequently, farm profitability rises considerably as the growth rates of agricultural output go up. Compared with 1978, thanks to the experience acquired by the associations, the 1979 growth of gross farm output in the kolkhoz sector, in which the associations accounted for the bulk of the work, equaled 11 percent; the gross income rose 25 percent while the net income rose by a factor exceeding 1.7. The annual results showed that one-quarter of the kolkhozes had available cash surpluses of 1.5 or more million rubles. Kolkhoz member wages rose nine percent. Most farms were able to repay the USSR Gosbank loans and settle their accounts with suppliers and contractors on time. The kolkhozes withheld about 200 million rubles for capital assets, or 25 percent of their gross income. The annual volume of capital investments in the kolkhoz sector exceeded 300 million rubles. Capital assets worth 307 million rubles were commissioned and a number of modern industrial and cultural-residential projects were built.

IV

The results of the activities of the new production organizations in agriculture, based on cooperation, and the tremendous opportunities available to mechanization and electrification associations enable us to draw a number of important practical conclusions. Let us say, above all, that the organizational method for the concentration of technical production facilities and the corresponding production-economic relations which were chosen will prove, most

likely, to be the most expedient and effective method for the organization and operation of the technical base in the current period of tempestuous scientific and technical progress. The interfarm cooperation of technical production facilities offers, without any particular change in productive capital, the way to a gradual conversion from kolkhoz and sovkhos equipment purchases to the concentrated utilization of the equipment by rayon associations, i.e., the possibility to convert from the lower to the higher stage of concentration of major productive capital such as agricultural machinery. This offers powerful prerequisites for the practical implementation of K. Marx' familiar stipulation that "in order to increase yields, not even increases in the number of tools are required but rather that they be concentrated while work previously done by hundreds of people separately now becomes joint labor" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, Part II, p 286).

The next conclusion to be drawn is that the timely problem of concentration of technical facilities and the creation of powerful and flexible productive capital and a repair base is being resolved by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses through their own efforts and means with the help of the state rather than shifting this function to the state in its entirety.

Another conclusion, deemed important by us, is that it is precisely interfarm cooperation in the utilization of technical production facilities that offers the main prerequisite for equalizing the production, economic and social opportunities for the development of the farms. In the final account, this is a decisive factor in production intensification, upgrading yields and gross harvests, improving production quality, lowering production costs, and increasing production profitability.

The results of the activities of rayon interfarm mechanization and electrification associations lead to certain theoretical considerations. Today powerful economic systems are developing in the country's agriculture, able to implement the most important stipulation of Marxist-Leninist science to the effect that at a certain level of development "farm productivity should increase relatively faster than industrial productivity" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 26, Part II, p 115). This is proved by the level of labor productivity reached by the integrated production systems. In 1978 the Moldavian interfarm animal husbandry complexes averaged an output of 26,000 rubles per average annual worker, compared with 17,000 rubles averaged by industry. The comprehensive-mechanized detachments of the Chadyr-Lungskoye Association, headed by heroes of socialist labor S. M. Parmakli and Z. G. Paskalov, and many detachments in other associations engaged in the growing of grain and fodder crops are averaging an output of 20,000 rubles or more per worker.

The processes of production socialization taking place in the republic eloquently prove that integration, based on the two forms of socialist ownership, and the creation of unified state-cooperative associations offer objective prerequisites for reducing the distance between and subsequently merging these forms of ownership. They offer real possibilities for their total merger within a single national ownership.

Today the Moldavian interfarm mechanization and electrification associations have become powerful production organizations which insure the use of highly

industrial farm technology, fully consistent with the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress. They exert a decisive influence on improving the production, economic and social activities of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and integrated organizations. The Moldavian experience gained in the establishment and operation of such associations and their results convincingly prove the indisputable fact that the high level of agricultural intensification is inconceivable without interfarm cooperation in the utilization of equipment, chemization and reclamation. The Moldavian SSR and five agricultural rayons and 16 farms, enterprises and associations within the republic's agroindustrial complex have been awarded the Red Challenge Banners of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for their victory in the all-union socialist competition based on 1979 results. Moldavia, six of its rayons and 14 of its farms were also proclaimed the winners of the all-union socialist competition for increasing the output and deliveries of animal husbandry products in the 1979-1980 winter period and were awarded the honor certificates of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee.

The republic's farmers are struggling for high 1980 agricultural indicators as well. Relying on the advantages provided by the new organizational structures and progressive technologies, they have pledged to raise from the entire area of 345,000 hectares an average of 45 quintals of corn per hectare and to raise average sunflower yields to 21 quintals and, with the use of the new technology, to 30 quintals. They have also pledged to average a sugar beet crop of 343 quintals per hectare and no less than 450 quintals in areas using industrial technology; the pledged tomato output will average 300 quintals or 400 quintals from areas cultivated on the basis of industrial technology; they will average 70 quintals of grapes per hectare, and so on. They have pledged to fulfill and overfulfill their plans for the production and sale of crop and animal husbandry products for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The improvements achieved in the entire economic system, based on the concentration of technical production facilities within rayon associations, considerably energized agricultural production forces, making them more flexible and open to scientific and technical progress. It created tremendous opportunities for accelerated growth in the production of all types of agricultural commodities, lowering labor outlays and costs, considerably upgrading economic effectiveness, and improving all work quality indicators.

The fuller and quicker utilization of these opportunities will require a proportional development of all the sectors within the unified and indivisible agroindustrial complex: the sectors which manufacture productive capital for agriculture and engage in capital construction in the countryside, reclamation and chemization; crop growing and animal husbandry; the sectors engaged in the processing industry, transportation, material supplies, and procurement of agricultural commodities and their storage and trade and ensuring sales to the consumers. At the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "agricultural production cannot be considered separately from the procurement, transportation, storage, processing, and trade in food products. All this represents a single food complex. It must also be planned as a single entity.... It must also be managed as a single complex, insuring the uninterrupted and fast transfer of the goods from production units to stores."

Today the activities of the republic's party organization are concentrated on the harmonious development of the entire production complex in the republic and the implementation of the CPSU's agrarian policy. In the course of this important operation the disproportions which developed over a long period of time between the production of industrial crops, vegetables, fruits and grapes and the possibilities of the processing industry, the procurement organizations and the trade system are being eliminated. We are resolving problems in containers for, transportation, processing and production of high-grade industrial goods made of agricultural raw materials.

Moldavia considers the development of the republic's agroindustrial complex, the creation and the effective functioning of integrated production facilities, and the large-scale reorganization of the utilization of the machine-tractor fleet a powerful means for further upgrading the level of industrial, economic, and organizational management and insuring steady upsurge in crop growing and animal husbandry. It is entirely natural that the rural rayon party committees have always been in the lead in the measures implemented in the rayons for the restructuring of organizational systems and the improvement of economic relations, the application of progressive ways and means of production development, and upgrading the level of specialization and concentration of crop growing and animal husbandry, the industrialization of labor processes and the intensification of all sectors. Naturally, the role of the primary party organizations is being steadily enhanced in rural production, economic, and sociopolitical development. The party members are active promoters of scientific and technical progress. They are the political educators of rural workers, organizers of socialist competition, and fighters for the strengthening of planning and state discipline. All this clearly shows the high prestige earned by our party in the countryside and the effectiveness of its measures aimed at enhancing the rural economy and culture and the living standard of the rural population.

Under the wise leadership of the Leninist party, the working people in Moldavian agriculture, as in the other republics, are doing everything necessary to welcome the forthcoming 26th congress of our party with high economic and social development indicators.

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CSO: 1802

THE JOURNALIST'S POSITION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 80 pp 62-72

[Article by D. Avraamov, secretary of the board of the Moscow organization of the USSR Union of Journalists]

[Text] The journalists' work is drawing the ever-growing attention of the party and its Central Committee. Along with other important items, their work was discussed at the November 1978 Central Committee Plenum. It accounted for a substantial segment of the decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." The tasks of journalism were extensively discussed at the all-union conference of ideological workers. When Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was presented with the Lenin Prize for his books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Land], he discussed, yet once again, the high purpose of journalistic work. Leonid Il'ich recalled Lenin's words on the tasks of party journalism--to write about current events in such a way as to assist as much as possible the practical accomplishments of our party and people.

One of the characteristics of journalism is that professionalism in this area of human activities consists not merely of mastering a certain amount of skills and creative abilities but, above all, of possessing a sharper political vision. The choice of topics and depth of their treatment and the accuracy of the author's assessment and, consequently, the social effect of the work depend on the positions of the journalist, on the social targets of his writings.

Socialist journalism appeared and developed as a variety of party work. Its objectives far exceeded the range of individual literary creativity. They involved the education, unification and mobilization of the broad masses for the overthrow of the old and the creation of a new social system. In full agreement with the principle of party-mindedness, formulated by V. I. Lenin, literary work became an inseparable component of the "organized, planned and integrated social democratic party work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 12, p 101).

Many noted party leaders were masters in the field of literary activities. Their passionate words, influencing the masses, became a powerful material force and turned into revolutionary actions. "...The word is also action..." Lenin emphasized ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 11, p 59). As we know, Lenin himself was an unsurpassable publicist and a demanding editor. Vladimir Il'ich invariably considered that his profession was journalism, literary work.

The creative experience of the founder of Bolshevik publicism and his brilliant journalistic mastery are unsurpassable models for those entrusted by the party to take its words to the masses. Naturally, it is not a question of any duplication of stylistic or polemical methods (even though their skillful and timely use would unquestionably help the journalist). What matters is the profound mastery of Lenin's ideas and the mastery of his creative method in the formulation of a truly communist life stance by the journalist.

The life stance of a person is usually defined as the most basic premises from which he proceeds and which guide his thoughts and actions. It is his overall sociopsychological upbringing which reflects the social status of the individual and the objective conditions for his activities and which, in turn, characterizes the attitude of the individual toward other people.

The basic interests of the social group of which the person is a member constitute the foundations of his life stance. Therefore, the life stance is, above all, a class position. The concept of the "journalist's position" is, essentially, its specific professional manifestation.

From the viewpoint of social psychology the life stance of the individual includes his valuable concepts and orientations, rules, convictions, and moral feelings. These are the psychological forms within which it exists. The content of the life stance includes the outlook of the person, his political and philosophical views and moral principles, and his acquired knowledge and experience.

Therefore, as he faces one or another problem, the journalist has the necessary tools with which to undertake its study. The extent to which his starting principles are true and to which they are consistent with the factual trends of the historical process determines the ability of the journalist to understand the accumulation of events, the entire direction of his creative work and his role in the contemporary political struggle.

I

The great advantage of the communist over the bourgeois press is that Marxism-Leninism--the scientific ideology of a class which directs the course of contemporary history--represents its ideological arsenal.

The Marxist-Leninist parties and the proletarian press have a guideline which enables them accurately to unravel cleverly interwoven conflicting interests and to understand rapidly changing events. This guideline is the principle of party-mindedness.

Party-mindedness is the main and the determining characteristic of the position of the journalist. It is essentially found in the conscious attitude toward events from the viewpoint of the basic interests of the working class. As long as global imperialism exists the simple truth so painstakingly interpreted by a Bolshevik soldier to a student overwhelmed by the revolution (let us recall John Reed) will remain valid: "There are two classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.... Whoever supports one of them opposes the other...."

To this day this simple thought is the rallying point of the journalist. It enables him, even in most conflicting circumstances, to preserve his principled-mindedness and consistency.

The journalist's choice of a topic or interest in a fact are never abstract. They are always dictated by his party position. The journalist's role is largely determined by his ability to outstrip the opponent, to be able to explain an event before him, and to convert an initially neutral fact into a meaningful argument. Such tendentiousness is not inherent in political journalism alone. It is mandatorily manifested also in the choice and presentation of events. Any mention of impartiality and above-class information is an unquestionable lie used by the bourgeois journalists to conceal their direct dependence on the purse.

The frankness with which journalistic materials express and defend the interests of a certain social group does not mean in the least that such works are simply the mirror reflection of these interests. The creation of articles, essays, or even chronicles cannot be presented as a diagram in which "the angle of incidence equals the angle of reflection." Their creation is the result of the professional work of a particular group of people, of the literary representatives of a class.

As we know, the work of the journalist is entirely based on knowledge and communication. The very process of his work and, above all, its results mandatorily affect the interests of other people for which reason they have an innate moral meaning. The journalist addresses himself to society not for the sake of impartially presenting the results of his observations. He is always in favor of or against something and tries to influence the thoughts and feelings of the reader, the viewer or the listener in such a way as to turn him into a like-minded person.

Virtually all publications face the journalist with a moral choice. The choice of topic, purpose and character, the identification of his opponents, the definition of the purpose of the article and even the search for a turn or a plot are efforts expressing an attitude toward other people. The position of the journalist mandatorily involves moral values and becomes the personal moral program of the author's work.

The specific nature of journalistic activities leaves its mark on the inter-relationship between the literary representatives of a class and the class itself. Proceeding from the fact that literary work "is least of all subject to automatic alignment, equalization, or rule of the majority over the minority," and that "this matter unquestionably demands greater scope for individual initiative and inclinations, and scope for thought, imagination, form and content" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 12, p 101), the party organizations and the newsmen themselves have always been concerned with preventing professional features and the division of labor from separating the journalist from the masses whose interests he must express. The individualistic separation of a literary worker from the common project shared by the party and the people inevitably deforms his work. In this case topical and vitally important themes yield to far-fetched ones; assessments lose their concreteness and assume an

abstract nonhistorical nature. As a result professionalism degenerates into indifferent craftsmanship. Yet, relying on technique alone and writing dispassionately, "without a heart," means writing poorly.

Most frequently it is precisely a sharpened reaction to public interests that makes the journalist write. His constant communication with the masses, and his own practical experience and personal observations are the fruitful grounds which supply his work with topics and facts, problems and characters. To live in the thick of the masses, to be aware of the feelings of the masses, and to be able to approach them--the observance of this Leninist requirement--is a mandatory prerequisite for the successful professional activities of the journalist.

However, while penetrating within the moods and the feelings of those around him, the journalist has no right to remain himself on the level of such feelings and moods. He must correct and direct them with the help of concepts, norms and ideals formulated on the basis of the political experience of the working class and Marxist-Leninist ideology, in such a way that his reader as well would be able to become aware of his own feelings and inclinations, interpret his needs, social role, norms of behavior and objectives in terms of Marxist categories, and act in accordance with Marxist requirements. This, specifically, is the main activity of the journalist--of one of the detachments of party ideological workers.

For almost 80 years, from the publication of the first issue of ISKRA to this day, the party press has successfully helped the party to accomplish its great historical task of organically combining the theory of scientific socialism with the broadest possible experience of the people's masses.

Indeed, hasty editorial fluctuations occasionally affect a journalist to such an extent that he no longer feels the connection between his own work and the major concerns of his time and begins to think of himself not as an ideological worker but as a participant in the current economic campaign. The result is that the journalist ignores the need to broaden his own outlook and Marxist self-education, considering his work to be the plan, the deadline, or the amount of milk produced, things which require no theory.

However, the current assignments of the press, radio and television cannot be successfully resolved without looking at the future. Daily economic concerns separated from their communist perspective clarified by scientific predictions begin to appear both to the journalist and the reader as pure pragmatism.

Every newspaperman is familiar with Lenin's thought that "all propaganda must be based on the political experience of economic construction" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 407). It is frequently cited and constantly referred to in substantiating the need for the permanent participation of the press in production affairs. Occasionally, however, it is forgotten that what Lenin had in mind was not in the least to draw the attention of the press to technological details, which may be of interest to a narrow circle of specialists, or to dry percentage figures, but precisely to the political experience drawn from such

activities. The mastering of political experience enables the broadest possible masses to understand "the way socialism must be built" (Ibid.).

In posing a problem for public discussion, the journalist is concerned, above all, with revealing the social meaning of a specific phenomenon, with creating in the mind of the reader a firm rejection of what is evil and a desire to help what is good.

However, the social meaning of a phenomenon can be determined only by comparing it against the social objectives, political principles, ethical norms, and scientifically interpreted needs and interests of the working people. Without such a comparison the reader does not become aware of the social feature of a fact.

In turn, the increased level of education and culture of the Soviet people, the dynamism of socioeconomic processes and of the spiritual life of contemporary Soviet society, and the drastic aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena also present stricter requirements challenging the writer's theoretical arsenal. For this reason the professional and practical experience of even the most experienced colleague cannot compensate for gaps in his outlook. Such gaps will mandatorily appear in a newspaper article or a television or radio program.

"However, the healthy human mind, a very honorable fellow traveler within the four walls of one's home," F. Engels cautioned as early as 100 years ago, "can experience the most amazing adventures merely by daring to enter the vast area of research" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 21). It is no accident that among the topical tasks of political-educational work on which the CPSU Central Committee deemed it necessary to focus general attention, priority was given to the requirement of "insuring the high scientific level of propaganda and agitation."

A number of speakers at the USSR Union of Journalists Plenum on Problems of Political Journalism, held last May, pointed out that many of the shortcomings of our press are the result of the inability of the propagandist creatively to apply Marxist theory to his analysis of a specific situation. Propaganda cliches, mindless repetition of general truths, and an "official" style of writing are the result not of the excessive liking of theory by the journalists but rather, conversely, its insufficiently profound and noncreative assimilation. That is precisely why, as the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" noted, occasionally theoretical summations and a serious and thoughtful analysis are replaced by "pomposity and a superficial scientific style, while convincing arguments and a confiding tone in addressing the audience are replaced by edifying and big words."

The core of political-educational work is to develop in the Soviet people a scientific outlook. A person indifferent to ideology fails to see the inter-connection among individual items. He becomes lost in any new and unaccustomed situation and, lacking personal criteria with which to study and evaluate it, fussily gathers outside opinions or uses ready-made cliches.

The position held by the Soviet journalist is conscious and comprehended. It equally rejects impulsive and unconscious flare-ups and thoughtless mechanical formalism. The member of the communist press clearly realizes whose interests he is defending and what is the essence of these interests. He serves the proletariat precisely through his clear vision of its historical justice of which he, personally, is profoundly convinced. Communist party-mindedness is distinguished by its clearly expressed conscious nature.

Naturally, sympathy, empathy, and a personal attitude toward social events are powerful incentives in a journalist's work, charting a fully defined direction in his searches. However, the Soviet journalist bases his political partiality on scientific knowledge. This excludes any prejudgment and predetermination of conclusions.

The purposefulness of the journalist has nothing in common with prejudice. It is firmly based on scientific conclusions. Since the working class is profoundly interested in the factual implementation of its historical mission, it needs neither self-delusion or beautiful illusions (let us recall how angrily Lenin excoriated any sugary or official nonsense), but a sober and substantive search for the realistic means with which to achieve its purpose. Class interest encourages the proletariat to seek the truth. Therefore, in a journalist who defends the interest of the working class party-mindedness coincides with objectivity.

Lack of objectivity creates a gap between word and action and causes irreparable harm to communist education. Naturally, this is not a question of violation of professional ethics or deliberate distortions of information. Other forms of disparity between word and action exist as well. If a journalist, ignoring the factual possibilities of society, rushes into impatient anticipation by presenting a wish as reality, he unwittingly triggers in the readers higher social expectations. The occasional result is that a newspaper would present as topical a problem whose solution may be possible only tomorrow or the day after, ignoring problems awaiting their solution today.

The concept of the developed socialist society formulated by the party, is of tremendous importance in surmounting such errors. The inculcation of this concept in the mind of the public has resulted, in particular, in the fact that the journalists have begun to display a more careful attitude when mentioning the word "communist," which, as has happened, they used excessively broadly, as though ashamed of the current level of development reached. The same could be said of concepts such as the "scientific and technical revolution," or "creative work." Their use, which was previously excessively loose, has also become more cautious and pertinent.

Realism is an unquestionable demand which permanently faces propaganda work. It implies not only the truthful presentation of facts but their accurate assessment, and the ability to distinguish between today's problems and those which we will be able to resolve only in the future.

How do truth and tendentiousness, knowledge and opinion, and fact and interpretation get along with each other, and how do they correlate in the factual creative process? Such problems frequently arise in writing. To the journalist-party member, however, such problems are of an essentially different social nature compared with bourgeois journalists. To the former such pairs do not represent irreconcilable opposites, for the objective Marxist analysis of facts combines them not formally but organically with principled assessments based on the positions of the working class. As we pointed out, such an organic combination of the scientific with the value approach is natural to the ideology of only one class.

This fact is a true prerequisite for the true freedom of journalistic work. The journalists do not have to twist the truth while promoting the ideals of the working class. History itself is moving in the direction predicted by Marx and Lenin. Recreating in the newspaper the "history of our time," and truthfully depicting the tense and purposeful struggle waged by the masses for socialism and communism, the journalist by this token "does all he can to help the direct participants in the movement." He helps to "broaden the movement and engage in making a conscious selection of the ways, means and methods of struggle capable of yielding the biggest and most durable results with the least possible outlay of efforts" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 208). That is how impartial truth serves partial class objectives.

The bourgeois critics attack the communist press allegedly on behalf of the... truth, proclaiming the class approach to be synonymous with prejudice, narrow-mindedness and controlled views. In fact, however, these faults are inherent not in proletarian but, precisely, bourgeois ideology, for they are the result of the class egotism of the bourgeoisie restricting its historical narrow-mindedness.

The very idea of the alleged incompatibility between the objective and the estimated approaches is also found in the practice of bourgeois relations. However, even deprived of their social grounds, some prejudices continue to weigh on the minds of some people. The impression is occasionally created that this idea, its venerable age notwithstanding, may even be hovering over some participants in the frequent discussions held on the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution sporadically breaking out in our press. Occasionally such debates are conducted within the limits of the traditional pitting of science against morality and scientism against humanism, even though it is entirely obvious that the solution of such problems should be sought outside such frameworks. It is found in the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. Yet it is precisely these matters that are still discussed very timidly in the mass press.

The journalist's judgment always reflects not only the features of the investigated phenomenon but his own views, tastes, partialities, and attitude toward the specific phenomenon. The journalist's position is expressed in the material above all through his approval or disapproval and his interpretation and evaluation of the facts.

The fact and its evaluation are two mandatory components of virtually all works of journalism. The very appearance of a 10-line note in a newspaper already expresses a certain social attitude and indicates the social significance of the material. Therefore, in addition to providing information it mandatorily implies its evaluation. It is precisely through socialist evaluation that the journalist guides the reader and purposefully influences public opinion.

In its decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work," the party's Central Committee made it incumbent upon the party committees and the heads of mass information and propaganda media to increase their feeling of responsibility for the strict and objective approach to the interpretation of facts and the substantiation of positive or critical evaluations.

This evaluation may be open or concealed, impartial or emotionally embellished, negative or, finally, of a political, economic, legal, moral, or esthetic nature, for there are many hypostases in a public assessment. The only mandatory feature is that it is present in any journalistic work.

It would be difficult to find an area of social life not discussed in the press. However, the specialized knowledge and yardsticks borrowed by the journalist from economists, legal experts, ethics specialists, or specialists in other fields of knowledge are needed, in the final account, if he is to provide a competent answer to the main question: What is the social usefulness or harm of a given phenomenon? The reader must always be clearly aware of the attitude of society to facts, events, or actions he has seen on television or read in the press. He must know whether they are good or bad and the extent to which they are consistent with the interests of society, the objectives of party policy, or the requirements of communist morality.

However, the simplicity of such questions does not mean that the answers are equally simple and basic. In order to find an answer sometimes the journalist must do a tremendous amount of research. Understandably, he must have a very precise idea of the nature of social usefulness and the meaning of this criterion.

The basic criteria in the developed socialist society are the interests of the working class, interests which have been adopted by the whole people, and the strengthening of the political and economic system of the Soviet state and of its social foundation: the unbreakable alliance among workers, peasants, intellectuals, and workers engaged in physical or mental work.

III

The social evaluation helps us to understand the material and, at the same time, serves as a kind of moral prescription for the reader, encouraging him to work better and eliminate shortcomings, and presenting him with models of desirable behavior.

Naturally, the class focus of the position of the Soviet journalist is aimed, above all, at world capitalism and its ideology. This is our main ideological

adversary. We are engaged in a tense ideological struggle against it and the watershed here follows, above all, the line of the attitude toward real socialism. It is precisely real socialism that is the main target of the attacks mounted by the bourgeois press.

The more clear and obvious the class contradictions are, the easier their principles, their political assessment becomes. That is why in the ideological struggle in the international arena the party-mindedness of the Soviet press operates in its traditional, one could say "pure," aspect: "They are there and 'we' are here."

Naturally, the approach of the journalists to the eternal problems of socialist society is different. The main trend in its development consists of the further strengthening of unity and solidarity. However, the elimination of class antagonisms and the growing social homogeneity of the Soviet society, naturally, do not mean that social contradictions have entirely been removed from our life. There is a constant struggle between the new and the old and the demarcation of forces is not always clear. "The bureaucrat does not wear the enemy's uniform," wrote in the journal ZHURNALIST one of the participants in the discussion on the way people are described in the press. "Furthermore, he may even carry a party-member card in his pocket."

This is what makes the detailed analysis of events and the determination of their specific nature particularly important, for the nature of the evaluation must be consistent with the nature of the phenomenon.

Greed, private ownership inclinations, hooliganism, bureaucracy or indifference to other people deserve stern and not only moral but political condemnation as they are contrary to the very nature of our system. It would be difficult to justify the fact that their class-political assessment has been occasionally dulled, as was noted at the all-union conference of ideological workers.

However, contradictions in the socialist society cannot be reduced to conflicts of the same nature, for which reason their social rejection, as was pointed out, may assume an economic, legal, esthetic, or moral aspect. The strict consistency between the fact and its interpretation is a categorical stipulation in journalism as in other areas.

Social contradictions are based on the disparity between individual predilections and the public interest. "...The most violent, the basest and the most disgusting passions of the human soul" was the description which K. Marx gave to the "furies of private interest" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, p 10). Occasions in which the journalist constantly becomes their mouthpiece are exceptional and are obvious cases of moral sickness. Unfortunately, however, they have not been entirely eliminated. This brings to mind a contributor to a sectorial newspaper who "edited" the material in such a way that all shortcomings of his own department were blamed on others. Or else the example of a special correspondent (no longer employed) of an oblast newspaper who, perfectly aware of the systematic deceptions of the rayon managers was not only unwilling to "take the dirty laundry out of the closet," but for a number of years misrepresented the overall situation through his "success" articles. Such

people are inescapably doomed to moral degradation and creative failures. Tendentiousness does not hinder an objective attitude toward reality so long as the journalist is professing precisely the social rather than the group, departmental, or parochial interests and proceeds on the basis of the usefulness to the work rather than his self-seeking considerations.

Whether the journalist will be able to deal with all kinds of individual influences and be able to subordinate them to the public interest whose spokesman is the press depends on the moral atmosphere in the editorial premises, the level of the party's guidance of the newspaper and, most importantly, the political maturity and moral firmness of the journalist himself.

A philistine view remembered from childhood, a rash conclusion based on personal difficulties, and even a casual dislike may become firmly wedged among the proper principles which guide human behavior. Such a speck of mildew may distort the author's position unless it is promptly removed. However, detecting it, it turns out, is not always simple. A number of principles, norms and feelings which permanently motivate a person's life may be so deeply seated in his subconscious that he may not even be aware of them.

Cases of deliberate distortion of information and obvious unconscientiousness on the part of a journalist are, we repeat, infrequent. Cases of involuntary one-sidedness are more frequently encountered.

We know that socialism created a firm base for the combination of individual, collective, and public interests. This is good. However, their complicated interweaving or the parallel or temporary coincidence between private and public interests may prevent the journalist from finding his way in such an occasionally rather tangled mass, to determine the precise motivations for the actions of his character and their social nature and direction. A side view does not immediately help to untangle the variety of interests.

It may also happen that a journalist would unwittingly become the spokesman for a private interest. For example, the desire of a kolkhoz member to acquire a motorcycle and build himself a modern house, things which, in themselves, are natural, may be suddenly described as features of the socialist way of life, even though building a house or buying a motorcycle, taken by themselves, may be proofs not of the way of life of a person but merely of his level of prosperity. Here are other examples: a journalist may present to the reader a doubtful aphorism like "automobile owner is a proud word," even though pride in the possession of real estate or other property, typical of the bourgeois society, is not honored in our country. Or else, the journalist may categorically call for judging people on the basis of their earnings. Thus, as a result of an insufficiently profound, a superficial approach to the material, imperceptibly the main distinction is eliminated, in this case between the owner of an automobile who is a conscientious worker and a petit bourgeois who owns one, or between a leading worker and a grabber.

Occasionally, the journalist fails to see the truth because of previous personal experience. This occurs when he judges a new situation only by analogy, failing to see its novelty. Or else when stubborn attachment to a previously favored method makes the author blind to "unsuitable" facts which do not fall within

this system. Or else, again, in the course of his creative enthusiasm for enhancing one of his characters, the author achieves this at the expense of others or emphasizes the importance of one event while belittling another.

In this connection, I recall an essay on a trial, describing a tragic case: an enraged owner killed an adolescent who had gotten himself in his garden.

The essay angrily condemned petit bourgeois cupidity and emphasized the principles of good relations among people. However, in order to emphasize more strongly the total disproportion between the bloody reprisal and the mischievous action, the author underscored its insignificance and harmlessness: all in all, some 10 strawberries had been taken. Therefore, like it or not, the idea was imperceptibly insinuated to the reader that getting into someone else's garden is no more than a childish game. The violation of law and order was thus essentially justified. This was done involuntarily, with no back thought. On the other hand, it might appear that had the adolescent stolen not 10 strawberries but 100, the owner might have had a "greater" justification for the atrocity...

In a word, the creative processes themselves of knowledge and depiction of reality, involving the participation not only of the mind but of emotions and previous experience, conceal some psychological opportunities for a non-coincidence between the image and the object, inaccuracies, and one-sided judgments.

Naturally, from the angle of the effects of an article the cause of the error makes no difference. Are we to accuse the author of ill will or is he the unwitting victim of a shallow approach to the material, failure to control moods and feelings or possess self-control? It is true that from the viewpoint of the immediate impact of the material on the reader such differences are of no particular importance. However, in order to prevent future errors the exposure of their specific "gnosiological" and psychological reasons is important. Understanding the complex dialectics of interaction between the socioclass and gnosiological aspects is of great importance in the study of journalistic practice.

Frequently, coming across a creative "puncture," a critic will most frequently explain the journalist's failure as lack of skill or poor knowledge of the subject and would not be inclined to relate it to the author's position. To a certain extent, such caution is justifiable, for the position of the journalist cannot be separated from his overall aspect and, understandably, the personality of the journalist cannot be judged on the basis of an error in an article.

On the other hand, however, the direct dependence of the journalist's successes and failures on his positions is entirely obvious. Avoiding the specific study of this dependency does not favor the further enhancement of the idea-mindedness and effectiveness of the printed word and the growth of the professional skills and ideological standards of journalists.

The "author's position" is the most apt concept pertaining to such an analysis. It means the concretizing of something more general--"the position of the

journalist." The theoretical concepts, moral foundations, ideals and principles with which the journalist undertakes to deal with a problem raised by life provide him with no more than a most general and, therefore, approximate idea of a specific phenomenon. Such stipulations are far removed from current daily work, for which reason they are not always directly applicable to the study of the problem. They require "grounding," and a more specific knowledge.

Thus, as we know, in preparing to write an article, the journalist begins with a study of the materials related to the topic, materials of a principal nature, and determines the data to be used in the work. At this point his views on the problem become more specific, even though they remain quite abstract in terms of the circumstances he must study at the site. Nevertheless, this new knowledge fills the gap between general principles and isolated facts, making the general principle usable in a specific study. In terms of the dialectical categories of the "general," "separate," or "single," this knowledge plays the role of the "separate" which, precisely, expresses the connection between the "general" and the "single." It is thus that the "position of the journalist" is concretized in the "author's position."

This term reflects the social and moral objectives pursued by the author in researching precisely the specific material, and the criteria by which his research will be guided. Naturally, the author's position depends, above all, on the general principles, ideals, moral norms and feelings which constitute the position of the journalist. However, it is the attitude of the author toward his topic that represents the specific author's position.

The term "author's position" does not pretend to provide an overall characterization of the personality of the journalist, for which reason it allows us to avoid incorrect generalizations of this personality. It is a working formula whose application is limited to the analysis of specific writings. That is why in the course of such an analysis the concept of the "author's position" enables us better to understand the role which the ideological-moral principles and feelings of the journalist play in the factual creative process.

Neither the knowledge nor the depiction of reality are possible without general concepts. However, even the most meaningful among them are converted into bare cliches if automatically applied or devoid of specific experience or if not animated by the live thinking of the author or are warmed up by his feelings.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has called upon us, the journalists, together with the other detachments of ideological workers, to work in such a way as to give a creative nature to all educational, information and propaganda work, whatever its degree or direction may be. The successful solution of this problem demands of the journalist more than a mastery of correct principles. Their meaningfulness and depth do not guarantee by themselves their effective impact on the reader. Furthermore, a conviction does not become a position unless it is translated into action, unless it is properly embodied in articles and addresses.

It is impossible to separate the problems of journalistic skill from conceptual problems. The position contains volitional aspects. Substantial willpower is

needed to surmount the resistance of the material and, subsequently, to oppose all kinds of "refuters" and take the project to its proper end.

"Journalism," M. A. Suslov said at the all-union conference of ideological workers, "is militant work, requiring high moral-political and practical qualities and moral strength and, most importantly, deep convictions and extensive knowledge." The efforts of the party committees, editorial collectives, and organizations of the USSR Union of Journalists are directed toward the development of such qualities in the journalists.

In turn, such knowledge and convictions, if concentrated in the life stance of the journalist, make his works profound and topical, resulting in an accurate ideological direction and a high moral effect.

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INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR FOSTERING COLLECTIVISTIC MORALITY AND A SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 80 pp 73-84

[Article by G. Yenukidze, Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The struggle against private ownership tendencies and harmful vestiges of the past was and remains one of the main directions in the party's political-organizational and ideological activities. The higher our society rises in its development, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, has noted, the more intolerable become the still encountered deviations from socialist morality. Greediness, hooliganism, bureaucracy, and what V. I. Lenin described as "communist conceit" conflict with the very nature of our system.

The antihuman and antisocial nature of such negative phenomena particularly stands out against the background of our country's socioeconomic and cultural progress, the development of democratic principles, energizing of mass creativity, moral renovation of man, and growth of the people's prosperity. They have a corrupting influence on the individual, hinder the further development of socialist social relations and conflict to an ever growing extent with the ideological-political and moral ideals of society and the principles and norms of communist morality.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly indicated that the process of conversion of the masses to a socialist system, i.e., the reorganization of the entire set of their conceptual views and behavioral motives and their reorientation toward a system of social values totally opposite to the bourgeois way of life, will be lengthy and circuitous. According to Lenin "this is the beginning of a more difficult, more essential, more basic, and more decisive revolution than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it means victory over one's own stagnation, slackness, and petit bourgeois egotism, a victory over the habits which accursed capitalism has left as its legacy to the worker and the peasant" ("Pain. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 5). The historical experience of the communist party clearly proves this important concept of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The CPSU Central Committee accountability reports to the 25th party congress emphasized that "We have achieved a great deal in improving the material well-being of the Soviet people. We shall further pursue the systematic solution of

this problem. However, the growth of material possibilities must be always paralleled by upgrading the ideological-moral and cultural standards of the people. In the opposite case we may have recurrences of philistine, of petit bourgeois mentality. This must not be ignored." The same basic stipulation is developed in the CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." This is a document which has defined for a long period of time the main direction followed by our entire organizational and ideological-political activity in a most important sector of communist construction such as the molding of the new man.

I

The importance and timeliness of the consideration of such problems in the activities of party organizations are clearly confirmed in the example of the Georgian SSR. As we know, by the end of the 1940s and, particularly, in the mid-1950s, a number of reasons led to a certain decline in the struggle waged by the Georgian party organization against private ownership tendencies and other opposites of communist morality. Favoritism, bribery, careerism, and a predatory attitude toward socialist property became widespread in the republic.

The consequence of all this was that at the beginning of the 1970s the Georgian economy was in a state of breakdown. Furthermore, by that time there were practically no areas of life in the republic in which such negative phenomena were absent, ranging from the factually illegal entrepreneurial activities to the sale of university enrolments and of diplomas, and petty theft at work to the theft of priceless objects of the cultural heritage of the nation, and from open extortion in the area of health care to the allocation of "cozy positions" to individuals considered suitable by one or another manager. We factually came across a most serious violation of one of the basic socialist principles, the principle of the mandatory consistency between the level of a person's material well-being and the quantity and quality of his work and, consequently, the deformation of the people's mentality, social consciousness, and spiritual values.

The nature, the inner content of these events are becoming far more clear today, viewed through the lens of the past. The republic's party organization did not stint in appeals to intensify the struggle against private ownership tendencies or the passing of officially correct decisions on this matter. However, the apparent struggle concealed the connivance, tolerance and, occasionally, even the direct complicity of many managers in promoting an individualistic mentality. Not surprisingly, the negative phenomena, as they snowballed, acquired along the way ever thicker encrustations and, in the final account, led to the breakdown of labor discipline, self-seeking approach to the work, and the desire to extract material gains even from objects which, to begin with, cannot be estimated using the scale of material values. The economic and sociopolitical situation which had developed in the republic worried the party members and all honest working people in Soviet Georgia. That was the reason for which they welcomed with such warm approval and deep understanding the 1972 CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilisi city party committee. This was the beginning of a decisive course toward the restoration and comprehensive assertion in the republic of the Leninist norms of party, state and social life.

The Eighth Plenum of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee, held in November 1972, made a detailed study of the unhealthy atmosphere which had developed. The plenum earmarked a specific action program for the strict implementation of stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee decree and for surmounting antisocial actions. This was also the purpose of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee decrees on the struggle against favoritism, harmful traditions and customs, and parasitism. These problems were extensively and comprehensively discussed in the decisions of the 25th congress of the republic's communist party.

Hopefully, systematically, step by step, the republic party organization implemented effective economic, social, and ideological measures to combat phenomena incompatible with the socialist way of life. It accomplished a great deal to energize the activities of the mass organizations of the working people and to involve in this work the honest and conscientious people who have always been in the absolute majority.

All this yielded good results. Above all, the republic's economy strengthened. For the past several years the Georgian SSR has been awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, AUGCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for winning the all-union socialist competition. Compared with 1972, the 1979 overall volume of industrial output was 71.3 percent higher while agricultural production rose 64.2 percent; the absolute growth of the overall social product for the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan was nearly double that on the 1971-1974 level; considerable positive changes occurred in the dynamics of the most important indicators of economic management effectiveness--labor productivity and quality of output. The national income rose 69.5 percent while real per capita income rose nearly 33 percent; the pace of construction of housing, schools, children's preschool and medical institutions was accelerated. State and cooperative retail trade rose by a factor of 1.5 while the volume of consumer services nearly doubled.

Thanks to the constant attention and concern of the CC CPSU, its Politburo, the Soviet government, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on whose personal initiative important decrees were passed on the Georgian party organization (1976), on the further development of the national economy of the Georgian SSR (1974), and on increasing the production of southern and subtropical crops and the accelerated development of Georgian agriculture (1979), the scale and effectiveness of the republic's public production have been rising steadily. A course of ever broader satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the working people is being systematically implemented.

The achievements of recent years are organically related to the adamant efforts made by the Georgian party members to improve the moral and psychological climate in all areas of sociopolitical, economic and spiritual life, and the struggle for strengthening socialist discipline and law and order, and upgrading the civic consciousness and labor and political activeness of the masses. The main result has been the victory achieved in the struggle for man, and for the restoration and assertion in the republic's life of the high moral-political ideals and true spiritual value of the socialist society. This victory is the result of the assertion and development of the democratic principles of party

and state life; the considerable reorganization of ideological activities on the basis of the Leninist principles of party-mindedness, class, science, publicity, truthfulness, and providing extensive information to the masses; improvements in the ways and means of propaganda and mass agitation work; energizing and mobilizing the public opinion of the working people; and upgrading the ideological-educational role of the scientific-educational and creative intelligentsia.

Today we have created favorable conditions for a decisive offensive against those with a private ownership mentality and morality. The republic's working people accepted at the beginning of the new stage of this offensive the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee letter addressed to all party and Komsomol members (1979) and the decisions of the January 1980 meeting of the aktiv of Georgian party, soviet and administrative organs which earmarked specific constructive measures for the implementation of the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Work on the Preservation of Law and Order and Intensifying the Struggle Against Infringements of the Law."

A republic practical science conference was held in February 1980 attended by the broad party aktiv, leading scientific institutions, labor collectives, the Public Opinion Council of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee, administrative organs, and public organizations. The conference summed up the experience acquired by the Georgian party organization and earmarked means of further and even more systematic and planned work.

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The struggle against antisocial actions requires a thoughtful and scientific approach. The simplistic understanding of their social nature and the underestimating of the harm, of the material and moral damage which they can cause society may lead to major deviations from the main direction followed by overall political, organizational and ideological-educational work. This problem is complex and comprehensive for the reason that the manifestations themselves of private ownership mentality and morality are many-faceted. For this reason, as E. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee first secretary, pointed out, it must be considered in its various economic, political, moral-psychological, and even philosophical aspects, for in the final account it is a question of essential matters such as the attitude of the people toward public property--the very foundation of socialism--and their civic duty; the acceptance or rejection of communist spiritual values; and the establishment and development of a socialist type of individual and of a Soviet way of life. In other words, it is a question of a comprehensive and theoretically profound consideration of the problem.

Naturally, as is the case with all serious matters, a scientific approach to party and ideological work is impossible without the interpretation of the objective and subjective prerequisites which determine any given phenomenon. Such prerequisites exist for the negative phenomena as well toward which our attention is currently drawn. However, since the task of party and political-educational activities does not include abstract theorizing but, above all, the formulation of effective measures for developing the highly conscientious

personality of a socialist type and the struggle against anything that opposes it, we shall limit ourselves here to recalling universally known concepts, scientifically established by Marxism-Leninism, whose veracity has long been confirmed by the social practice of real socialism.

Under socialism in general, and even more so under the conditions of developed socialism, life does not force man to find means for subsistence or establish his position in society through unfair means. It would be erroneous to consider the socialist system of payment according to labor and related inequalities in the material security of the people and in the distribution of material and cultural goods a justification for the negative phenomena in our society. It is natural that even with a certain lagging of social consciousness (and even more so of individual consciousness) behind social life, the absolute majority of Soviet people work honestly and conscientiously fulfill their civic duty without yielding to the temptation to live at someone else's expense.

Consequently, it is mainly a question of subjective factors. Under the circumstances of our republic their effect in the recent past was manifested in the abandonment of the Lenin principles and norms of party leadership of economic, state, political and spiritual life; in errors and faults in economic management and imperfections in the functioning of the economic mechanism; in the neglect shown by the management organs of the close ties among the economic, social, and moral problems of social development; and above all, in the violation of the socialist principle of "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." Toleration and liberalism became widespread toward the wasters of socialist property and people living from unearned income. In other words, the principle of inevitable punishment was factually ignored; the struggle for the assertion of socialist discipline and law and order was weakened and requirements governing the selection and placement of cadres and the moral and political character of leading workers were reduced; shortcomings were concealed and criticism from below and the public opinion of the broad toiling masses were ignored.

At that time these negative factors took such deep roots that they contributed to the restoration and dissemination among a certain percentage of the population of private ownership feelings and petit bourgeois views on life. To this day, even though on a far smaller scale than in the past, one or another manifestation of greed may be encountered in some areas of the republic's national economy and at different levels of the management system.

Thus, in recent years the thefts, padding, and fictitious operations have been noted in the subunits of a number of our ministries and departments in agriculture. The listing of nonexistent workers for purposes of payment of wages and bonuses for alleged work remain very "popular" methods for the satisfaction of such aspirations in the production-economic area, in construction organizations in particular.

One of the most dangerous private ownership manifestations is padding records, for it is precisely they that offer people on the make the opportunity to use our production forces for their selfish purposes. Record padding is impossible

without the conspiracy of a group of people, for which reason this type of crime is fraught with particularly serious consequences to society.

It is time to put an end, once and for all, to the still existing viewpoint that under certain specific circumstances padding may be justified by good intentions, for it is done, allegedly, in the interest of the labor collective or the sector. There could hardly be any more erroneous or harmful viewpoint than that. Padding is done exclusively for the benefit of those who, for the sake of satisfying their egotistical needs, are prepared to do anything, including direct swindling of the party and the state.

No less dangerous to society are cheating customers out of money and goods, extortion, and profiteering. It is precisely this mass, so to say "commonplace," nature of such phenomena that conceals the entire ill afflicting our economy and, particularly, the moral and psychological climate, involving gross violations of rules in trade, public catering, consumer services, and health care. Consciously or subconsciously customers, clients and patients become part of the vicious circle of someone's greedy interests and are frequently forced to meet them. Using the services of profiteers, overpaying service personnel, and so on, are becoming an almost habitual norm. Yet, principled people in this area sometimes get no support from those around them. Essentially, this means pandering to violations benefiting criminal elements alone.

Unfortunately, there are still cases of private ownership tendencies such as bribery. This is dangerous, for it is most closely related to other forms of parasitical aspirations and may penetrate any area of social life. Frequently the bribe is used as a universal means for closing the vicious circle of an entire chain of other crimes. It is particularly dangerous because it involves violations of socialist law by officials. This undermines the authority of leading organs. It is no accident that Lenin wrote that wherever bribery exists there could be no question of policy.

The struggle with private ownership tendencies is directly related to strengthening socialist law and order and upgrading the level of the people's awareness of the law.

It is known that in order to acquire substantial funds without work the various moneygrubbers and members of their families are willing to do anything thus establishing their own corrupting standards for prestige based on property. Under socialist conditions, these socioeconomic contrasts conflict with socialism and encourage in some people, young ones in particular, unreasonable and excessive material needs whose legitimate satisfaction is frequently impossible. For this reason those having such tendencies not only violate the law themselves but contribute to the growth of the crime rate.

For example, a study of crimes involving theft, robbery, extortion and blackmail has indicated that, as a rule, their victims belong to a specific category--workers in trade and services, and in the light and food industries--i.e., in economic sectors where the roots of theft, waste, corruption, fraud, and other means for acquiring unearned income are the deepest.

It was precisely with the helping hand of manipulators, those on the make, thieves, and bribers that not so long ago the harmful traditions and customs which were promoted as national characteristics in order to justify greedy and predatory aspirations were energized in the republic. Private ownership tendencies have always been the basis for rich and showy marriages, banquets, anniversary celebrations, burials, and distortions of the moral content and meaning of traditional Georgian hospitality and eating standards. Their nefarious influence spreads to family-household relations, triggering major domestic conflicts, often with dramatic endings.

The influence of private ownership tendencies on society is most dangerous when they penetrate party, soviet and administrative organs and economic management, leading to the moral degradation of some leading workers. Careerism, favoritism, bureaucracy, nepotism, parochialism, and a scornful-superior attitude toward subordinates are reproductions of the system of privileges enjoyed by exploiting classes in an antagonistic society, developed in the course of centuries. The results of the insufficiently energetic and systematic struggle against such manifestations, particularly in periods of their temporary revival, are violations of the constitutional rights of the Soviet people.

When we speak of private ownership tendencies and forms of their manifestation, we always bear in mind their common root--a morality alien to the socialist way of life, whose essence may be reduced to egotism and individualism and the alienation of the individual from society. Such psychological vestiges are still among the most complex targets of ideological-educational influence. This is due, above all, to the fact that the bearers of self-seeking interests can adapt and conceal themselves in all circumstances and even find justifications. Furthermore, when necessary, they can unite and act jointly. They must be opposed by the high idea-mindedness, solidarity and unity of all honest Soviet citizens who value the social, moral and spiritual gains of our society and the truly human relations among people--relations of mutual generosity, comradely mutual aid and reciprocal exactingness.

III

The Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee is always drawing the attention of the party members to the need to adopt a comprehensive approach in the struggle against private ownership manifestations. Substantial results have been obtained where administrative, economic and educational measures have been combined.

Let us take as an example the shipment outside the republic of agricultural commodities for profiteering purposes: only some 5-6 years ago this was one of the principal means of serving the private ownership interests of a certain segment of the population. Today, thanks to the skillful application of economic levers in the kolkhoz-sovkhoz sector and the private auxiliary farms of the citizens, and through the joint efforts of administrative and soviet organs and local party committees and public organizations, decisive successes have been achieved in the struggle against this negative phenomenon. This has resulted in a sharp increase of deliveries of agricultural commodities produced by the republic's public farms to the all-union fund.

Here is another example: bearing in mind manpower shortages in construction, it is particularly important to eliminate a phenomenon such as "work stoppages," i.e., the periodical migration of manpower to areas outside the republic in the search for the "long ruble." The special commission set up by the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee, the rayon party committees, and the respective ministries are conducting extensive explanatory work among the population. Comprehensive construction brigades are being set up whose members are assigned construction work in their home towns and provided with good working conditions; material incentive is extensively used as well. It is thus that a job placement method, organically combining public with personal interests, was found.

The steadfast implementation of the party's policy is the most important prerequisite for surmounting private ownership tendencies. After analyzing the nature of the changes which have occurred in the socioeconomic development of our country over the past 5-year periods, the CPSU formulated a set of constructive measures for the further improvement of the economic mechanism and for intensifying its influence on upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. The systematic and purposeful solution of these complex problems is directly and organically linked with the struggle against private ownership tendencies. Every success achieved in improving economic management, planning, administration, accountability and control should be considered a major step toward the elimination of the reasons and conditions for the manifestation of private ownership tendencies.

Our state pays great attention to encouraging the development of private auxiliary farms. They retain (and, at times, even increase) their economic significance under socialist conditions as an additional source of satisfaction of the need of the population for agricultural commodities. At the same time, the auxiliary farm is subject to regulation to a lesser extent compared with the public farm, for which reason people contaminated by greedy aspirations may occasionally use it as a source of profit. The party, soviet and administrative organs must follow a planned system of measures to prevent this. On the other hand, the sovkhozes and kolkhozes must provide all possible aid to the private plots and supply them, for the sake of the common interest, with fertilizers, fodder and equipment, and set up maximally favorable and equitable conditions for accepting and delivering their output.

Until recently the imperfect criteria used in assessing economic results contributed to violations committed in our republic in the area of commodity-monetary relations, extending even to the production area controlled by the state: taking into consideration the profitability of produced goods, some enterprises violated the formulated variety plan, producing more profitable goods to the detriment of less profitable yet equally necessary goods. Consequently, the narrowly understood interests of the enterprises conflicted with those of society.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on improving the economic mechanism, adopted in July 1979, were aimed at the elimination of such contradictions. The measures stipulated by the decrees enable us to assess the results of enterprise activities on the basis of their factual contribution to the

production of material goods needed by society, thus restricting possibilities for the manifestation of negative aspects. Nevertheless, the total elimination of shortcomings which leave loopholes for all kinds of violations will require considerable further effort on the part of the party members and the rest of the people.

We must always remember that faults in the organization of labor and the production process are an essential reason for the appearance of greedy consumer attitudes in the people. The heads of some enterprises are not always concerned with improving labor conditions, professional growth, moral and material incentives, and a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere in the collectives or other factors which could contribute to the fuller realization of the creative possibilities of the individual and the assertion of his social significance and dignity.

Let us cite at this point the example of the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant. Over the past 7 years, thanks to the comprehensive solution of economic, social, ideological-educational and moral problems, it changed from a straggling to a leading enterprise. The specific and real concern displayed by the administration and the party organization for the people and for the comprehensive development of the labor collective and the improvement of the moral-psychological climate, combined with concern for the growth of production effectiveness, labor productivity, production quality, and incentives to workers and employees sharply reduced cadre turnover, violations of labor discipline and public order, theft, and other negative manifestations.

However, conditions for the utilization of the tremendous possibilities of labor collectives able fully to implement the most important function of becoming the center of the social development of the individual have not been created everywhere. As a result of omissions by administrations and party organizations, the collectivistic awareness and feeling of worker's honor become dulled in some people. Individualistic interests gain the upper hand and purposes alien to us begin to predominate.

We must firmly implement the socialist principle of basing wages on the quantity and quality of the labor used, insert a flexible and accurate differentiation within the wage system and properly combine material with moral incentives. Each ruble must be earned and selfless toil accurately assessed.

The lack of control in this area, which undermined over a long period of time the material and moral-prestige levers of labor education, resulted in the fact that a certain percentage of the people in our republic stopped considering earned wages the only means for the satisfaction of their needs.

Honest toil for the good of society must be the only basis for the self-assertion of a person as an individual. This can be achieved only by developing in the people a concerned attitude toward public labor and property, remembering Lenin's familiar words that "communism begins with the appearance of the selfless concern displayed by the rank and file workers, despite hard labor, to increase labor productivity and preserve each pod of grain, coal, iron and other goods which benefit not the individual worker or his "relatives," but

"strangers," i.e., the whole of society, dozens and hundreds of millions of people...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 22).

Concern for the people presumes, first of all, that words must be backed by action, particularly in areas directly related to the prosperity and requirements of the people, and the efficient utilization of their time and energy. The cost of the work of communications and health care, communal-housing, transportation, trade, consumer, and other organizations is excessively high. Unable to meet their urgent needs fully and legitimately through the public sector, sometimes the working people are forced to turn to "private entrepreneurs" or extortionists.

As we know, the Marxists-Leninists have never supported asceticism, "barracks communism," or the imposition of deliberate restrictions on human needs. However, we must clearly distinguish between legitimately growing requirements and material possibilities and consumerist and greedy feelings, in which consumption is converted into a thirst for profit and for enrichment by any means.

Well aware of the fact that it is no longer possible to undermine the economic power and ideological foundations of socialism, the defenders of the bourgeois system are thoroughly reorganizing the structure, content, method and tactics of anticommunist propaganda, seeking ever more frequently new means of weakening the ideological firmness of the Soviet people and finding breaches in our educational work. Specifically today Western propaganda is intensively increasing the number of publications and radio broadcasts aimed at implanting in the minds of the Soviet people the stereotypes of bourgeois consumer thinking and philistine morality, and promoting acquisitiveness and egotistical instincts.

One of the main differences in the ideological positions held by socialism and capitalism is a diametrically opposed understanding of the nature and social role of labor. Marxism-Leninism ascribes to labor a primary role in the development of society and the individual, instead of consumption, considering labor not only a means for the acquisition of material goods and as the prime natural condition of all human efforts, but a necessary prerequisite for social justice and moral advancement and for the creative spiritual enrichment of the individual.

Socialist competition plays a major role in developing an attitude toward labor as a vital need. In the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, it has a deep impact on economic practice and on the country's sociopolitical life and moral atmosphere. Our republic party organization pays particular attention to the educational function of the competition and to the development of those among its methods and labor initiatives which are most consistent with the tasks of improving the economic mechanism, insuring the growth of labor productivity and prestige, successfully completing the effectiveness and quality five-year plan, and comprehensively implementing the plans for the economic and social development of production collectives.

The main objective of the party's policy is to insure the good of the working people and the satisfaction of their steadily growing needs. We want the Soviet people to live better with every passing day and to acquire beautiful and high-quality goods. At the same time, however, it is important that on the basis of

this prosperity we mold a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich person, attached to the humane principles of the socialist way of life. This is the essence of the unity between the party's socioeconomic policy and communist upbringing. The harmonious combination of the material interests and objectives of the individual with the economic interests and objectives of society at large remains the most important task.

Concretizing the problems of communist upbringing at the present stage at the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated and substantiated the task of asserting in the builder of communism an active life stance. It is precisely this quality of the Soviet person that is becoming today the summarized indicator of the effectiveness of ideological and educational work and of the level of ideological convictions and strength of moral foundations. That is why the molding of an active life stance in all Soviet citizens must be considered the most important prerequisite for surmounting the vestiges of the past in their minds and behavior.

Communist convictions and a Marxist-Leninist outlook are the basis of an active life stance. For this reason insuring the high scientific standard of all propaganda-agitation work and political and economic training, and the popularizing of the concepts of scientific communism, directly related to reality, and the historical advantages of socialism and CPSU policy in the area of improving the prosperity of the masses has become a task of primary importance.

The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" (1979) and the conclusions and recommendations of the October 1979 all-union conference of ideological workers emphasized that more than ever before today we must take into consideration the dynamism of socioeconomic processes, the higher educational and cultural standards of the Soviet people, the changed content and nature of labor under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and the increased amount of leisure time. This requires its more efficient utilization for the satisfaction of spiritual needs. All these are complex and natural processes which determine the growing trend of differentiation among material and spiritual-moral needs and interests of different social, professional, and demographic groups within our society. For this reason, depersonalization, generalization, and lack of concreteness in ideological work and its separation from the practical tasks of economic construction and the specific problems pertaining to the production activities of labor collectives are extremely undesirable. Such shortcomings still exist. However, a great deal has been done to surmount them. The current situation and the changes which have taken place give us a feeling of optimism.

The molding of communist convictions and of an active life stance depend to a tremendous extent on insuring unity between words and actions. A gap between words and actions is particularly intolerable in the activities of leading cadres. This was emphasized yet once again with the greatest possible party principle-mindedness by the 17th Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee Plenum (1979). The effective value of the ideas and slogans we take to the masses may be properly judged only on the basis of the actions through which such ideas and slogans become embodied in practice.

That is why the ideological-political training of leading cadres at all levels, the all-round enhancement of their professional and practical skills, and the struggle for their moral purity is considered by us a major trend in the work of party organs and organizations. We see to it that moral education imbues all areas and levels of ideological and social influence on the human mind and behavior. In this case the power of the positive example, the strengthened belief of the Soviet people in the reality of the inevitable triumph of the moral principles and ideals of the developed socialist society, play an important role.

The morally enhanced, ideologically convinced, and socially active individual must assume his proper place in the press and in television and radio broadcasts. Unfortunately, in describing our best people, journalists are frequently unable to avoid trite one-dimensionality in the depiction of a person. They fail to find the ways to describe in full his positive qualities, purposefulness of character, reasons for conscientious work, and whole variety of wealth of the person's inner spiritual world and sources of moral ability.

Practical experience proves that the struggle with the old, the stagnant, and the obsolete can be successful only when extensive publicity and the exposure and elimination of negative phenomena are combined with an assertion of what is new and progressive and consistent with our steadfast progress toward communism. It is particularly important to take this into consideration in ideological-educational work with young people and in molding their social-value orientations. It is precisely here that chattering, official moralizing, or the edificational repetition of general truths and loud-sounding statements rather than an intimate and lively conversation on the affairs and problems affecting our young contemporaries are particularly harmful.

In some families the parents not only do not concern themselves with promoting in their children sensible needs, failing in fact to teach them the ability to restrict themselves within certain limits, and neglecting to develop in their children an understanding of the infinite superiority of a good book compared with a fashionable rag, but themselves, trapped by considerations of false prestige, encourage in their children stupid consumerist appetites. Modesty in life and personal needs and ability to prefer spiritual and moral values have always been rated as the main qualities of the Soviet person.

Preparing the young generation for socially useful labor and promoting a good attitude toward all its varieties and toward the direct producers of material goods is a particularly important problem whose proper solution begins in the family and the school. The family and the school must not orient the children merely toward entering a higher educational institution. The level of development of public production, despite all achievements of scientific and technical progress, is still such as to require masses of workers with different skills. That is why it is urgently necessary to further improve the vocational guidance of young people and the activities of the schools and vocational and technical training systems and to upgrade the prestige and authority of mass workers' skills. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations must see to it that more young people find their vocation and place in life in the labor collectives of plants, factories, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This is a most

important socioeconomic and moral-political task both from the viewpoint of the interests of the public and of the socially developing individual. Higher education is something that comes with time and frequently it is precisely a person with production experience who can faultlessly choose his future profession.

Today the higher school faces major tasks. In our republic the VUZs are still not providing an adequate level of theoretical, professional and political knowledge in many of their branches along with readiness for practical work and for controlling the life and activities of labor collectives and resolving urgent and scientific-production problems. Not everything is conducive to keeping the young specialists in their jobs. Yet this involves not only economic but, to an even greater extent, social, ideological and moral costs, for they create favorable conditions for the uncontrolled wasting of our labor and intellectual resources, trigger disparities between personal needs and social interests, and hinder the development in the young people of feelings of social responsibility and duty to society and the state.

The successful struggle against the opposites of communist morality and the effectiveness of the ideological influence on those who support moral and political concepts and orientations alien to us are inconceivable without paying constant attention to upgrading the cultural standard of every person.

In the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the term, the standard of the individual represents the sum total of human qualities, including knowledge, convictions, skill in pursuing various practical activities, and mastering the behavioral norms acceptable to society. However, the development of such qualities requires more than exclusively political-educational and propaganda efforts. Results are achieved if they are combined with the planned utilization of most important means for ideological-moral and esthetic influences such as literature and the arts. It is important more extensively to propagandize the best achievements of domestic and world culture and comprehensively to support the active involvement of our writers, poets, playwrights, painters, and cinematographers in the struggle for the new man. Many works by contemporary Georgian authors are distinguished by their profound party-mindedness, militancy, and desire to interpret the nature of current social development processes and reasons for successes and failures in surmounting negative phenomena.

The struggle against private ownership trends and vestiges of an individualistic mentality is a complex, comprehensive and lengthy process which requires a scientific and comprehensive approach. It is a political and class struggle which does not tolerate a passive attitude. It demands the interest and help of all working people and the maximum energizing of public opinion. This can be insured, above all, through the further advancement of the organizational-political and ideological-educational work of all party organizations and party units, and the comprehensive assertion of truly Leninist norms of party, state and social life.

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HE APPEALED (TO US) TO LISTEN ATTENTIVELY TO THE MUSIC OF THE REVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 80 pp 85-96

[Article by Vl. Orlov, written on the occasion of the centennial of A. A. Blok's birth]

[Text] When we think of Aleksandr Blok the question of the poet's sources and fate invariably arises. In this case the sources are exceptionally rich and the fate is phenomenal.

Few Russian writers at the turn of the 20th century had such strong roots sunk so deeply in national culture as Blok.

He was even born in a building of Petersburg University, where the very walls seemed to radiate the light of Russian learning. He was taken in hand by his great-grandmother, who, in her youth was close to many of Pushkin's dear friends and who, perhaps, may have been personally acquainted with Aleksandr Sergeyevich himself.

In the case of Blok these accidental circumstances assume truly symbolic significance.

From childhood on Blok breathed the air of a living cultural legend. The Beketov family, which raised him (his mother's family, since she left her husband immediately following the birth of her son), belonged to the hereditary, so to say "high" Russian intelligentsia which served culture and education truly and loyally generation after generation.

The family was dominated by the cult of science, literature and art and by lofty concepts of their value, ideals, traditions, and social purpose.

To the senior Beketovs, Gogol', Apollon Grigor'yev, Nekrasov, Turgenev, Grigorovich, Dostoyevskiy, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Polonskiy and Maykov were not only respected writers but close acquaintances. The family chronicles also include records of the leaders of the Russian liberation movement such as the Decembrists and the Petrashevs.

As a youth Blok felt with particular sharpness and a sense of pride and gratitude his close ties with the environment in which he was being raised. In

his mature years, in this connection, he found in it support for his spiritual, ideological and literary searches: "The more I become aware of myself as part of this native entity, as a 'citizen of my homeland,' the more loudly my blood speaks out" (Aleksandr Blok, "Sobraniye Sochineniy v Vos'mi Tomakh" [Collected Works in Eight Volumes]. Moscow-Leningrad, 1960-1963, Vol VIII, p 274. All subsequent citations are based on this edition).

For a while, when Blok entered the field of literature, the "call of the blood" was stifled by other ideological-artistic influences stemming from religious-mystical utopias and decadent esthetics. This, however, did not last long and did not determine the destiny of the poet.

In this connection the question arises of the connection between Blok's creativity and the artistic theories and programmatic stipulations of Russian symbolism--the most influential among the decadent currents in our art between the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

We are forced to return to this seemingly already resolved problem, for of late it has been ever more frequently subjected to unjustified revisions.

It is self-evident that we cannot entirely separate Blok from Russian symbolism. As a poet, he was part of this current, he breathed its air and was quite closely linked with it. Subsequently, he even acted as its spokesman.

However, the essential feature here was not the existence of this connection itself but its dialectical nature, the sharp contradictions which Blok detected within it almost immediately, and what Blok considered the main and decisive factors, the direction which he took and the way in which his fate developed. In short, in establishing the relationship between Blok's work and Russian symbolism, we must be clearly aware of what was more important in this case: the attraction or the repulsion.

Soviet literary research has irrefutably proved that Blok's work does not fit within the framework of symbolism as an artistic outlook and a literary school, and that he reached the peak of his accomplishments not by virtue of his involvement with symbolism but despite it, and that the overall meaning of his creative searches and his art as a whole are found in the difficult yet adamant and consistent struggle against the spirit of decadence which, in the final account, had incurably contaminated Russian symbolism.

It is precisely such an understanding of Blok's path and destiny which has been arrogantly described of late as "antihistorical," since, allegedly, with such an approach, great writers "abandon the currents with which they were factually involved." At the same time, futile attempts are being made to re-assess and rehabilitate symbolism itself.

What a strange idea of historicism!

If we speak of the artist at the beginning of the 20th century and undertake the historical assessment of his work, it is most important, above all, to see how his fate related to the main event of the age--the Great October

Socialist Revolution--and the extent to which he was able, if not to predict, at least to anticipate, the future. In this respect the ways of Aleksandr Blok and of Russian symbolism parted sharply and irreversibly.

I repeat, it is a question not of the "ties" or of "disconnections" but of historical patterns.

The great artists are great precisely because they are not identifiable with schools and currents. They may be related to them and even create them. In the course of their own progress, however, they explode them from within and go on, leaving the pieces behind as the legacy and consolation of their imitators (in art the imitator is always more "orthodox" than the creator). Dante, Shakespeare, Pushkin and Tolstoy left behind their own artistic worlds rather than "schools." It would be stupid to blame Blok for the flaws of his idealistic outlook. In fact, to the very end, he was loyal to the mystical concept of art as being a "wind blowing from those worlds" which bring to the artist "bits of whispers and words in a strange language" (V, 422-423). However, this does not mean at all that Blok's place in history is that of a "representative of Russian symbolism," even though a "great one."

Generally speaking, what is the importance of the poet's errors, contradictions or slips of the tongue compared with the irresistible and invincible truth of real life?

What some researchers describe as Blok's symbolism is his personal, his individual, his original profoundly experienced reaction to life which was distinguished by a particular, uniquely original, and purely individual form of romantic art.

Filled with unabated alarm, Blok's tragic art was the offspring of his time. It was the spirit of this explosive changing age which he expressed with a most powerful artistic force.

Aleksandr Blok lived and worked with the awareness that "age forgives all sins" except for one: "It never forgives the betrayal of the spirit of the time" (V, 450), and that "man means future" (VIII, 384).

The upsurge in the Russian liberation movement excited Blok as well and could not fail to do so. He welcomed the first Russian revolution of 1905 with the greatest possible enthusiasm: "We expect within ourselves a whirlwind.... I want effectiveness, I feel the approaching fire and that life does not wait.... The old is crumbling.... How important this time is! A great time! Happy!" (VIII, 131). His impression of the strike of the workers in the capital's electric power plant expands in Blok's poetry into a big image of historical darkness, the decline of the entire old and worried world of the "sated:"

And so, all those who are sated are indignant and their insides yearn for food: the trough has been removed and the rotten pigsty is alarmed! Their lot is now meager and their houses unlit, and prayers for bread are stinging in their ears together with the joyful sound of alien flags!

The 1905 revolution predetermined Blok's separation from the decadents as well. Thirteen years later, after the October Revolution, he was to remind Zinaida Gippius, who was cursing the proletarian revolution, that "...We were separated not only by 1917 but even by 1905, when I had still seen and knew little about life" (VII, 335).

How can we speak of any firm and binding ties between the poet and the symbolists when the thought that he, Aleksandr Blok, exists in literature alone, that he alone bears the responsibility for his work and firmly follows the rule of "remaining true to himself," is found in literally all of his intimate, particularly insistent and consistent, admissions?

The stormy wind of the age, the general ferment, the clear symptoms of the crisis and breakdown of the old culture and the headlong maelstrom of events surged at Blok, penetrating his inner world, creating the music, colors, and atmosphere of his poetry.

The decisive turn in Blok's feelings, views and beliefs took place in 1907-1908. It was the struggle of the soul for the "right to life" (II, 371), which he had mentioned in connection with his first books and which until then had been latent, which surfaced now, with a tremendous power entirely unexpected by those around him.

It was at that point that he heard the "call of the blood" particularly loudly. He was totally seized by it, as he mentioned in his poem "Retribution:"

Awareness of the terrible deception of all my previous
petty thoughts and beliefs....

He reached the conviction that the Russian writer must think and speak "only of the great," for "nowhere else is literature so vital as in Russia and nowhere else do words turn to life, becoming bread or stone, as they do in our country" (V, 247).

Therefore, he began to speak of that which was greatest, most vital and most irreversible. He began to speak of the destiny of the homeland, of the defeated revolution which was once again gathering strength, of the blending of the artist with the soul of the people, and of conscience, truth and duty as the highest criteria of true art.

The depth and comprehensiveness of Blok's thought, energy and directness of expression are noteworthy: "The artist finds in his awareness of duty, his great responsibility toward the links with the people and society whose product he is, the strength to follow the only proper path rhythmically.... It is only here that we determine whether or not the artist is guided by duty—the only manifestation of the rhythm of the human soul in our joyless hardworking days, and it is only this that separates the true from the false, the eternal from the temporary, and the sacred from the sacrilegious" (V, 238).

Loyalty to the great legacy of progressive Russian thinking and culture and to their life-bringing traditions, endless thought about Russia and her tragic

experience of the unbearable present with its wild and barbaric system of decaying autocracy, inhuman power of capitalism, suppression of the will and dignity of impoverished and humiliated man, the spiritual baseness of the bourgeois way of life, and the shameless nihilism of decadence were all integrated in a concise formula which briefly and clearly expressed Blok's deepest inner conviction that "Contemporary life is a blasphemy of art and modern art is a blasphemy of life" (Aleksandr Blok, "Zapisnyye Knizhki. 1901-1920" [Notebooks. 1901-1920], Moscow, 1965, p 132).

In the course of time it is as though all the anxieties in Blok's lyrical themes, topics and plots seem to become focused on a single point. Russia and the revolution become an inseparable unity and the center of his creative world.

In 1908 Blok wrote to K. S. Stanislavskiy that "...I face in my life a topic, the topic of Russia.... I consciously and irrevocably dedicate my life to this topic.... For this means life or death, happiness or doom" (VIII, 265-266).

These are not casual words. For example, an event in Blok's life assumes in their light a special, a profound meaning: at a literary evening, as he read some of his poems, voices in the audience shouted "About Russia, about Russia!" At that point he "almost angrily," according to an eye witness, answered: "All this is about Russia!"

Indeed, Blok's work can be explained entirely and understood integrally only if considered in its national-historical context of Russian life as it was when the poet lived and worked.

Born in distant years, they do not recall their ways. We
are the children of the terrible years of Russia which no
one can forget.

The storm of the century, raging around the poet, penetrated his inner world as well. That is why a feeling of historical context is found in his seemingly "intimate-lyrical" poetry. The following noteworthy statement applied to Blok as well: "...Like the passion of any poet, the private passion of Catullus was saturated with the spirit of his age. Its fate, rhythm and dimensions, like the rhythm and dimensions of the poet's verses, were inspired by the time; in the poetic feeling of the world there is no gap between the individual and the social; the more responsive the poet is the closer becomes the tie between what is "his own" and what is "not his own;" that is why in times of storms and concerns the most tender and most intimate aspirations of the soul of a poet are also brimming with storms and concerns" (VI, 83).

Naturally, this applies less to Catullus than to himself. In any case, Blok's poems, dictated by a "personal passion," are the best, the most convincing and instructive examples of this interpretation of poetry.

With the deepest possible scorn Blok turned away from the "false life" in a "terrible world," irreconcilably, with a "sacred hatred." However, the dialectical law of the unity and struggle between opposites always operates in historical reality. The honest and truthful artist, generously gifted with a

feeling for the future, could not fail to hear the underground rumbling of history which marked the inexorably rising over Russia:

Unheard of changes and unheard of mutinies....

Through the impenetrable fog of the "terrible world" another face of the homeland appeared in front of Blok: "Russia angry and blazing ahead, standing on end" (V, 445).

Three months after he sent that letter to K. S. Stanislavskiy, in another letter (to the militant reactionary V. Rozanov) Blok described his personal "concept of a living, powerful and young Russia," the opposite of the "disgusting, slobbering, stinking" and decrepit monarchic system. "As shown by its best representatives, the Russian revolution is young, its face surrounded by a halo... If there is a reason to live, this is it. If such a Russia would "mature," naturally, it would mature in the heart of the Russian revolution, in the broadest meaning of the term, involving Russian literature, science and philosophy, and the young muzhik, who thinks of "only one thing" and the young revolutionary, his face shining with truth, and everything that is indefatigable, restrained, stormy, charged with electricity. No lightning rod could diffuse this thunder" (VIII, 277).

Blok's entire personality, the whole rebellious spirit of his poetry are contained in these words expressed in the period of most profound reaction with a burning passion, openness and infinite faith.

According to Blok the Russian revolution means youth, untouched strength, and an endless future. "Youth means retribution," said Blok quoting from H. Ibsen, using this statement as the epigraph to his poem "Retribution" which, in his own words, was full of "revolutionary premonitions." The poem remained unfinished but even so, it has remained the most outstanding epic work of Russian poetry at the beginning of the 20th century.

The idea of the inevitable historical retribution which the future will inflict on the old world for all its incalculable crimes and for the suppression of freedom, justice, conscience and human dignity is basic to Blok's work.

I believe that a new century will come to all unhappy generations. Not in vain does every family glorify the mortally insulted genius.... The distance must be long. Nevertheless, the legacy of youth is that the scorn ripens into anger while anger ripens into mutiny.

All this is backed by the concept of life and art in their correlation, in their ties and contradictions, experienced by Blok as a consequence of a spiritual crisis, and artistically presented in his poetic masterpieces—the famous lyrical cycles "Free Thoughts," "Terrible World," "Iambic Verse," "Italian Poems," "Harps and Violins," "Carmen," and "Homeland," the poems "Nightingale Garden" and "Retribution," and the drama "The Rose and the Cross."

One of Blok's works is particularly significant—the prologue to the poem "Retribution"—whose first edition was published separately under the noteworthy title of "People and Poet." It was no accident that this was the first poem in

Blok's collection of "Selected Poems." Actually, it represents Blok's artistic declaration containing the integral concept of the work and duty of the artist, the poet.

This poem particularly emphasizes the thought of the conscientiousness of the artist and the artist's need strictly to define his position in the struggle taking place in the world. Despite the endless chaos of events and the uncontrolled power of the "accident" the artist must develop firm value criteria. He must develop within himself spiritual fearlessness in the face of the seemingly insoluble contradictions of life. He must study and accept the world in its integrity and unity as well as dynamics, in the eternal confrontation between "light" and "darkness."

But you, the artist, must firmly believe in the beginning and the end. You must know the line which separates hell from heaven. You must dispassionately measure everything you see. You must be firm and clear. Eliminate the accidental features and you will see a splendid world.

Yes, the world is splendid despite everything which has distorted its shape after centuries of "false" and wrongly structured life.

The entire experience of world art proves that if the artist lives according to his conscience and the truth he cannot, he is unable to, ignore the darkness and evil of the world around him. He must believe that in the final account the bright and the good will win out.

It was with such a faith that Blok lived. "The great Russian artists—Pushkin, Gogol', Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy," he wrote, "lived in darkness. Nevertheless, they had the strength to survive in this darkness, for they believed in the light.... Each one of them, like the entire people who took to them, ground their teeth in the darkness, in despair and, frequently, hatred. They knew, however, that sooner or later everything must change because life is beautiful" (VI, 13). In Blok's view the duty and purpose of the artist are not only to bless the meaning of life which, despite "accidental features" which distort it is beautiful, but actively and creatively to participate in the transformation of life for the sake of the future and always to be on the side of youth and freedom.

The feeling of individual involvement with history is a feature deeply inherent in Blok. At this point it would be most appropriate to recall Gertsen's famous words characterizing the artistic picture of his life ("Past and Thoughts") as a "reflection of history in a person who has accidentally followed its path" (A. I. Gertsen, "Sobraniye Sochineniy v Tridtsati Tomakh" [Collected Works in Thirty Volumes], Moscow, 1954-1966, Vol 10, p 9).

Blok's lyrical hero, describing his spiritual life, becomes a "subject of action," a historical man. The "storm of life" and "spirit of the time" is what molds the human personality above all, as it appears in Blok's poetry. It acquires its spiritual force, moral dignity and fullness of sensation only through the awareness of its involvement with the whole (the world, the homeland,

the people, society). This is expressed in one of Blok's most striking poems:

Once again, the thrust of youthful years, blasts of power
and extreme views.... There was no happiness, however, and
there is none. This is no longer doubtful!

The years you will face will be dangerous, you are warned
from all sides. But if you see the goal you will, at such a
point, finally believe the miracle.

Finally, you will see that there was no need for happiness
and that your unfulfilled dream stopped even midway through
life.

You will see the overflowing enthusiasm of the creative cup
and everything becoming not mine but ours, and a tie estab-
lished with the world....

It is highly significant that the feeling of oneness with the world and the rejection of "my own only" in favor of "ours" (i.e., both "mine" and "the common") are related, in Blok's view, with the concept of the "creative rapture." It is only such a feeling, such a condition of the soul, which is a prerequisite for rich creativity and which creates favorable grounds for great art.

Art, as Blok understood it, must express through its specific yet accessible means a feeling of the oneness of the world and man's involvement with the world. In Blok's view the type of poetic feeling "which strives to encompass the entire world," making it "close and familiar and, therefore, even more mysterious and attractive" was of the highest esthetic value (VI, 425, 424). In this case the huge outline of "the entire world" can be seen by the artist behind any minor event.

Blok speaks with bitterness and sadness of the loss of happiness: it turns out to be no more than an "unattainable dream." He considered this topic important. In his youth he was inspired by the lofty dream of universal happiness and the wonderful transformation of the world. However, this was a utopian dream which found no base in real life, for which reason it was unable to withstand a clash with reality. Subsequently, this dream lost all its attractiveness. Furthermore, Blok stood up against it: "...I have never loved 'dreams,' and in my best periods when I am able more or less to describe my present, I even hate the 'dream,' preferring even the dullest reality" (VIII, 451).

Naturally, this involves a certain polemic heat. However, the word "dream" is deliberately set in quotes. There are dreams and dreams. In all three volumes of Blok's poetry we can clearly trace changes in the very meaning of this concept, seeing how, from a beautiful and intoxicating yet immaterial and sterile dream of the visionary, it turns into an enthusiastic acceptance and blessing of life:

Oh, endless spring, dream without end! I will find you, life!
I accept and welcome the clanging of the shield!

It was this precise dream that no longer took the poet above the clouds but, conversely, plunged him into the very thick of the "gray reality:"

Yes, according to my inspiration my unrestrained dream leads to the downtrodden, the dirt and darkness and the poverty, to which a humble world looks different....

This "different world" has nothing in common with the "other world" created by the imagination of the young Blok. It is a romantic image of the future better world, a human world which could and should be created through the will and creative toil of the free man. In one of the revisions of this poem, the mention of dirt, darkness and poverty is followed by:

And I love this entire horrible world: behind it lies a different one, indescribably beautiful and simple in its humanity....

How naturally it comes to Blok in this connection to speak of the "great storm" of the people's revolution which will turn the old world into ashes and create a new one!

Observing and assessing everything developing in Russia, Blok asked: "When will there be an answer and where will it come from?" He invested in the concept of "answer" a great deal of meaning. It was a question of the very fate of Russia, its people and its culture. Anything small, accidental, and transient was overshadowed by one main and decisive thing: how long would the sinister darkness of autocracy and private ownership shade the beautiful and tearful face of the tortured homeland?

Round and round flies a kite over a sleepy meadow, and looks over the empty space. And in the hut a mother weeps over her son: "Take some bread, nurse my breast, grow, obey, and bear the cross." And centuries passed by in war, the mutiny breaks out, the towns are in flames but you, my country, remain as tearful and ancient. How long will mothers sorrow? How long will that kite fly?

These are great, penetrating, unforgettable verses, this is our classical poetry....

Unquestionably, in World War I Blok was considered the leading poet of the country. "I am surrounded by much love, even bask in the shade of some 'glory'," he wrote his wife in November 1914 ("Literaturnoye Nasledstvo" [Literary Legacy], Vol 89, Moscow, 1978, p 338). His fame grew. He was indeed loved, and at literary evenings no one else was welcomed so warmly. More and more people were becoming aware of Blok's true importance, realizing that through the power of his talent and depth of thought he was superior to all contemporary poets and had become the equal of the great lyrical poets of the past.

Here is how Soviet poet Nikolay Aseyev subsequently described this on behalf of his own generation, which had experienced the events of 1905 and everything else

that followed them: "The generation simply listened to a long-forgotten pure human voice, full of stormy passion, great love and fiery anger against anything that is dead, superficial, conventional, and barren" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 1 December 1940).

The people of that generation trusted Blok, recognizing in his poems their aches, their concerns and their hopes and others awaited some great exploit.

. . . . "Whenever we think of a poet, we think more or less of his personality" (Gogol'). There is no art without an artist, there is no poetry without a poet. Blok himself, clearly belittling the emphasis placed on this fact, said the following: "In the poetry of any poet nine-tenths perhaps belong not to him but to his environment, his age, and the winds which blow; one-tenth, however, is himself." If this is not so, "there is nothing to rely on."

Conscience and truth are, unquestionably, the two principal and main features of Blok's human and poetic nature, the two sources of his spiritual energy which dominated him entirely and which forced him at an early period, immediately after the first Russian revolution, to make a choice and set his course.

A great deal has been said about this person by his friends, accidental acquaintances, or secret enemies (there were some such). Few other Russian writers of our century have been the subject of such a large number of memoirs. This is understandable, for the personality of Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Blok was charming and attractive. Korney Chukovskiy, who lived to be an old man, said that "I have never seen, before or since, any person who generated magnetism so tangibly and vividly."

People of entirely different natures similarly sensed the human significance of the poet. Some of them felt purer and nobler in his presence. Here is what the known Soviet writer Yvonne Novikov said: "One could visibly see the change in people looking at Blok: they reflected his inner light."

Blok was simple like all truly great people. He was exceptionally affable and polite to everyone. At the same time, however, he was also "big" (in the old meaning of the term): imposing, unhurried, full of the feeling of his own dignity. It would have been inconceivable to imagine him in the company of others shouting or roaring with laughter, involved in noisy witticisms, fussy, slovenly, displaying a hail-fellow-well-met attitude. Whereas people loosen up when they drink, he froze. He could enjoy himself heartily within the family circle or with very close friends. He loved to invent complex charades and to mimic famous contemporaries. He wrote jocular poems and drew caricatures. All this, however, was done in his own style, with a fine humor, without effort or excitement.

He definitely evidenced no traces of posturing, pretense, or acting which are so frequently found, even though displayed innocently, by famous people. According to a writer, a long time ago, dying of excitement, he had shown to Blok his semichildish poetry: "Blok did not ask me a single routine question. He simply began to talk with me as with a person he had met frequently."

Blok was so fearlessly and mercilessly truthful that many people were discouraged by his directness. Everyone knows how difficult it is to tell a writer frankly what one thinks of his works. Blok was able to do so better than anyone else.

The brilliant poet had a beautiful heart and soul, possessing true human beauty, open to the hardships and joys of life and prepared sympathetically to share human sadness and suffering.

Whatever depths of the spirit Blok sank to, he never abandoned his faith in goodness, light and freedom. Everything with which he lived and experienced—mysticism, hope, despair, "sacred hatred" and truth—everything was resmelted into the poetry of true and real human feelings experienced by himself, experienced by his own soul. That is why all his words ring so true.

Naturally, there was also the legend of Blok—the legend of a decadent dandy wearing a frock-coat and a bow tie, leaning against the counter of a tavern or presenting a beautiful woman a black rose in a decanter of wine. However, this was no longer Blok's face but his mask. In reality, he was a strong even though tired man, strict and incommunicative, plunged in his unhappy thoughts, leading a difficult and lonely life.

You claim that I am cold, reserved and dry. Yes, that is what I will be with you: I did not build my spirit for endearments and did not fight my fate for friendship.

This was Aleksandr Blok's personality as he approached the great historical landmark.

Blok was inspired by the overthrow of autocracy. "Something has happened that no one can as yet evaluate, for this is a scale unknown to history. This could happen only in Russia" (VIII, 479).

Despite all this, Blok accepted and considered the February Revolution merely as the overture to even more stormy and grandiose events: "...A miracle has happened and, therefore, there will be more miracles" (VIII, 480). In June 1917, recently impressed by the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, one of whose sessions Blok attended, he wrote: "Nothing new has happened to me personally and even if it had, it would have been impossible to feel it, for the universal revolution is becoming the meaning of all life, a revolution headed by Russia" (VIII, 504).

How well said! The meaning of all life....

Totally naive in the area of "Realpolitik," obeying only the voice of his own conscience, Blok most carefully listened to the slogans of the Bolsheviks, which captivated him with their clarity: peace to the people, land to the peasants, and power to the soviets. In mid-October, when the tension in the country reached its peak, Blok refused to participate in the writing of a newspaper started by Kornilov supporters, admitting, as the reason for his refusal, that he was "more with the Bolsheviks." It is particularly noteworthy that in the

noisy disputes marking the fierce political struggle of that period he was able to identify a single firm and confident voice—the voice of Lenin.

In connection with press rumors that the Bolsheviks were preparing an armed uprising, Blok wrote in his diary (19 October) that "Lenin alone" believed in the future "with the prediction of something good," as well as that "the democratic seizure of power will indeed put an end to the war and settle everything in the country" (VIII, 312).

The daring and irreversible step taken by Aleksandr Blok the moment the October Revolution was accomplished is worthy of admiration and will never be forgotten.

He was among almost the very first of the most noted representatives of the elite of the intelligentsia who answered in the press the question "Could the intelligentsia work with the Bolsheviks?" directly and unreservedly: "It can and it must" (VI, 8). He dedicated to the proletarian revolution everything he had: his talent, his love and his life. Blok had so much revolutionary will and energy that he literally infected everyone he touched. His wife described this well: "To live with Blok without understanding the pathos of the revolution and without considering one's individualistic claims as minor compared with it would require totally ossified stagnation...." ("Literaturnoye Nasledstvo," Vol 89, p 380).

In January 1918 Blok experienced his highest creative flight, of that sort an artist alone can feel. During the exceptional events, when the fate of the October Revolution and the Soviet system was in the balance, in a single thrust Blok wrote his immortal trilogy: the inspired article "The Intelligentsia and the Revolution," the brilliant poem "The Twelve," and the powerful revolutionary-patriotic ode "The Scythians."

In Blok's view the revolution was universal, general and irrepressible. He represented it most completely in the image of the unrestrained "world fire" which, breaking out in Russia, will spread wider and wider, "until it burns the entire old world to the ground" (VI, 76).

The same conviction dictated Blok's appeal to the Russian intelligentsia and, in fact, to the entire Russian people: "It is the work of the artist, the duty of the artist to see what is planned, to listen to the music of the "thundering wind in the air." What was planned? To redo everything. To organize matters in such a way as to make everything new, and turn our false, dirty, boring, and disgusting life into a just, pure, happy, and beautiful life.... "Peace and fraternity among nations is the sign of the Russian revolution. That is what the thunder of its flow indicates. That is the music which must be heard by anyone who can listen.... Listen to the revolution with your entire body, all your heart, all your mind" (VI, 12, 13,20).

He himself not only became all ears but carried out the direct obligation of the artist demanded by the time—he spoke of the new historical truth born of the October Revolution in the language of art.

The poem "The Twelve" earned nationwide (and universal) fame, making a description of its idea and plot unnecessary.

Invariably modest, exacting, and mercilessly strict toward himself, Blok recorded the following in his notebook the day he finished "The Twelve:" "Today I am a genius." The poem is indeed brilliant in the direct definitive meaning of the word. Written with a feeling of unheard-of freedom, it introduced into Russian poetry new poetic forms, new rhythms, a new vocabulary.

Blok claimed that while he was writing the poem he could physically hear the sound of the breakdown of the old world. He, louder than the thunder and rumbling of this catastrophic event, welcomed the birth of a new world with poetry, which has become forever part of the awareness, the memory of the people.

Here are his murderously strong hatred and scorn for the overthrown old world:

The bourgeois stands like a hungry dog, silent like a question mark. And the old world, like a mongrel, stands behind him with its tail between its legs.

Here is a sharp call to battle:

Let your step be revolutionary! The enemy indefatigably watches!

Here are also light verses carrying a monumental traumatic tension:

Our boys have gone to serve in the Red Guards, to serve in the Red Guards and lay down their wild heads!... In the sorrow of all bourgeois we shall start a world fire, a world fire in blood, bless us Oh Lord!

Here are also solemn marching rhythms which describe the "statesman-like step" of the new masters of life, the rebellious people and their irresistible rush ahead into the future:

The red flag strikes the eyes. The measured step is heard. The bitter enemy will crumble.... The snowstorm blows in their eyes night and day, in the spring.... Forward, forward working people!

Immediately after "The Twelve" Blok wrote "The Scythians," the high point in his civic-patriotic poetry. The main feature of this multileveled work is the question of Russia's historical fate, reformulated in the light of the revolution.

Here two worlds face each other: the thirsty, senile and doomed bourgeois West, still bearing arms and mounting a crusade against the Russian revolution, and the young Soviet Russia, full of bubbling vital and creative strength, standing up in the defense of humanity and mankind.

This new Russia lays a legitimate claim to the legacy of everything that is truly valuable and permanent in world culture. Following Dostoyevskiy, under new historical circumstances, Blok asserts the universal Russian genius:

We love everything—the flame of cold figures and the gift
of divine visions. We understand everything—the sharp
Gallic sense and the dark German genius....

In the name of his homeland and with faith in its invincibility and world destiny, the poet, feeling the right and obligation to speak on behalf of the entire people (not for himself but for "us"), also addresses a terrible warning to the enemies of the Russian revolution and a passionate appeal to all people of good will on earth:

One last time, old world, come to your senses! Come to the
fraternal feast of labor and peace. One last time the lyre
of the barbarians summons you to a bright fraternal banquet!

"The Scythians" was the final word in Russian poetry of the pre-October era. This was the word of the new historical truth born of the October Revolution—the word of militant revolutionary humanism and internationalism. Blok undertook the solution of this problem on the basis of the only possible understanding. He claimed that "to hate internationalism means to ignore or be deaf to the national force" and that it was precisely love for Russia that led him to "the international viewpoint" (VIII, 500).

We are familiar with the fierce persecution mounted against the author of "The Twelve" by all open and secret enemies of the October Revolution, including those who, on its very eve, were friends and admirers of the poet. Equally well-known is the splendid courage with which Blok welcomed the flood of hatred, mockery and slander hurled at him. An infinite faith in the rightness of the revolution and in one's own rightness was needed to face the malicious and base attacks with such dignity and scorn.

Blok answered such persecution with work—tremendous, infinite, involving all his spiritual and physical forces (he had to work intensively). On one occasion he wrote: "The task, like all tasks of today, is unusual, tremendous, responsible.... Today only large-scale, huge buildings are timely, for 'petty matters' have lost their meaning.... The greatness of the epoch obligates us to pursue synthesized problems and see in front of us the outlines of the tall and spacious buildings to be built.... It is only with faith in greatness that the liberated man has the right to engage in his daily common work. Let us stop fearing great things" (VI, 292, 293).

With similar faith he worked wherever destiny carried him—in government commissions on the publication of classical works, the theater department of the People's Commissariat of Education, Gor'kiy's Izdatel'stvo Vsemirnaya Literatura, the Bol'shoy Dramatic Theater, or the Union of Poets.... Blok's contribution to the building of a new, a Soviet culture is exceptionally great and will be retained forever in the grateful memory of the people.

Aleksandr Blok was a complex poet. His character as a person and a poet was molded in the close intertwining and constant confrontation of yearnings, passions, loves, angers, despairs and hopes. The poet was always concerned with the world and mankind, with Russia and his native people, and with the intimate dreams of his own future, his fate.

Oh, I madly wish to live, to perpetuate everything that is
real, to humanize what has no face, and to give flesh to
what has not come true!

Let a nightmare strangle my life, let me choke in this
nightmare, perhaps a happy youngster will say sometime
about me:

We shall forgive the sadness, for was it this that
moved him on? He was the child of goodness and of light,
he was the triumph of freedom!

That is precisely what happened.

According to Blok the poet's work was to "test the harmony of the hearts." Years go by and with every passing year, to an ever-greater extent, human hearts experience the insurmountable power of the harmony introduced into the world by a great poet who described himself, in the third person, as the "triumph of freedom."

The world in which we live, today's world, torn by contradictions, is extremely worrisome. The never-ending, fierce battle between the forces of good and evil, light and darkness, truth and lie, conscience and blasphemy, progress and reaction, labor and capital and socialism and imperialism goes on unabated, day after day. Under such circumstances the purpose of poetry is to remind mankind of moral values.

We must acknowledge that the extent to which it is doing this remains insufficient. We know that in the West with few (one may say isolated) exceptions, poetry has totally abandoned this vocation. This entrusts our Soviet poetry with an even greater responsibility as it carries with it the universal-historical feature embodied in the concept of the music of the revolution.

The successes of Soviet poetry should not be belittled. It is making its contribution to the ideological struggle tirelessly waged by progressive mankind. Nor should we belittle its possibilities. It has gained very rich experience. It has a great past, a priceless legacy, lofty traditions, and impressive examples.

One such example for our poets and for all of us is Blok, his personality, his work, his destiny.

The centennial of Aleksandr Blok's birth is a true holiday of Soviet culture, a living memory of our revolution, an inspiring example to our friends abroad,

and an instructive lesson for the best of their "masters of culture" who may, perhaps, under new historical circumstances, follow Blok if they are to find the truth of their age.

To this day the inspired appeal of the Russian poet may be heard with unabated strength throughout the entire restless and troubled world:

"Listen to the revolution with your entire body, your entire heart, your entire mind!"

5003

CSO: 1802

'MEMORY OF BLOOD, FIRE AND MARTYRDOM'

Moscow KOMBUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 80 pp 97-100

[Speech by D. Cruicci]

[Text] D. Cruicci was born in 1921 in a miner's family with democratic traditions. As a result of political persecutions, in 1932 the family emigrated to France.

At the age of 14 he joined the antifascist struggle, took part in the youth movement, and carried out party assignments.

Returning to his homeland in 1932, he was drafted into the armed forces and engaged in antifascist agitation among the soldiers. Captured by the SS, he was imprisoned in several concentration camps in Germany and Poland. He was liberated by the Soviet troops in the capture of Berlin.

As of 1 August 1945 he turned to party and, subsequently, journalistic work. He has been repeatedly elected communal and provincial councilor. He is also known for his international activities.

From 1975 on he has served as mayor of Marzabotto. He is vice president of the Association of Communes Victims of the War and Awarded for Military Valor.

Last September the national festival of UNITA, the newspaper of the Italian communists, was successfully held in Italy. It was a mass demonstration of the unity of the democratic and progressive forces of the country and the combat international solidarity among nations. Delegations and representatives of over 80 communist and workers parties and national-liberation movements and their press organs, including a delegation from the CPSU and the newspaper PRAVDA took part in the celebration.

The program of the UNITA national festival was extensive and varied. Dozens of encounters and political discussions were held on topical problems of the domestic situation in Italy and of international life. Several impressive demonstrations

were held against the criminal activities of terrorists from the right and the left, and against the energizing of neo-fascism.

In the course of the festival, on 13 September the foreign delegations visited the widely-known and deeply-respected Italian city of Marzabotto (near Bologna) where hundreds of innocent people were shot by the fascist executioners in World War II. Communist Dante Crucchi, Marzabotto's mayor, delivered the following speech to the guests:

Honored foreign guests of UNITA's National Festival and dear comrades!

Allow me to express the gratitude of the administration and population of our city for the fact that, coming to Marzabotto, you wanted to pay your respects to the memory of the victims of the mass murder committed here by the Nazi-fascists 36 years ago. Welcoming you fraternally to our land, a land of peace and freedom, we deem it an honor that such representative guests from different countries have gathered in Marzabotto, united in their desire to preserve the memory of the past in order to remove from the life of mankind the very reasons for war. The historical and moral values of the past must be reinterpreted in the light of today's reality, in the light of the various specific conditions in which you must act as members of a single community.

Two weeks from now we shall be commemorating the anniversary of the tragic event described by a poet as a "memory of blood, fire and martyrdom which turned a simple story of the life of workers and peasants into part of the history of the world." This refers to the 1,830 people killed, about 100 of whom were infants while virtually all others were women, old people, invalids and priests. With the passing of time the ghost of this barbarism and destruction has retreated into the past. However, it was, and remains, a tragic reference point for the peoples, for those who desire peace and would like history to follow a different, a more civilized and constructive path.

Names such as Marzabotto, Guernica, Lidice, Kragujevac, Oswiecim, Leningrad, Coventry, Oradour, (Kalavrita, Putten), Setif, Hiroshima, (Nueda), Songni, Soweto, Tell el-Zaatar, like hundreds and hundreds of other sites of mass killings, remind us of the bitter fruits of war and of savage violations of the human right to life. More names continue to be added to this list. The mass murders in Salvador and Bolivia and the deaths from hunger of people in Africa and Asia must make us think about such horrifying crimes so that we can develop our unity and solidarity to the maximum, as well as the unity and solidarity among all democratic forces, seeing to it that the countries scrupulously observe their obligations by honoring the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the right of each nation to self-determination and to control its own fate and natural resources. Such rights are inseparably linked with the imperative duty to preserve political, economic and social solidarity.

A real contradiction exists between the need to strengthen detente and to develop economic and cultural relations among peoples and reduce the existing

inequality between industrially developed countries and countries belonging to the so-called "Third" and "Fourth" World, on the one hand, and the predatory waste of financial, technological and human resources for the sake of stockpiling mass destruction weapons. Essentially, such an arsenal is nothing but a weapon for the suicide of mankind.

In the past 20 years nearly \$5 trillion have been fed to the sinister fire of the arms race. Meanwhile, hundreds of millions of people, mostly children, have suffered from malnutrition or diseases related to malnutrition. Over one billion people are illiterate. A tremendous number of people live in a state of poverty and despair. According to United Nations data in 38 countries the average annual per capita income does not exceed \$300. We cannot ignore all this. Relations among nations must be governed by the light of reason, truth, justice, and effective solidarity. That is why whenever possible we try to promote detente so that developing conflicts may be resolved through talks. We are working for disarmament and for the elimination of opposing military blocs and for the creation of a new international economic order.

The solution of such urgent and difficult problems cannot be entrusted to governments alone. Necessarily, it requires the extensive and comprehensive mobilization of the masses or what is known as the people's diplomacy. In all such matters the workers and democratic movements and all their detachments, regardless of their size or organizational form, play an important role. The problem of achieving real independence, which would mean freedom from new forms of colonialism; the problem of eliminating racism and remaining oppression; and the problem of eliminating despotic regimes such as the Chilean, which hurled a challenge to the entire world with its referendum farce in favor of the Pinochet regime, must be approached in a spirit of broadest possible cooperation and effective unity, and with the understanding that their solution is necessary not only for the sake of justice but the avoidance of conflicts which may involve far broader areas than those seemingly directly affected.

I dare to say that guaranteeing the peace which, along with freedom, we consider the most valuable human good, is the greatest revolutionary objective which, if attained, could and should change for the better the fate of mankind and prevent its destruction. Peace is not merely the lack of armed conflict. The concept of peace may not be reduced to maintaining the notorious "balance of fear;" peace must be strengthened through cooperation among nations regardless of the choices they make. Naturally, these are rather complex problems, difficult to resolve, particularly when forces exist unwilling to consider the appeal of those who try to lead the world in a new direction, the direction of true international security and mutual respect. However, we must not give up. Everyone must take this qualitative leap which is decisive for mankind's future, with us in the leading ranks.

By unanimous decision of its members—communists, socialists and Christian democrats—our city council adopted an appeal for the struggle for the defense of the peace. It stipulates that peace is the primary task of all democratic forces. We have pledged to rally the efforts of all cities which have been the martyrs and victims of wars, and whose right and duty stem from their past sufferings, to assist in disarmament talks and in promoting the steadfast and factual progress along this way, rallying the efforts of the peoples and of

anyone who, for this sake, tries to reduce and, in the final account, entirely eliminate all injustice in the world and all forms of violence. In this connection I have the pleasure to announce to you that in April of 1981 we shall organize in Guernica the second worldwide encounter. I ask that you contribute to its success not only by supplying us with available information but by involving in its preparatory and concluding phase the largest possible number of cities and communes which have been the victims of Nazi-fascist, colonial or imperialist barbarism.

Along this line we also suggest that an international record be kept with the names of all those guilty of crimes against mankind. The Nuremberg Trial must not remain the only case of its kind.

From this viewpoint we cannot ignore the decision of the military tribunal in Bari which gave a suspended sentence to former SS Major Walter Röder, guilty of the mass murder perpetrated in Marzabotto. This decision is a deep insult to the feelings of the relatives of the victims, for it is only the survivors who have the right to amend the sentence passed on this criminal guilty of mass murder, violence and hatred of any human right and dignity, a person convinced of the impunity of his actions. For over 20 years a shameless slanderous campaign has been conducted in the FRG and Austria whose target is our tragedy. Furthermore, even books were published entitled "The Lie About Marzabotto" and "Marzabotto—Global Fraud." The newspaper DIE WELT published an article signed by Walter Görlitz describing Röder as a "brave soldier" who has become the "innocent victim of a conspiracy by the Italian communists." Your visit to the memorial has given you an idea of the monstrosity of the murder. Meanwhile, Röder himself who, it is now claimed, has repented, has described the heroic struggle of the European resistance movement as "mean acts committed by armed civilians." Our answer and the answer of our people is the firm demand to let the sentence stand. We shall not yield and will continue the struggle, loyal to the memory of the victims.

Marzabotto has ancient traditions of culture and struggle for democracy. A prosperous Etruscan city stood here, in this area, 2,500 years ago, whose ruins are still worthy of admiration. The first mayor elected by the working people, Amedeo Nerozzi courageously fought against fascism with his comrades, communists and socialists. In the 20-year-long fascist period he did not betray a single time his dedication to freedom. Nerozzi, the noble son of our land, died heroically defending the Republic of Spain. He was a communist and his sacrifice was not lost. In August 1943, despite all difficulties, an armed resistance movement began here, which subsequently became the Red Star partisan brigade. It was supported by the families of those who struggled for the liberation of their land from the oppressors. The partisans were successful in their military operations despite the uneven ratio of forces and the fierce reprisals whose culminating point was the mass and virtually total destruction of all human beings in the mountains and the mountain slopes surrounding our little city. We are honoring the memory of all fighters for freedom who during those difficult years, when it seemed sometimes that everything was hopeless, were able to prove their loyalty to the cause of national independence and to the struggle against Nazi-fascism. We equally honor all those who continued to struggle for these 35 years for national liberation or who opposed any and all aggression, thus proving that the course of history cannot be changed.

You have come here as representatives of different countries and bearers of different experiences and you are here, in this small mountain town, to carry out a mission which will be completed in Bologna, the city where the UNITA national festival is being held. Two mass murders, committed over such a long period of time, may seem to be totally unrelated.¹ This, however, is not our view. It is the same murderous hand that with equal cruelty sowed death in Marzabotto and Bologna. That is why the struggle against terrorism, which may hide behind different labels but has the same roots, must be waged firmly, with no concessions to those who would like to misrepresent matters. Those who, whether in Italy or abroad, had hoped to destroy the workers and democratic movements through their barbaric actions have proved to be wrong. They were given an answer, the answer of united and mass actions, revealing the clear understanding that democracy is one of the postulates of the political system but is not in the least a benefit earned once and for all.

Many among you work in information organs or hold related positions. May you too consider as most important the task formulated in the slogan of the UNITA festival: "Down With War!" We call upon you to increase your contribution to informing the new generations of the horrors of armed conflicts and to turn the schools into a decisive stage in molding an awareness which would reject any form of war propaganda and would raise the growing generation in a spirit of peace. The feelings of our people are those of trust and hope. Their wish is to work together with you and with those who wish to create a better, a more humane society, strengthening international solidarity and making use of all human ways and means to free the people from ignorance and fear.

Our province and region have always given concrete proofs of their internationalism, starting with Marabini's participation in the war for the liberation of Greece, support of the October Revolution, extensive participation in the Spanish Civil War, the resistance movement in France and other European countries, and the struggle against Nazi-fascism and support of nations which have aspired to break the chains of colonialism and oppression over the past 30 years.

In conclusion, allow me to read to you an excerpt from one of the many letters sent to the children of a guerrilla sentenced to death: "Love freedom and remember that this good must be paid for with constant sacrifices and, occasionally, even with a life. Love your homeland but remember that your real homeland is the entire world and all those who are like you are your brothers." As a mayor and as your comrade I greet you warmly on behalf of the city of Marzabotto which welcomes you warmly and I hope that our meeting will be an incentive for the development of fraternity and solidarity among all the peoples of the world.

FOOTNOTE

1. A reference to the fascist reprisal against the population of Marzabotto in September 1944 and the explosion triggered by right-wing extremists on 2 August 1980 at the Bologna Railroad Station which cost the lives of about 100 people, maiming hundreds of others.

5003

CSO: 1802

CURRENCY OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Moscow KOMBUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 80 pp 101-106

[Article by S. Borisov, USSR deputy minister of finance]

[Text] The transferable ruble is the most important link in the monetary-financial system of CEMA-member countries. Established by the fraternal countries as a result of a joint and voluntary agreement, in the international arena it is considered a currency unit of an entirely new type, previously unknown in the world's practical experience with currency.

What determined the appearance of the transferable ruble? Most of all, it was the need for more effectively servicing the rapidly expanding reciprocal economic ties among fraternal countries. To accomplish this it was necessary to convert from the obsolete clearing accounts to a more advanced system—multilateral settlements. In July 1963 a council of first secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties and heads of governments of CEMA-member countries and the delegates to the 18th CEMA session approved a draft agreement on multilateral account settlements in transferable rubles and a draft International Bank for Economic Cooperation charter (IBES). The agreement was signed in October and the new system of multilateral account settlements, based on the transferable ruble, became effective as of 1 January 1964.

According to the comprehensive program for socialist economic integration the transferable ruble is the international socialist collective currency of CEMA-member countries. Its functions (measure of value and an instrument for payments and accumulations) are consistent with the tasks of the individual stages in the intensification and improvement of cooperation and development of socialist integration.

The socialist nature of the transferable ruble is based both on the general laws of the building of socialism and communism and the management of the national economy by the fraternal countries and the main principles on which their reciprocal contacts are based: socialist internationalism; respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests; noninterference in domestic affairs; total equality; and mutual benefits and comradely mutual aid.

This determines the equality and identical rights of all countries and organizations having and using transferable rubles. All this is in striking contrast with the order and practices of the capitalist world. There the use of the dollar

as the main currency is a sign of the domination and aggressive aspirations of imperialist circles and of the plundering and subordination of relatively weaker countries and peoples.

The collective nature of the transferable ruble is expressed, above all, through the fact that this currency was created through the joint efforts of the CEMA-member countries to meet common interests and objectives. The very functioning of the transferable ruble is impossible without collective discussions and joint decisions. Any problem of monetary, account or credit policy affecting the status of the transferable ruble is discussed and resolved collectively and jointly by all participating countries. Regardless of its size and share of participation, each country enjoys the same rights (one vote per country). This approach helps to formulate optimum and mutually acceptable decisions in accordance with the interests and possibilities of the entire socialist comity and of its individual members.

By virtue of its economic nature the transferable ruble is an international currency which meets the monetary and payment circulation requirements among members of the comity only. It has no value within the individual countries. The collective currency unit of our comity was given its name, similar to that of the currency of the first socialist state in the world, on the basis of historical continuity and traditions.

The emission of transferable rubles is the exclusive prerogative of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC), either through payments for goods and services or loans. Transferable rubles are used for making payments and their circulation among countries is always cashless (through bank accounts), so that this currency cannot be converted into cash. The transferable ruble has its separate rate of exchange in terms of other foreign currencies.

The transferable ruble has the function of a value measure above all in the determination of contractual prices in trade among CEMA-member countries. Such practices, as we know, are based on world prices cleansed from the harmful influence of circumstantial factors affecting the capitalist market. Furthermore, the transferable ruble is used in appraising jointly constructed projects and in some other areas of reciprocal economic cooperation. Therefore, this collective currency provides a common basis for determining the value of different commodities in different markets and creates conditions insuring equivalent trade among countries.

The purchasing power of the transferable ruble, based on a coordinated level of contractual prices and commodity support, is greatly predetermined at the stage of coordination of plans, and in the drafting and conclusion of five-year trade agreements and annual trade protocols. The correlation between the reciprocal currency circulation and the factual dynamics of commodity-material values traded among countries is determined in advance. The opportunity to issue unsecured transferable rubles or engage in their uncontrolled circulation is objectively excluded.

The transferable ruble acts as a payment instrument by countries paying each other for commodities and services or repaying loans. Transferred from one owner

to another, the collective currency settles their financial obligations in precisely the same manner as the use of any other currency unit. Thus, fulfilling this function, the transferable ruble acts as a factual global currency for settling accounts among CEMA-member countries.

Transferable rubles are used in settling all commercial transactions among CEMA-member countries. They are used in payments for hauling, construction services, insurance and tourism.

In order for the transferable ruble to fulfill its international payment functions, the procedure governing the utilization and circulation of the collective currency stipulate its "transferability," i.e., the right and possibility of each country freely to use the funds at its disposal in making payments to any other country within the system by transferring the proper funds from one account to another.

The CEMA-member countries make extensive use of this convertibility in their daily practice. Each country has a transferable ruble account in the MBES from which it settles its accounts with all other countries. Funds may be paid by one country to one account and be used in settling accounts with an entirely different country. Should the country become overdrawn in the course of such payments, it is not considered indebted to another country but becomes a borrower of transferable rubles from the MBES. Such loans must be repaid in the course of subsequent operations. Thanks to this mechanism convertibility accelerates the reciprocal currency circulation among countries, saves on payment instruments and reduces the need for loans.

Temporarily available funds may be acquired in the course of engaging in foreign economic relations with one or another country. In this case the transferable ruble acts as an instrument for accumulations. This is the basis for the development of international credit relations among CEMA-member countries.

Unlike the older system of bilateral clearing accounts, the use of the transferable ruble has made possible the practical use of the principle of multilateral balancing of commodity shipments and payments. A country which concludes commercial or other economic agreements balances its income and expenditures in transferable rubles not with each separate partner but with all partners jointly. Unlike the clearing system in which one commodity was factually traded for another, while the currency selected for the operation was no more than an account settlement unit used for recording reciprocal deliveries, now each commercial or other regular economic deal involves payment in real money—the transferable ruble.

That is why a country which settles its account in transferable rubles must not mandatorily strive to have a zero balance of payments with other CEMA-member countries. In fact, some countries may show positive foreign trade or non-commercial payment balances, including credit operations, whereas the balance of payments of others may be negative. A balance of payments is achieved in the course of regular payments made in transferable rubles and with credits which, whenever necessary, are granted by the MBES. This substantially increases reciprocal trade opportunities.

Practical experience proved the viability and effectiveness of the transferable ruble as a full-fledged international monetary unit used by CEMA-member countries. It insures the unhindered reciprocal payments among countries and the development of international credit on an equivalent and just basis. It contributes to the systematic flow of goods and services on the world socialist market and the implementation of the national economic plans of the fraternal countries. In the 16 years of use of the transferable ruble in payments among CEMA-member countries, the annual volume of their reciprocal payments rose from 22.9 billion transferable rubles in 1964 to 114 billion in 1979, i.e., by a factor of 5.

The use of the transferable ruble for reciprocal payments is particularly important today, when the global capitalist monetary system is experiencing a protracted and profound crisis. Having the possibility to engage in all kinds of unrestricted reciprocal payments and accounts without resorting to the use of the dollar or other capitalist currencies, the CEMA-member countries are insuring the independent monetary circulation on the international socialist market and its reliable protection from crisis disturbances in capitalist countries.

The MBES--the first joint banking institution of the socialist countries in the world--has been entrusted with the practical conduct of payment operations in transferable rubles. The bank offers short-term credits to CEMA-member countries in transferable rubles and, in some cases, in convertible capitalist currency. The MBES enjoys a good reputation as a prestigious international banking institution. Currently the overall volume of daily operations conducted by the bank exceeds one billion transferable rubles.

In 16 years reciprocal payments among members using the collective currency has totaled 841 billion transferable rubles while the volume of operations in convertible currencies totaled 568 billion rubles. Within that period the bank has granted credits in excess of 54 billion transferable rubles and earned a net profit of about 222 million transferable rubles.

Currently the MBES grants two types of credits--term and payment.

Term credits (repayable within 3 years) make it possible for a country to import more than it exports, making it possible for the borrower to handle his resources more effectively. The fact that such loans must be repaid within the stipulated term stimulates a corresponding increase in exports which intensifies reciprocal trade among countries.

The purpose of the payment credit is to provide the necessary funds in cases of short payment gaps which may arise in the course of trade or other reciprocal operations. As a rule, such loans are repayable within 25 to 30 days from the current income of the borrowers.

The interest policy of the MBES has been substantially improved: It has abandoned the system of interest-free loans and has strengthened the role of interest as an incentive for the more effective utilization of borrowed funds. Interest-free loans were initially restricted and, subsequently, entirely eliminated. Currently, depending on the type and term, interest rates on loans range from two to five percent annually rather than 0.9-1.5 percent as in the past. Easier terms are

granted in the case of Mongolia and Cuba who are charged 0.5-1 or 0.5-2 percent annual interest.

Credit benefits and advantages contemplated for economically less developed countries are an additional means for the development of their economies. It is thus that through its policy of loans and interest rates the MBES is contributing to the gradual rapprochement and equalization of the levels of economical development of CEMA-member countries.

The MBES is an open international monetary organization which may be joined by other countries as well. MBES services are used also by organizations and banks of nonmember countries. Currently the bank has correspondents among and does business with over 300 among the biggest banking institutions in the world.

The other collective banking institution maintained by CEMA-member countries—the International Investment Bank (MIB), established in 1970—deals with medium-term and long-term crediting of integration measures through the combination of material-technical and financial resources of cooperating countries.

Currently the statutory capital of the MIB is 1,071,300,000 transferable rubles. This makes it one of the biggest banking institutions in the world. The bulk of the bank's capitalization—70 percent—is in transferable rubles. At the same time, in order to make possible the purchasing of individual types of equipment and licenses on the world market 30 percent of the statutory capital is in convertible capitalist currencies.

The main purpose of the MIB is comprehensively to assist the development and the intensification of economic cooperation among socialist countries, and insure the greater concentration and mobilization of monetary resources for capital construction and to coordinate their utilization.

The joint interest of all or several bank members in a credit project is one of the most important criteria governing MIB credits (medium-term, repayable within 5 years, and long-term or 15-year loans). This interest must be expressed both in terms of obtaining the goods produced by the enterprise to be built or the delivery of machines, equipment and materials for its construction. Another criterion is insuring the high productivity of financed projects and upgrading the effectiveness of capital investments. To this effect the MIB channels its credit resources above all into the reconstruction, expansion, and technical retooling of operating enterprises.

The area of application of the convertible ruble as an instrument for payments and credit has been substantially broadened as a result of MIB activities, for the bank provides medium-term and long-term credits largely in this currency. Whereas prior to the organization of the MIB the transferable ruble was used only in crediting trade among CEMA-member countries, today it operates also as an instrument for medium-term and long-term crediting of capital investments. This new feature assumed by the transferable ruble offers additional opportunities for the more effective utilization of the currency system of the fraternal countries in the interest of intensifying and developing socialist economic integration.

Currently virtually all CEMA-member countries and Yugoslavia, which is not a bank member, use MIB credits. By the end of 1979 the bank had issued loans for 65 projects. Bank loans for the reconstruction or construction of such projects totaled 3.2 billion transferable rubles.

All MIB loans are granted for specific purposes. First of all, they are used to finance construction in key production sectors. In the course of the bank's activities 76.1 percent of the total amount of bank credits were granted for the development of the fuel and energy industries; 11.3 percent went to the development of machine building, including electrical engineering and electronics; 6 percent went to metallurgy and 6.6 percent to other industrial sectors.

The projects credited by the MIB include the expansion and reconstruction of the Tatra Motor Vehicles Plant in Czechoslovakia; the electrification and reconstruction of Hungarian railroads; increasing the production capacity of the Unfortechnik Combine--one of the biggest enterprises for the production of heavy presses--in the GDR; the building of the Novovolynsk plant for special technological equipment in the USSR; the reconstruction and expansion of the production capacity of a wool-washing factory in Mongolia; the rebuilding (reconstruction) of enterprises affected by the 1977 earthquake in Romania; the purchasing of highly productive equipment for the production of instruments and brake controls at the Polmo Plant in Poland, and many others.

The biggest integrated project--the Soyuz Main Gas Pipeline--built through the joint efforts of CEMA-member countries with MIB loans, has been commissioned. All in all, 43 of the projects built with bank loans are already operating. Between 1971 and 1979 the overall amount of exports to bank-member countries of goods produced by these enterprises totaled 5.5 billion transferable rubles.

The existing system of monetary relations among CEMA-member countries is consistent with the interests of planned economic cooperation and insures equivalency in settling accounts and equal rights for all participants. At the same time, as has been emphasized at CEMA sessions, this system must be improved further. The role of the transferable ruble must be increased and its area of application broadened in order to insure its even more effective contribution to the solution of the collectively earmarked main cooperation tasks, the meeting of reciprocal obligations, and the timely and unhindered financial backing of joint major projects.

This is particularly topical in connection with the elaboration and implementation of long-term target programs for cooperation in the most important sectors of the national economies of CEMA-member countries. The implementation of these programs calls for the mobilization of major material and monetary resources, the maximum utilization of the payment and credit opportunities offered by the transferable ruble, close connection between monetary measures and the intensified coordination of national economic plans, the development of production specialization and cooperation, and the improvement of the organization of foreign trade and other foreign economic relations.

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DISINFORMATION AT THE SERVICE OF 'PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 80 pp 107-114

[Article by Philip Bonosky, American publicist]

[Text] Soon after the sudden turn in the foreign political course, publicly proclaimed by President Carter in December 1979, the columnists in the American press, obviously brought to a state of disarray by the political gap which this shift opened in relations between the United States and the USSR, and for many of them unexpectedly, between the United States and some of America's allies, looking for a certain justification for this shift, began loudly to claim that the reason for such a major turn was the "lack of understanding" between some sort of Soviet "elite" and America. They jointly assured their readers that the crisis had appeared precisely as a result of this "gap"—the lack of understanding of American intentions and, particularly, of the American decision-making system. The Russians, they stated, should have known that the step they had taken in Afghanistan would trigger Carter's response, for which reason the entire responsibility for the existing situation fell on their shoulders.

The authors of a paper on the state of American-Soviet relations, commissioned by the International Relations Administration before the Afghan events, present Carter's policy as self-evidently correct and sensible, needing no justifications whatever, whereas Soviet policy is described as based on misinterpreted concepts of American political life.

Flora Lewis, special correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES in Europe, found another type of "dangerous gap in understanding" when she visited Moscow for the Olympic Games. She was told by an American woman tourist from Phoenix, she had met in the Soviet capital, that "she had had an excellent time and had found out that the Soviet Union was totally different from what she had previously imagined... and that she was convinced that she had noted everywhere 'abundant manifestations of total freedom'." "She was mistaken before her trip," Lewis claims, "and is still mistaken" (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 20 July 1980).

It is not my intention to discuss this "problem" on the basis of such statements. However, I would like to consider the ideas of the American bourgeois press concerning Soviet reality, with their rather long 63-year-old history, i.e., as of the Great October Socialist Revolution, ideas which were so clearly manifested in connection with the 1960 events.

In 1897 William Randolph Hearst, the owner of THE NEW YORK JOURNAL, sent a historical cable to his newspaper correspondent in Havana: "You furnish pictures. I will furnish the war." Indeed, the correspondent supplied the newspaper with "pictures" and the war was "furnished" through the efforts of Hearst and other representatives of the American leadership—a war as a result of which the United States acquired Cuba and the Phillipines.

In 1916, when America was about to join World War I, the U.S. politicians were blocked by the circumstance that the then President Wilson had insured his election by promising the people "to keep them out of the war." It was then that Wilson's press secretary, one George Creel, planted in American newspapers reports to the effect that the Huns, i.e., the Kaiser's troops, were invading "miniscule neutral Belgium," along with other barbarisms, and were "cutting off the hands of Belgian children." The American petit bourgeois who swallowed such reports became deeply shaken up and indignant. As of that point it became possible to change the feelings of the public and, soon afterwards, American soldiers were already on the battlefields and many of them never returned. No children, Belgian children included, had had their hands chopped off. By the time that all this became clear, however, the war had ended and victory was "ours."

Correspondents such as the reporter in Havana or President Wilson's press secretary, were the true harbingers of today's generation of American journalists who are daily directing toward the United States a flow of "information," whose purpose, among others, would be to convince the "lady from Phoenix," Arizona, mentioned by Flora Lewis, raised in the spirit of conservative republican traditions typical of this part of the United States, that "her hands as well may be chopped off," or that something no less terrible could happen to her should she ever dare to cross the "Iron Curtain." Therefore, any measure taken by the U. S. government for the sake of its salvation and against such self-evident manifestations of barbarism, are nobly justified.

Naturally, the "respectable" American and, in general, Western press has tried for many years to keep away from the so-called "yellow" press, good at providing most stupid fabrications. For example, the "respectable" press avoids sensational photographs of people dying a violent death. It maintains a, so to say, cultural standard and prints seemingly accurate news. In Britain this includes the London TIMES while in the United States it applies to THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST.

That is how a division of labor arises. Newspapers which make their prejudices consistent with their good manners and reinforce their own convictions are printed for the ruling class and a considerable percentage of the middle class worthy of such treatment. They offer "good" advice in political affairs and suggest how to reconcile one's conscience with the most horrifying crimes in history committed by we know who.

The press aimed at the broad popular masses is of the type which constantly misleads them in connection with all most important events, constantly drawing their attention away from their real problems, fanning nationalistic and chauvinistic moods, invariably appealing to the worse and even irrational side of their nature, appealing to their "patriotism" or calling upon them to rise in the

defense of "democracy" and "against communism" which is Godless and invariably vicious. This press is always laying the blame for any social or historical catastrophe triggered by capitalism on the victims themselves, "fate," God or the "enemy," which serves the good purpose of being the perpetrator of sinister objectives, customs and traditions.

Undeniably, the bourgeoisie in any country, regardless of the type of "liberal" role it pretends to play at one or another stage of its development, remains hostage to the most chauvinistic and most reactionary elements in its midst, hostile to any compromise. In periods it considers dangerous, in order to pursue a unified and most uncompromising policy, all tactical differences are ignored. Regardless of the way this tactical course "gets stuck" in the solution of the most complex problems, in the final account the danger always lies in the fact that the entire bourgeois class surrenders to the most merciless, irreconcilable, intransigent, and simplistically thinking forces within it, whose very pressure brings a feeling of relief to the totally confused petit bourgeois population strata besieged by problems and confused.

I am writing this before the November American presidential elections and I can see the recurrence of this pattern. This is confirmed, for example, by a statement by Reagan such as, "Our position (the position of the Republican Party--the author) should be expressed in five simple well-familiar words. We do not need any lofty economic theories or political-philosophical sermons. We need five short words: family, job, home, freedom, peace." Would it not occur to the reader that such a dangerously oversimplified trite slogan conceals a political approach recalling the infamous formula of "Children, Kitchen and Church" which in their time the Nazis drew up for the German women?

Particularly dangerous today is the circumstance that the two biggest parties of the American bourgeoisie have obviously adopted, for a while in any case, a policy identical in terms of its basic aspects, leading to a sharp turn to the right, a policy of applying strong pressure on the socialist world, on the Soviet Union above all, in the hope of achieving some success.

This shift in class tactics was reflected in the American press as well almost immediately and most clearly. Whereas for a while, as a "concession" to the process of detente, anti-Sovietism in the American press was kept more or less on the level of chronic complaints, now the gates were opened wide to the most stupid anti-Soviet fabrications which could only be created by animosity and a sick imagination.

In the course of my three years of work in Moscow as a correspondent of the DAILY WORLD (and, I may add, to a certain extent, throughout my entire conscious life) I have watched with particular interest the way the truth about the Soviet Union is "reached" by the Moscow correspondents of THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE WASHINGTON POST, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT and other publications, reports which I have had the possibility to check on the spot. I must say that had I not been knowledgeable in the ways of bourgeois propaganda but an elderly "lady from Phoenix," I may indeed have developed truly monstrous ideas concerning Soviet reality.

The mixture of absolute lies, half-lies, quarter-lies, and occasionally truthful information, immediately fenced in by more lies represents, in the reports sent out by Western correspondents in the Soviet Union, so to say the "impartial" part of the formula of an "impartial and balanced" approach to the supply of information which allegedly guides them in writing their dispatches. The second part of the formula--the "balancing"--is provided by notes in which it is condescendingly reported that the Soviet Union indeed has superior ice cream and an adequate amount of good bread, that usually the children go to school even though, naturally, opinions as to what they are taught vary.

But let us go back to Flora Lewis from THE NEW YORK TIMES, who ridiculed the Phoenix tourist who may have been so naive as to expect to see the Soviet people in chains or brandying missiles. However, Lewis' own statements, based on her apparently deeper "understanding" of Soviet reality, acquired in the course of her attendance of the Olympic Games in Moscow, speak for themselves.

The special correspondent writes that, "The Soviet authorities made a truly tremendous effort to make a good impression on the visitors of the Olympic Games," insinuating that without such superhuman efforts the "impression" which the guests would gain, visiting Moscow, would have been not merely bad but so bad that they would become disappointed for the rest of their lives. What did the "Soviet authorities" do to change this "impression?" They "removed from Moscow dissidents and children who may have proved to be uncontrollable." No more and no less!

In support of her "profound" considerations, Lewis refers to the "simple Soviet citizens," an expression which sets our teeth on edge, whose verbosity leaves nothing to even the most unchecked imagination. We, people who have read such reports for many years, are well familiar with such anonymous "simple Soviet citizens," created by the imagination of Western journalists, generously sharing their wit and even their aphorisms with any foreign journalist they happen to meet.

The "Western diplomat" is another "specialist" in Soviet affairs. He is never identified but his ability to detect the true, the concealed nature of Soviet life nevertheless inspires a holy trepidation. Like the journalist who listens to the "simple Soviet citizen," his information cannot be checked, for the facts and figures it contains are rare as a hen's teeth. The American correspondents may not have invented an entirely new form of reporting but, in any case, they have raised the old one to a new height. By this I mean "reports" exclusively based on rumors, jokes, or anonymous statements unsupported by any mention of official statistical data, known facts, or obvious circumstances.

These are two of the most "reliable" sources of information on Soviet reality from which the correspondents usually draw their knowledge. There is a third source--the "dissidents"--but, even though it is still being used, today it has already lost a great deal of its value because of overuse. The international public has had the opportunity to look quite closely at such "dissidents," seeing in them not noble souls but an insignificant group of men and women, strikingly concerned with the price of their own outputs--anti-Soviet insinuations--whose market value fluctuates according to the political temperature of the moment as set in the offices of Western political strategists.

However, Flora Lewis' article has yet another aspect which quite clearly illustrates the ingredients on which the "understanding" of Soviet life is developed in a visiting American journalist. It is revealed in the sentence which states that, "...including sending out of Moscow...children which may prove to be uncontrollable." Initially, this idea appeared in THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE many months before the opening of the Olympic Games and was obviously considered fit to print by someone who was perfectly familiar with the large number of children who are taken out of Moscow every summer and sent to children's health recovery camps. The fact that this is done on such a gigantic scale, and not in Moscow alone, eloquently proves the concern displayed in the USSR for the health of the growing generation. The insidiousness of this report is that if it is stated that Soviet children were removed from the city with a view to "preventing them" from being in contact with guests from Western countries, a foreigner such as the naive "lady from Phoenix" and the considerably less naive lady from THE NEW YORK TIMES may be unable to distinguish between truth and fabrication, for the children are indeed sent out of the city.

Similar methods--the article by Mrs Lewis is far from being an extreme case--are presented as the "unraveling" by bourgeois journalists of the "secrets of Soviet Russia." Let us add to this that the article by F. Lewis is full of "conventional hints" related to many previous reports which more than one generation of correspondents have sent to their newspapers. The Western readers who, as the result of long experience, have already been trained--sometimes almost automatically--to detect such conventional, one could say reflective, signals or, in other words, to "read between the lines," are called upon to draw "their own conclusions" which, in fact, entirely correspond to the author's insinuations.

It may have been hoped that views triggered by the distorted logic of the propagandists of psychological warfare would be surmounted in the course of time in an atmosphere of detente which contributes to the closer reciprocal acquaintanceship among nations and which would be corrected or simply ignored, or rejected from the path of peaceful international cooperation. However, a different situation has developed now. Following President Carter's declaration that the events in Afghanistan "are the greatest threat to the peace since World War II," the members of the bourgeois press have needed no additional signals.

As a result, all decency was abandoned. The ghosts of Creel and Hearst were resurrected. The hands of the Belgian children (today read, Afghan) will be cut off by the thousands! The American journalists in Moscow in the pay of the Central Intelligence Agency, who are clearly wasting away, forced as they were to take into consideration the restrictions imposed by detente and international cooperation, have been presented now with the opportunity to show their true colors.

The lies contained in their reports have become so unrestrained that the change, so greatly out of proportion compared with the reason cited, has amazed and even alarmed some Western bourgeois centers which have begun to question the reason for such a sharp propaganda turn. What are the reasons for reports on Afghanistan, crowded with deliberate and unforgivable lies, reports written as though the newspapers publishing them were not hoping to convince the readers of their accuracy but, conversely, were hoping for their rejection?

A partial answer to these questions may be found in the specific nature of American mores of the postwar period. Advertising, as we know, plays a tremendous role in American life, starting with the daily output of 131,000 advertising agents who spend in the various parts of the country \$2 billion annually, and ending with commercial, radio and press advertising and, finally, with presidential speeches. The Americans have become accustomed to read such advertising starting with their morning coffee until late at night. They have developed a variety of protective mechanisms against this mass attack on their minds. Nevertheless, the means and efforts which the advertisers invest are not lost, for the concealed subcontext of the advertising—which is nothing other than propaganda for the American way of life—settles in their minds.

In precisely the same way Americans do not read the electoral speeches of politicians. It would be hard to find a person so naive as to believe them literally. However, as THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE writes, "In political life concepts are frequently more important than facts.... The personal impression which one or another candidate makes in a television speech is more important than his background or activities in the legislative field." It is thus that the common American gradually acquires the habit of extracting the content of what he reads from conventional symbols which are carefully selected with a view to reflecting and confirming the views and prejudices of the middle and petite bourgeoisie, and their hopes and dreams. The reader learns not to look for the truth but to choose among such conventional symbols.

The same applies to the clearly cooked up reports on events in Afghanistan which, once again, no one is using in an effort to convince the readers of their accuracy. The very sharpness of their tone is a kind of conventional signal which should indicate that the boss is angry. It is precisely this meaning that is contained in such reports and whether or not the reader intends to find in them, for his own sake, any percentage of the truth is totally unimportant. Their purpose is to indicate that henceforth correct and polite behavior can be dropped and that proper conclusions may be drawn from this fact as well!

When the President unilaterally virtually annuls an international agreement he has signed himself, as was the case with the SALT II treaty, or stages noisy shows on the subject of the U.S. boycott of the Olympic Games, he acts the part of such a master. His tone of voice is taken up by thousands of "errand boys" who are always watching in which direction the wind is blowing.

Since December of 1979 a literal flood of information has been poured on our "lady from Phoenix," originating in Delhi, Peshawar or Islamabad. One day they would lead her to believe that the rebels had "surrounded" Kabul and were on the verge of attacking it; the following day no information would be given on the subject. It would be reported one day that a minister in the Babrak Karmal government was either killed or was dying from wounds inflicted in a shoot-out as a result of a conflict within the leadership of the ruling party; the next day, that same minister would turn out to have been in Moscow for a while, undergoing treatment for an old illness. Let us take, for example, the 30 July issue of THE WASHINGTON POST. We read that, "Diplomats in Kabul have seen reports (obviously, they must have been pasted on telegraph posts for purposes of general information—the author) to the effect that a large contingent of Soviet and Afghan forces have

mounted an offensive with Soviet fire support." "Such reports," it was reported the following day, "may not have been accurate, according to an expert in the area in Delhi (the names of such 'experts' are never given--the author), the same one who had provided the information on Monday...."

Despite the fact that on Tuesday this "anonymous specialist" himself refuted the information he had supplied on Monday, at a press conference in Washington J. Trattner, the U.S. State Department spokesman, chose precisely the Monday report.

Let us now turn to the 1 August Moscow UPI dispatch: "A pro-Western informed Afghan said today that hundreds of Afghan citizens, who have requested permission to emigrate to the West, are being detained against their will in Moscow. At least four of them were taken to Afghanistan and executed." The same Afghan, who 'asked not to be named' (such modesty is easily understandable for, naturally, such information required authoritative confirmation), also stated that "Ahmed Kasim Zarifa, an Afghan student attending the automotive engineering school, has been detained since 15 April and that members of his family were informed that he had been sent to a mental hospital. In reality, those circles state, the student has been drugged and interrogated about other Afghans wishing to leave...." We were never given the opportunity to meet with Ahmed Kasim Zarifa or with "four of his friends who requested exit visas for the West but were instead deported to Afghanistan and killed there," for the simple reason that they never really existed.

And so on and so forth, one report follows another, becoming ever wilder and more unlikely. It is impossible to check any single one of them. Furthermore, hardly anyone would undertake to do so. Checking, in this case, would be simply impossible and the question of the extent to which they are realistic is not particularly important. Such reports, which cannot be considered other than an insult to common sense, are simply aimed at informing the American reader that ordinary logic, common sense, and universally accepted norms of behavior may henceforth be ignored. The purpose of all these lies is not to be believed but to create in the readers the impression that chaos and instability prevail in Kabul, for which reason the Carter administration is pursuing the right policy.

Gaps in understanding Soviet reality, about which American publicists frequently complain (THE NEW YORK TIMES, 20 July 1980: "...most American specialists know that they are unable to comprehend the Soviet Union") indeed exist. However, they are far from being the result of confusion allegedly triggered by the tremendous difficulty of explaining Soviet reasons or the innersprings of socialism or what the Soviet people want from life. The gaps are created deliberately. Currently the fabricated pretext of events in Afghanistan is used to turn them into insurmountable precipices. However, taking all circumstances into consideration, is it so difficult to understand, for example, that the Afghans who have lived in a state of ignorance, illiteracy, and extreme poverty for centuries, may sincerely desire a change which they are achieving through revolutionary means? Is it so difficult to understand why at a time when the revolutionary gains they achieved with such difficulty are threatened by a counterrevolution, they have addressed a perfectly legitimate request to a socialist country to come to their aid? Could there be any doubt that both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union would properly understand a proposal for a "reciprocal pledge of noninterference,"

had it been made by the Carter administration, since both Kabul and Moscow have called precisely for such a proposal for a number of months?

Could it be that if the little old "lady from Phoenix," who had been fed anti-Soviet fabrications for all 63 years of her life, was able to grasp some elements of truth concerning the Soviet Union in a single visit, could it be that a wider "gap" exists in the case of Mrs Lewis and hundreds of her colleagues, depriving them of the opportunity properly to understand events yet allowing them perfectly to see something entirely imaginary?

Obviously, the ghosts of Hearst and Creel are still hovering over America and the Western world. The former keeps asking for "pictures, pictures" for the sake of triggering a war; the latter is reaching for his literary axe to "cut off the hands of Belgian children," while together they are reaching for the throat of the truth.

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UNITY BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM

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[Review by A. Kozlovskiy of the book by M. A. Suslov "Marksizm-Leninizm i Sovremennaya Epokha" [Marxism-Leninism and the Contemporary Epoch]. A collection of speeches. Second expanded edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 198 pages]

[Text] The new, second edition of the book by Comrade M. A. Suslov, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary, "Marksizm-Leninizm i Sovremennaya Epokha," includes works covering the second half of 1979 and the first half of 1980. The works of M. A. Suslov, covering the 1977-1980 period, cover a broad range of problems appearing in the course of building a new society and of the profound revolutionary changes in the contemporary world. The author focuses his attention on major events such as the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and local soviets of people's deputies, and the 110th anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth. The works in the collection provide a study of the processes of the building of communism in our country. They extensively describe the further strengthening of the sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society and the close unity shown by the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia with the communist party--the leading and guiding force of our people--and the scope of the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The impressive achievements of real socialism in the course of the decades of its development and the profound social changes which have taken place in the world under the influence of the October Revolution are vivid confirmations of the historical triumph of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the most progressive, the most revolutionary, and the only true science of social development. In the words of V. I. Lenin, Marxism is distinguished by the "remarkable combination of complete scientific sobriety in the study of the objective state of things and the objective course of the evolution with a most firm acknowledgment of the significance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creativity and revolutionary initiative of the masses...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 16, p 23). The fruitful scientific-theoretical activities and revolutionary-transforming work of the CPSU clearly prove that throughout all stages the party has invariably observed this Leninist conclusion which plays a pivotal role in M. A. Suslov's book as well.

Marxist-Leninist theory gives the communists an understanding of the historical future and helps them to assess the current period, define the trend and directions of sociopolitical and economical development for many years ahead, predict events, and be properly oriented in all phenomena of international life. In stressing this situation and showing the profoundly scientific nature of CPSU activities, invariably based on creative Marxism-Leninism, the author emphasizes that the tireless attention and most serious attitude toward theory stems from the nature of the Leninist party as a revolutionary and innovative and always progressive party, and from the nature of the socialist society which grows into a communist society and which encounters along its way a number of problems requiring scientific interpretations and solutions. It is also based on the nature of the tasks facing the party and the people, tasks which can be implemented only if one is guided by progressive theory. "Loyalty to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the main prerequisite for the successful implementation of the leading and guiding role of the communist party in Soviet society. The CPSU values the revolutionary theory embodied in the brilliant works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and in the numerous documents of our party and the international communist movement" (p 21).

Always turning to Lenin's theoretical legacy and analyzing in detail the realities of social development, the author proves that the processes which define the sociopolitical aspect of the contemporary world confirm the accuracy of Lenin's ideas.

Lenin and the Bolshevik party he created assumed the great mission of converting socialism from a science to the daily life of millions of people. Indicating this historical fact, the author particularly emphasizes that the source of the power of the greatest proletarian ideologues and politicians lies, as we know, in the fact that their views are the scientific expressions of the profound hopes and expectations of the people's masses and the objective requirements of social development. At the same time, the factual influence of progressive ideas on the course of history and their role as forces which can eliminate the obsolete and establish a new social order are directly related to the extent to which these ideas have been mastered by the masses.

In his work "On the Critique of Hegelian Philosophy of the Law. An Introduction," K. Marx pointed out that "Theory becomes a material force the moment it is adopted by the masses" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, p 422). Recalling this Marxian concept, the author checks it against the example of Leninism, thus providing the most decisive and unquestionable proof of its inviolable accuracy and truthfulness. "The power of Lenin's genius," M. A. Suslov writes in the article 'The Historical Accuracy of Lenin's Ideas and Actions,' "was manifested precisely in the fact that he became accurately and fully aware of the basic needs of his time, clearly expressing them and ideologically arming the proletariat and the broadest possible people's masses for the struggle for the implementation of the socialist ideals in the new historical age--an age in which society as a whole had become ripe for a transition from capitalism to communism, and when new problems requiring a scientific interpretation and solution had objectively appeared within the global liberation movement. It was precisely Lenin's doctrine that provided their solution" (p 169).

The author systematically promotes the idea that revolutionary theory does not mean a collection of dead dogmas, formulated once and for all for all occasions, and that one of the basic distinguishing features of Marxism-Leninism is, precisely, its constant creative development in accordance with constantly changing objective circumstances. It is precisely this approach that enables the CPSU systematically to develop Marxist theory and, on the basis of such developments, to wage a consistent struggle for the building of a communist society.

The author particularly notes the considerable contribution made by our party in recent years to the development of the theory of the building of communism. "The comprehensive consideration of the new social experience and the thorough study of the vital requirements governing the material and spiritual progress of society are the base for the major ideological-theoretical and practical efforts tirelessly made by the party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the loyal perpetuator of the cause of the great Lenin, the outstanding leader of our party and Soviet state and of the international communist and workers movements, and the tireless fighter for peace. The historical decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses vividly expressed the power of the party's collective mind and the scientific substantiation of its socioeconomic and political strategy" (p 114).

The author deals extensively with the essential party conclusions on building a developed socialist society in the USSR. The theory of developed socialism was given a profound scientific substantiation in the decisions of party congresses and CC CPSU plenums and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the other party and Soviet state leaders. The essential problems of the theory and practice of mature socialism and the all-round utilization of its opportunities are among the most important problems discussed in M. A. Suslov's book.

The book offers a profound study of the basic laws governing the establishment of developed socialism and its functioning and progress. It provides a concentrated description of the most important features of mature socialism, of its economic and political system, and of the conditions and ways insuring their further progress. A strictly scientific approach and consistent realism in the assessment of the level reached in social development are inherent in the book.

Answering bourgeois and revisionist criticism of real socialism, frequently reduced to considerations regarding the economic inequality among people, still existing at this stage, and the existence of unsatisfied requirements, the author points out that Marxism-Leninism has never claimed that all these problems will be resolved during the first phase of the communist society. Such impracticable views are found not among Marxists but among supporters of petit bourgeois equalization. "Naturally," the author emphasizes, "in the course of its progress real socialism eliminates the basic shortcomings and faults of the bourgeois society and develops, to an ever greater extent, on its own economic basis. However, even in its mature aspect socialism remains within the limits of the first communist phase, when neither the production forces nor the people themselves have reached a level of comprehensive development" (p 179).

Repeatedly emphasizing that developed socialism is a lengthy, historically necessary and natural stage in the development of a communist system, the author

draws particular attention to the fact that at this stage the constructive opportunities of socialism and its truly humane nature are becoming ever more apparent. All the efforts of the communist party are focused on the maximum determination and full implementation of these opportunities.

The party's increased leading and guiding role, which is one of the most important laws of our development, is determined by the objective processes of the establishment of the new society. At the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the dynamism in the development of Soviet society, the growing scale of the building of communism and our activities in the international arena adamantly call for raising the level of the party's leadership of the development of the economy and culture, the education of the people, and improvements in the organizational and political work among the masses.

This congress stipulation is presented in the book most persuasively with examples borrowed from many different areas of social life such as economics, management practice, social policy, and development of democracy and cultural construction in our country.

Comprehensively describing the role of the Leninist party as a leading and guiding force, determined by reality itself, M. A. Suslov notes that one of the characteristics of party activities today is the greatly increased influence of interparty life on the entire society.

In this connection the author points out that in its intraparty life the CPSU strictly insists on the mandatory observance of Leninist norms and is continually and adamantly improving the ways and means of its organizational and political activities. It is always concerned with maintaining collective leadership and with the systematic and firm observance by all party organizations and leading organs of the principle of democratic centralism. It calls for the extensive development of interparty democracy to be mandatorily paralleled by the strengthening of party discipline and by upgrading the responsibility of all party members for their assignment. "The Leninist style of management," the author writes, "is based on collective thinking, a scientific approach to all events and processes occurring within and without the country, high exactingness toward one's self, and intolerance of any manifestation of bureaucracy, political chattering, formalism, placidity and complacency. To guide the developed socialist society created in our country means maximally to determine and make fuller utilization of its opportunities. This task is in the party's focal point of attention" (p 185).

A considerable share of the book deals with these matters. The work describes the profound qualitative changes which distinguish the development of Soviet society at the present stage, particularly in the area of the country's economy which is characterized by an unparalleled amount and complexity of output, widespread sectorial structure, complex system of intereconomic relations, and extensive development of production associations and complexes. The author traces the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on production as a whole and on the conditions and nature of labor.

The party teaches that the only successful solution for the variety of economic and social problems facing the country is the fast growth of labor productivity

and the drastic improvement of public production effectiveness. "We see in this," the author says, "not only the key task of the 10th Five-Year Plan but the determining factor of the future economic and social development of the country. It is precisely on the basis of this viewpoint that the party is working to improve national economic management and it is precisely in this direction that it guides all leading cadres" (p 64).

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Effect of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" calls for the all-round utilization of reserves for the sake of successful progress and for developing the initiative of the broad toiling masses. The party proceeds from the fact that upgrading the level of management largely depends on the active participation of the broad toiling masses in the work of all its units and on the further all-round development of Soviet democracy. It seeks and applies new ways and means for involving the working people in the active management of all social and governmental affairs, above all in a most important area such as public production.

Noting this most important direction of party policy, in a number of works included in the collection M. A. Suslov describes the way the initiative of leading collectives, their creative searches, their all-round utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and acquired practical experience have enabled them to reach new levels in the implementation of planned assignments. The address delivered in Tol'yatti particularly emphasizes the positive experience of the Volga Automotive Vehicles Plant in the training of stable and highly skilled cadres. This makes it possible to resolve not only production but a number of educational problems. One of the important components for the success of this collective is the brigade form of labor organization applied innovatively. "It triggered," the author points out, "a qualitatively new form of participation of the workers in production management—the brigade councils. These councils, elected by the workers themselves, resolve vital problems of the collective's life: upgrading the skill of every member of the brigade, the precise and qualitative implementation of shift and monthly assignments, and the professional growth of the people" (p 160).

In his Stavropol', Leningrad and Bryansk addresses, M. A. Suslov names the leading collectives and dozens of innovators and leading workers distinguished by their highly productive work and a responsible attitude toward their obligations. These examples prove that each city, oblast or production sector has collectives whose example should be emulated by stragglers, collectives which prove that with proper organization of the work and increased individual responsibility for one's work considerably higher results could be achieved.

At the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that, "We have assigned ourselves the major task of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. We must always keep it in our sight. We must continue to think of methods for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the strengthening of labor and state discipline and think of methods to insure the steady growth of labor productivity."

The author comprehensively describes the upsurge of our economy, its dynamism and its growing power leading to the systematic improvements in the material and cultural living standards of the Soviet people. He most urgently raises topical problems of the further development of the production process and of increasing our efforts to improve labor productivity and insure the thrifty utilization of the tremendous economic potential created through the people's toil. He systematically emphasizes the need to save on labor, material resources and energy, and reduce production waste and raw material and fuel losses.

The author provides an extensive study of contemporary problems of the development of the country's agriculture, the Nonchernozem zone in the RSFSR in particular. He singles out major problems over whose solution the party is adamantly working, such as upgrading yields, insuring the further upsurge of animal husbandry, and implementing the plans for the sale of agricultural commodities to the state. He pays equal attention to the need to develop and make more extensive use of the possibilities offered by the auxiliary farms of enterprises and organizations and the private plots of the rural workers. "The work which people who conscientiously participate in public production invest in their private plots," M. A. Suslov said in Bryansk, "must be respected. The rural population must be assisted in purchasing young livestock and fodder" (p 105).

The contemporary period is noted by the exceptionally great attention which the CC CPSU and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pay to problems of ideological-educational work. The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" called for considerable improvements in the organization of overall communist education and for raising it to a new level consistent with the higher educational and cultural standards and requirements of the Soviet people. Invariably, the works of M. A. Suslov assign a most important role to problems of party theoretical activities, propaganda and agitation, and organization of the upbringing of the working people in a spirit of communist convictions and loyalty to the socialist homeland and to the building of communism. His report "A Matter for the Entire Party," which he delivered at the October 1979 all-union conference of ideological workers, provides a profound Marxist-Leninist study of the contemporary problems of communist education. It sums up acquired party experience and describes the means for the successful implementation of the decree.

"The CC CPSU decree," M. A. Suslov said, "is an expanded program for ideological activities, formulated on the basis of a profound study of the processes of the development of social awareness and of the theoretical summation of the fundamental problems of the molding of the new man under contemporary conditions. The implementation of the decree will improve communist upbringing, eliminate essential shortcomings in its organization, upgrade the theoretical level, effectiveness and concreteness of propaganda, and strengthen its ties with reality and with the solution of economic and political problems" (p 100).

The collection extensively describes party requirements concerning ideological work such as a scientific approach and the strengthening of its militant and aggressive nature.

The party's programmatic objective--the molding of the new man, the communist-type person--is profoundly scientific in nature. The importance and complexity of this problem dictate the need for acquiring a thorough mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and for its creative practical utilization by all party, ideological and economic workers who are in charge of the practical communist upbringing of the working people. "The task lies, above all, in reaching a more profound and comprehensive understanding by the broadest possible masses of topical problems of party theory and policy. The study of the fundamental, the basic Marxist-Leninist concepts should lead precisely to a broadening of the outlook and to raising the political standard of the working people. Here we must proceed on the basis of the principle of unity between cognitive and practical work" (pp 124-125).

The author emphasizes the topical nature of directly addressing ourselves to and engaging in the more profound study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the foundations of our revolutionary science. He warns of the danger of adopting a superficial attitude toward this matter and to attempts to limit oneself to the study of individual views, statements, and quotations. Such studies must be closely combined with the thoughtful study of CPSU history, the documents of party congresses and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Only thus could we reach "a real understanding of the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism and of the scientifically substantiated policy of our party" (p 122).

At the eighth party congress V. I. Lenin said that, "Whereas in the past we propagandized the general truths, now we are propagandizing work. This too is a sermon, but a sermon for action...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 198). Throughout all the stages of its historical development, the party has invariably followed this most important Leninist principle. It was concretized again at the 25th CPSU Congress in the familiar stipulations on the unity between word and action and the inadmissibility of a gap between them, as well as in the Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

Observing this Leninist tradition, the author emphasizes that unity between word and action and the promotion of actions decisively influence the minds and moods of the people. Substituting meaningless blabbering for painstaking daily work and words for actions curiously undermines the meaning and significance of all education efforts. In concretizing the party's requirement to upgrade the responsibility of leading cadres for the educational consequences of economical activities and the total utilization of the educational opportunities offered by progressive experience, the socialist competition and progressive forms of labor organization, the author states that the very practice of enterprise work should stimulate the struggle of the working people for effectiveness and quality, for strengthening the discipline, and for an economical and thrifty attitude toward socialist property.

The direct participation of economic cadres and enterprise managements in educational work is a law of our social life. Noting the great importance of this aspect of their work, M. A. Suslov also indicates that the main feature is the "educational effect of organizational and economic work itself. Practical experience has indicated that wherever economic cadres ignore the educational consequences of their activities the full and creative initiative of the masses is not

developed. Conscious discipline yields to formal discipline and the necessary moral-psychological climate does not develop in the collective. In the final account, this affects production results as well" (p 130).

The collection extensively describes the tasks in the field of education which the dynamic processes of contemporary life set to the mass information and propaganda media, the political education system, and the various ideological organizations. While orienting the ideological workers toward a creative approach to the matter and to the struggle against stereotypes, the author cautions them against the danger of adopting a nihilistic attitude toward the practically tested ways and means of party ideological work and the inadmissibility of using a variety of artificial innovations in this complex and delicate area. He pays great attention to problems of the training and retraining of ideological cadres, the organization of the educational process, and the perfecting of the party's guidance of the entire course of ideological-educational work.

The author considers problems of communist construction and of the further progress of our society as interrelated with an entire range of problems of global development--the intensification of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the radical changes in the ratio of social forces in the world arena, the steadily increasing influence of the socialist comity on world affairs, the systematic growth of the forces of national liberation, and the energizing of the struggle waged by the working people for social renovation. All these positive changes in the world arena occurred under the decisive influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the increased strength and influence of real socialism. "The basic processes which determine the socioeconomic and political aspect of the contemporary world," the author writes, "confirm the accuracy of Lenin's ideas and the fact that history is developing as the great Lenin predicted" (p 196).

The peace program formulated at the 24th CPSU Congress, and extended and developed by the 25th CPSU Congress through the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, is a vivid confirmation of the great vital force of the Leninist foreign policy principles. The author emphasizes that Lenin considered the struggle for the elimination of wars from the life of mankind and for the assertion of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a norm of international relations the most profound and permanent base of the foreign policy of the socialist state and called for its steadfast implementation by our party. All CPSU activities in the international arena are aimed at strengthening detente in international affairs and in relations among countries with different social systems. This is consistent with the basic interests of all peoples on earth and is the most important prerequisite for their further social progress and for strengthening their national independence and freedom.

The socialist comity is marching in the vanguard of the forces of peace, freedom and justice. The growing friendship and cooperation and coordinated foreign political actions among these countries are having an ever greater influence on the course of world affairs. The CPSU is always concerned with the further strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the fraternal countries. In this connection the author notes the topical nature of the joint creative development

of problems related to the current stage of the development of real socialism and the world revolutionary process, the regular exchange of views and experience among fraternal parties and the collective analysis of newly developing world events.

The author pays great attention to the characteristics of the contemporary international situation and its aggravation at the beginning of the 1980s as the result of the activities of imperialist reaction. "One cannot fail to see," he notes, "that the ship of detente is sailing on a restless sea. There are influential circles in the capitalist world which would have already sunk it had the current ratio of forces in the world and the active policy of the members of the socialist comity and the other peace-loving countries, and the pressure of world public opinion not kept their hands tied. Hotbeds of explosion remain in many parts of the world and reactionary and militaristic circles are not abandoning their attempts to turn the world back to cold war times" (p 23).

The author cites numerous facts proving the aspiration of the most aggressive imperialist circles, the U.S. military-industrial complex above all, to raise international tension. Such cases include a sharp turn for the worse in U.S. foreign policy, increases in the military budgets of NATO countries, the decision to deploy in Western Europe new American nuclear missile systems aimed at the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the creation by the United States of a "fast reaction corps" to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries under the pretext of "protecting American interests," and others.

Exposing the reasons for such dangerous actions on the part of militaristic circles, M. A. Suslov points out that the progressive changes in the world and the increased power and influence of socialism are triggering the enraged opposition of imperialist reaction which considers this a real threat to its aggressive intents and plans for increasing its exploitation of the peoples. In the article "The Historical Accuracy of Lenin's Ideas and Actions" he writes that, "V. I. Lenin cautioned against the illusion that peace is easily attainable. The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. World War II and dozens of local wars unleashed by the imperialist aggressors in various parts of the globe, nuclear blackmail, the creation of networks of military bases throughout the globe, the organization of aggressive military blocs, and decades of cold war convincingly prove this" (p 193).

The increased complexity of the international situation is largely related to China's foreign political course hostile to the socialist comity. The collection notes the dangerous manifestations of hegemonism in Beijing's policy which has come closer to imperialist reaction in its aspirations to wreck detente and hinder the strengthening of the peace and security of the nations.

The general course of the foreign political activities of the members of the socialist comity leads to the strengthening and intensification of detente and to insuring lasting peace on earth. Last summer's Crimean meetings between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of fraternal parties and countries are yet another vivid confirmation of this fact. The major initiatives undertaken by our country and aimed at strengthening international security clearly prove the steadfast peacefulness of the Soviet Union. However, the author emphasizes, the international situation is developing in such a way that the members of the socialist

comity and all peace-loving forces of today must dedicate a great deal more effort to surmount the sharp opposition of the opponents of peaceful development, including the U.S. military-industrial complex. Despite the complex international circumstances, the policy of the Soviet Union remains principled and consistent. "As in the past, we shall strive to improve the political climate on earth and pursue a policy of peace and friendship among nations," M. A. Suslov writes. "Following the principle of equal security of the countries, we shall strengthen the defense capability of our country so that, as always, the peaceful toil of the Soviet people may be reliably protected. Our position is one of engaging in honest and equal talks in all matters of intergovernmental relations, including the termination of the arms race" (p 165).

The Great October Revolution radically changed the aspect of the planet. Under the leadership of the communist party created by Lenin our people built a developed socialist society. This is the highest achievement of social progress and a bulwark in the struggle waged by the peoples of all countries for national independence, social progress, peace and socialism. Drawing on extensive historical data the author proves that our party has always followed the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and has considered its domestic and foreign policies as consistent not only with the basic interests of the Soviet people but of the struggle waged by the communists and the working people the world over for the better future of mankind.

The author pays great attention to problems of the correlation between the national and the international in the revolutionary process. He notes that as the communist movement expands the national tasks facing each party become ever more complex and its responsibility to its own working class and the working people of its country becomes greater. At the same time, he emphasizes, the experience in the development of the world revolutionary process proves that true national interests never conflict with the international interests of the working people and that the systematic implementation of the principle of proletarian internationalism leads to success in the struggle waged by the entire international working class.

The party is doing everything possible to turn awareness of its policy and of revolutionary theory into conviction in the minds of the Soviet people, into the active life stance of the firm fighter for communism and against all manifestations of alien ideology, and into a manual for action in resolving the topical problems of developed socialism. This party requirement assumes a new specific meaning under contemporary conditions, when the country's party members and all Soviet people are preparing for the 26th CPSU Congress. The book by Comrade M. A. Suslov, which is imbued with a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the study of the most complex processes of contemporary social development, arms them ideologically in the struggle for the implementation of the party's plan and for building a communist society.

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ROLE OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS IN THE REVOLUTION

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[Review by Ib Noerlund, member of the Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, of the book by K. I. Zarodov, "Ekonomika i Politika v Revolyutsii" [Economics and Politics in the Revolution]. Some contemporary problems in the light of historical practice. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 245 pages]

[Text] In our time the expansion and intensification of the ideological struggle waged by the communist parties is becoming the most influential factor affecting global developments.

In the course of this struggle new phenomena and problems arise. They must be analyzed and resolved in accordance with the requirements of the developing revolutionary workers movement. What makes this even more topical is that the bourgeois ideologues are making further efforts to disorient the workers and broad popular anti-imperialist movements and introduce confusion in their ranks. An additional reason which makes countering such attempts important is that, to an ever greater extent, they are directed toward open ideological preparations for the use of force by imperialism.

It is entirely natural that the arising new problems are becoming the subject of heated discussions in the international communist and workers movements, discussions which reflect the need for a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of such problems and of resulting tasks. As to the workers movement in the capitalist countries, it particularly faces the question of the new ways of transition from capitalism to socialism. This involves not only problems of a national nature, facing each individual country, but problems of essential international significance.

This is the reason for which we, communists working in capitalist countries, are particularly pleased when our comrades in the socialist countries, the members of the CC CPSU most of all, relying on their rich experience, produce works which deal with fundamental contemporary problems. These are valuable and necessary contributions to international discussions and considerations, promoting the further development of the theory and practice of the workers movement.

The book by K. I. Zarodov is one of them. In this work the problems we mentioned are analyzed on the basis of the CPSU experience in the struggle for the making of the proletarian revolution and the building of socialism in the

author's country and, at the same time, of a detailed knowledge of problems discussed within the international communist and workers movements.

Let us note, above all, the accurate description of the interrelationship between economics and politics, on the one hand, and the revolution, on the other, as a way to the solution of the central problems of the revolution. On the basis of the fact that economics is particularly closely related to the base of society while politics is related to its superstructure, the author depicts the dialectical relations existing between them. This is a prerequisite for the accurate understanding of the laws of the revolution. Let us incidentally note that the title of the book indicates that a limited number of topics have been discussed. In our view, this has its advantages, for it enables the author to focus on one or another of its aspects which are either new or are becoming once again topical.

The author traces the struggle of the revolutionary workers movement through various historical stages and in different countries, singling out experiences of universal significance. This helps the interpretation of topical contemporary problems. Naturally, this requires a profound knowledge of historical events. In the course of their analysis the author cites a number of interesting and little-known aspects leading to fruitful studies and considerations.

In our time, occasionally a negative attitude is voiced on the subject of such a "historical" research method, claiming that it conceals attempts to "impose the use of a model." This is entirely inaccurate as confirmed by the book under review. On the contrary, the scornful neglect shown by some theoreticians of historical experience could easily lead them the wrong way. The workers movement which is gaining ideological positions in the struggle cannot be separated from the past. It must be based on acquired experience and develop further. If its own historical roots are cut off for the sake of "renovation," it soon becomes apparent that an initial step has been taken in the direction of its wilting. It is precisely today, when we are faced with a number of new problems, understanding this is of decisive importance. It is only by taking historical experience into consideration that we could protect ourselves from a repetition of the errors of the past and avoid the choice of a path which would lead the workers movement to a dead end as was the case, for example, with social reformism. Naturally, knowledge of historical experience in itself is no guarantee that the new problems will be properly resolved. Without it, however, the key to such a solution cannot be found.

The book is pertinent for it emphasizes the basic problems. Its different sections such as "Ideals and Laws of the Revolution," "Ownership," "Power," "Democracy" and "Internationalism," deal with problems whose understanding is of the greatest importance in the struggle waged by the revolutionary workers movement for the reorganization of society.

A variety of political currents have appeared today which are trying to reject the revolutionizing criterion in the study of society and which dispute the universal significance of the basic laws of social development. Such currents demand that they be proclaimed "tabula rasa," i.e., they call for beginning everything from scratch, from a "blank sheet." Naturally, such an approach conceals the danger that errors may be repeated which, in the past, sometimes became the

reason for the defeat of a revolutionary movement. Such a desire to turn back from scientific socialism to a variety of utopian searches is manifested whenever the workers movement comes across new complex problems. Such people assume that the difficulties of the real class struggle could be avoided through speculative elaborations which superficially offer a convenient solution. Their total groundlessness becomes obvious, however, in the face of the real course of social development. This is one of the lessons properly learned from the practice of the workers movement.

Today, when the contradictions between developing production forces and capitalist production relations have become aggravated to an unparalleled degree, political-ideological currents are appearing which, bypassing the conclusion of the need for a revolutionary replacement of the capitalist production method, are preaching the "idea" of resolving social problems not on the basis of class positions but from positions allegedly dictated by the scientific and technical revolution and the environmental crisis. Such views, however, merely hinder the elimination of the ills which contemporary technical development under capitalist conditions is inflicting on mankind.

The author cites convincing arguments and facts exposing political utopianism in its contemporary forms.

The problem of the right of ownership of productive capital is the gravest problem of the class struggle waged between labor and capital, regardless of the specific national conditions under which it is taking place. Its solution determines the main feature: How will the economy and social life develop: following the logic of the extraction of profits or the logic of the satisfaction of social requirements. It is important to bear this in mind when we consider the problems triggered by the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. If we ignore its interconnection with capitalist ownership relations, we could easily develop a feeling of helplessness concerning the consequences of the crisis. In turn, such a feeling seriously hinders the development of an active struggle against the increased exploitation of the working people in the period of aggravation of the crisis. It is important to take this interrelationship into consideration in the elaboration of the strategy and tactic of the workers movement in its struggle against monopoly capital. This statement must be used as a guiding principle in the organization of the antimonopoly struggle whose first stage must be to undermine the power of big capital and, subsequently, the development of this struggle into a struggle for the radical reorganization of society, i.e., the development of a socialist revolution.

Taking many countries as an example, the author proves that such an approach is a necessary prerequisite for the drawing of an effective battle line in the struggle against state-monopoly capitalism even though the forms of confrontation may vary according to national conditions and times.

A proper understanding of the right of ownership inevitably leads to the conviction that a main problem of the reorganization of society and of making a socialist revolution is that of power. Lenin profoundly substantiated this problem and proved its complexity.

It is precisely when it is a question of developing a democratic struggle in the defense of the interests of the working people, against the power of the monopolies and, subsequently, for its overthrow, that a clear Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of the state becomes necessary. History is familiar with a number of cases in which the bourgeois state was considered apart from the class struggle and depicted as the impartial "umpire," a fact which has had serious consequences. The workers movement failed to achieve decisive results also when the bourgeois state had been presented as independent of the mass movement. The most topical problem which faces communists in the capitalist countries is how to mobilize the potential forces of the working people and channel them into the reorganization of society. This cannot be achieved merely by making the unfairness of the capitalist system clear. It is necessary, above all, to develop the type of activity among the masses which could convert ideas into a material force. The democratic struggle waged by the working people against class oppression, in the course of which strictly socialist objectives are not formulated as yet, must become the starting point of such efforts. The key problem of the contemporary revolutionary workers movement is that of the growth of the general democratic struggle into a struggle for socialism.

The bourgeois ideologues are misinterpreting the very concept of "democracy." That is why, again and again the Marxists-Leninists are faced with the task of explaining to the masses its true content. The Danish communists have entered in their program the stipulation that "democracy means the active defense by the people of their basic interests." A democratic struggle may assume a variety of forms, largely based on the historical traditions of one or another country or its national characteristics.

The nature of state-monopoly capitalism is such that it is forced to resort to ever new forms of antidemocratic actions. Such actions are frequently concealed. For this reason the antidemocratic struggle of the working people and its growth into a struggle for socialism is playing an ever more decisive role. The author covers these topical problems with the help of interesting data borrowed from the experience of class battles in various capitalist countries. Today it is becoming ever more obvious that radical social changes aimed at undermining monopoly power could be implemented only if the international solidarity of the working class assumes the nature of true internationalism. That is why the ideologues of the obsolete social system are aiming their struggle against proletarian internationalism. This struggle is waged both through frontal and flank actions.

The author clearly explains the nature of the so-called "new internationalism," allegedly called upon to replace proletarian internationalism. No one will argue that extensive international solidarity, exceeding the framework of the internationalism of the working class, is extremely important in the struggle waged by the peoples for peace and for the right to self-determination. This solidarity as well, however, will be mandatorily subjected to fierce imperialist attacks. Unity of action and the ideological unity among the conscious progressive fighters of the international working class become even more necessary in order to repel these attacks. The weakening of this opposition would provide imperialism with an invaluable advantage.

The author analyzes a number of problems which are highly topical for communists the world over. Today a business-like creative discussion of such problems is taking place within the world communist and workers movements. The book by K. I. Zarodov is a valuable contribution to this discussion.

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