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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 17, November 1980

**FBI'S**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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26 February 1981

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On behalf of all of us in FBIS I wish to express appreciation to our readers who have guided our efforts throughout the years.

**USSR REPORT**  
**TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST**

No. 17, November 1980

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

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NEW DOCUMENTS BY K. MARX AND F. ENGELS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 3-6

[Documents by Marx and Engels published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] Following is a first publication of the complete text of a letter sent by K. Marx to his daughter Laura Lafargue, dated 22 December 1868, followed by two letters sent by F. Engels to M. Lachatre, the progressive French publicist and publisher, in February and March 1873, published for the first time in Russian.

The original of Marx' letter to his daughter, dated 22 December 1868, was recently presented to the CC CPSU Institute of Marxism-Leninism by G. Bobolas, president of the Akadimos Greek Publishing House. Before then only an excerpt of the letter was known from an entry in a British catalog. Marx' letter discusses the catastrophic situation of the English farm workers and refutes the attempts of liberal bourgeois authors to explain it by citing the influence of the so-called Corn Laws. In this connection Marx advises P. Lafargue to turn to the recently published first volume of "Das Kapital," entitled "Initial Accumulation," which describes the ruination of the small English farmer, the expropriation of his possessions, the establishment of large-scale farming of a capitalist type, and the exploitation of the labor of hired farm workers who, only yesterday, were known as the "free peasants."

Engels' two letters to Lachatre, the publisher of the French translation of the first volume of "Das Kapital," are answers to his suggestion on writing a biographic essay on Marx to be appended to the prepared publication. In a letter dated 14 February 1873

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\* See CAHIERS DE L'INSTITUT MAURICE THOREZ, No 28, September-October 1972, p 26.

Lachatre wrote to Engels that this essay was impatiently awaited by democrats in France and other countries. Engels willingly agreed to the suggestion and expressed his readiness to write something "worthy of the subject." In his letters to Lachatre he formulated the requirements which must be met by a biography of Marx. Engels considered the most important among them a description of Marx' theoretical and practical activities as inseparably linked with the workers' movement and the role which he played in the struggle for the creation of a revolutionary party of the working class. Unfortunately, the idea of writing a major biography of Marx, which Engels kept in mind throughout his life, was not implemented.

These letters will be included in Volume No 50 of the second Russian edition of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels.

The materials were prepared for publication by Scientific Associate A. K. Vorob'yeva.

K. Marx to Laura Lafargue<sup>1</sup> in Paris

London, 22 December 1868

My dear child!

I wanted to send you, via Ruckert<sup>2</sup>, a truly admirable book, "Blossoms of Eastern Mysticism" by Tholuck. However, la plus belle fille de France ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a.\* The book could not be procured in London. I ordered it in Germany and you will receive it in 3 weeks.

Please ask Lafargue to excuse my silence. I have been truly overloaded with work in recent months, for I wanted to complete some studies before the beginning of the new year. To postpone something, however, does not mean to abandon it entirely.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, tell Lafargue that Dr Hunter, his excellent report notwithstanding, like most Englishmen is unfamiliar with the past (social) history of his own country. The ruin of the farm workers has nothing in common with the Corn Laws of 1815.<sup>5</sup> If he wants to determine the real reasons for their current pitiful condition you should translate for him Chapter VI, Section II ("Initial Accumulation") of my book.<sup>6</sup>

Happy New Year.

Sincerely, Your "Old Man"

K. Marx

First textual publication. From the manuscript, translated from the English.

\* Even the most beautiful French girl can give no more than what she has (French)



F. Engels to Maurice Lachatre<sup>7</sup> in San Sebastian (rough draft)

(London, second half of February, 1873)

Citizen!

I accept your suggestion that I write an outline of the life of Karl Marx, which will also be an outline of the history of the German Communist Party through (18)48 and of the Socialist Party after (18)52.<sup>8</sup>

Considered from this angle, the biography of a single person will become the history of the party whose highest embodiment, unquestionably, Marx is, and which is of the greatest interest to French democracy. It is precisely this consideration that induces me to abandon my own work and dedicate myself to this labor, which will require a great deal of research and time if it is to be worthy of its subject. However, I will be able to undertake this work only after you inform me in another letter of your conditions which, obviously an oversight, are not mentioned in my 14 February letter.

First published in the periodical CAHIERS DE L'INSTITUT MAURICE THOREZ, No 28, September-October 1972.

Reprinted from the manuscript. Translated from the French. First Russian publication.

F. Engels to Maurice Lachatre in San Sebastian

(rough draft)

(London, between 16 and 21 March 1873)

Citizen!

Judging by your letter dated 16 March, you seem to assume that I am "suggesting to you a book on the communist party," whereas it was specifically you who asked me to write a serious biography of Karl Marx and to write the history of that party. Since the essence of Marx' life has always resided in his activities, to describe his life means to write the history of the development of philosophy and of the German and international revolutionary movement, starting with (18)42 and tracing both his personal involvement in this movement as well as the influence which his works had on it. If you want a biography written by a reporter, such exist. One of them was published in L'ILLUSTRATION, and if you send me a copy I will be prepared to make the necessary corrections.

Since I consider the study I had in mind a major work, I would consider as insulting to you the assumption that, adopting in this matter the role of a capitalist, you would like to bypass the usual social form, accepted even in our bourgeois society, according to which the capitalist pays the worker in proportion to his

work. However, since you have stated that you are increasing your capital only for the sake of placing it in the service of society, I agree to invest my labor providing that you will set aside a specified amount in order to start an international weekly printed organ, which is so urgently needed by the socialist party and which will be managed by Marx.

First published in the journal CAHIERS DE L'INSTITUT MAURICE THOREZ, No 28, September-October 1972.

Reprinted from manuscripts. Translated from the French. First publication in Russian.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. An excerpt from the letter was carried in the "Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co." catalog dated 19 April 1977.
2. Obviously, Marx sent his daughter Laura one of the editions of the book of poems by the German romantic poet F. Ruckert.
3. F. A. Tholuck, "Bluthensammlung aus der morgenlandischen Mystik," Berlin, 1825. Friedrich Tholuck was a German Protestant theologian and author of a number of works on church history.
4. This applies to the report by English physician Julian Hunter, published in "Public Health. Seventh Report. With Appendix, 1864." London, 1865. Marx repeatedly cited this report on the living conditions of English farm workers in the first volume of "Das Kapital" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, pp 590, 672, 691, 732 and others).
5. The purpose of the Corn Laws (high duties imposed on imported grain) was to restrict grain imports from foreign countries. They were passed in England starting with 1815 in the interests of the large farming landlords. The industrial bourgeoisie, which opposed the Corn Laws under the slogan of freedom of trade, was able to get them revoked in 1846.
6. By this Marx means Section II, Chapter VI ("The Capital Accumulation Process"), in the first edition of the first volume of "Das Kapital" (1867). Changes in the structure of the volume were made in the second and subsequent editions. Thus, Chapter VI subsequently became Section VII, while Chapter II became Chapter XXIV, entitled "The So-Called Initial Accumulation" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, pp 725-773).
7. This letter and the subsequent letter sent by Engels to M. Lachatre, dated March 1873, reached us as rough drafts in P. Lafargue's handwriting, with copy to Engels. Apparently, the letters were dictated by Engels to Lafargue. These, like the letters mentioned in M. Lachatre's letter to Engels (of 14 February and 16 March 1873), were published in CAHIERS DE L'INSTITUT MAURICE THOREZ, No 28, September-October 1972.

8. Reference to the creation and activities of the Alliance of Communists and the subsequent development of the socialist movement, following the breakup of this alliance in 1852.
9. This refers to a short biography of Marx anonymously published by the French periodical L'ILLUSTRATION in its 11 November 1871 issue. The front page of this issue carried a photograph of Marx with the caption "Head of the International."

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CSO: 1802

**SPEECHES BY L. I. BREZHNEV AT THE 14 NOVEMBER 1980 MEETING OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM**

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 7-9

[Text] On the Ratification of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty Concluded Between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic

In summing up the results of the discussion, I would like to support the assessments expressed here concerning the role and significance of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and Syria which President Assad and I signed on 8 October. As the speakers properly noted, this treaty will contribute to the further enhancement of Soviet-Syrian cooperation and to the development of the friendship between the peoples of our countries.

Every single line of the treaty asserts the ideals of peace and peaceful cooperation and the principles of sovereign equality among countries. The treaty does not contain even a hint of a threat to other countries or the intention to harm their interests.

This is a manifestation of the radical difference between our socialist foreign policy and the policy of imperialism in Middle Eastern affairs as well.

Let us consider, perhaps, the notorious Camp David accords concluded among the United States, Egypt and Israel. Regardless of the strong words of peace, in fact they are hostile to the interests of true peace in the Middle East and are unfair and degrading to the Arabs. Nor are the military agreements recently concluded between the United States and Somalia, Oman and several other countries in the area of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf dictated by good intentions. They are turning these countries into accomplices in the U. S. plans which threaten the interests of peace.

The conclusion of the Soviet-Syrian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty is entirely consistent with the principles and objectives of the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples ratified by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The Syrian and the other Arab peoples well know that the Soviet Union systematically and firmly supports the forces of progress, democracy and national liberation. It supports the struggle waged by the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression and imperialist intrigues and for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East. Equally well-known is our view of the necessary conditions for insuring such

peace. They include the total withdrawal of Israel from all Arab lands occupied in 1967; guaranteeing the exercise of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the right to create their own state; and also insuring the right of all countries in the area to independent and secure existence and development.

The treaty we are discussing today will contribute, as it strengthens Soviet-Syrian cooperation, to achieving peace in the Middle East. For this reason, we could most definitely state that the treaty is consistent with the basic interests of all the peoples of that area.

#### On the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies of Moscow City in Connection With the Development of the Socialist Competition in Honor of the 26th CPSU Congress

When we speak of the pre-congress competition we must bear in mind its particular nature. It is a competition for the shock completion of the 10th Five-Year Plan and, at the same time, for providing a beginning for the next five-year plan which will enable us to adopt the necessary pace for further progress. It is exceptionally important, therefore, for the competition to become truly nationwide. Under the party's guidance, all units of our political system have actively joined in its organization. This involves the trade unions, the Komsomol and, naturally, the soviets of people's deputies.

It is no accident that we are discussing today the manner in which the Muscovites are closely following pre-congress activities and the related work of soviets and their deputies in the capital. Moscow is the political and economic heart of the country. We hear in its pulse the rhythm of the life of our entire great homeland. Everything new and progressive has always been supported here. It was precisely in Moscow that the first communist subbotnik, warmly approved by Lenin, was born. The sparks of the "Great Initiative" turned into the powerful flames of the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. The communists and the working class of the capital are worthily continuing these traditions. It is entirely natural, therefore, for the Muscovites to initiate the mass competition in honor of the forthcoming party congress.

We have mentioned here the successes achieved by the capital's workers, advancing toward the congress. We can only be pleased by the fact that at the beginning of November over 500 industrial enterprises in the city had fulfilled their five-year assignments and that hundreds of thousands of production workers had reached the line of the new five-year plan. It is even more pleasing that the labor collectives in Moscow are not satisfied with their achievements but are actively seeking reserves, urging on lagging sectors and eliminating shortcomings.

The party considers as the cornerstone of its activities the enhancement of the prosperity of the Soviet people and their way of life. In this connection attention is focused on improving supplies for the working people of comestible and industrial goods and on decisively eliminating shortcomings in the work of trade and other services.

All this was recently reemphasized at the October CC CPSU Plenum.

The work of the soviets is of tremendous importance in the solution of such problems, particular the fulfillment of plans for housing construction, conservation of fuel, raw and other materials, and the improvement of our sociocultural and consumer services. Naturally, these problems constitute the main content of the participation of the soviets in the pre-congress competition.

It is very important for the local power organs to insure even more adamantly, in the course of their work, the coordination between economic and social development. In this sense they must better coordinate and control the activities of all organizations located on their territory.

The constitution and the new laws grant the soviets extensive rights in the implementation of such functions. Furthermore, in accordance with the CC CPSU decree, currently the government is formulating additional measures to upgrade the role of the soviets in economic construction. I hope that this work will be completed by the time of the party congress.

Allow me to make particular mention of the participation of the people's deputies in the competition. We know that two-thirds of the more than two million--strong army of our deputies are directly engaged in production work. This is a great force which makes so valuable the example of the deputies who are leading workers and production innovators. The working person who works with total dedication and who also participates in the solution of governmental problems is, comrades, one of the greatest achievements of socialism. The initiative of the deputies in the competition and the activeness of deputy groups and posts must always be given the necessary support by the economic managers and the party and trade union organizations. The experience of Moscow, Leningrad and many other cities proves that wherever such aid is daily and concrete tangible results are always visible.

In my view the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Georgia, Latvia and other republics act properly in the course of their guidance of the soviets in developing the competition in honor of the congress when they draw attention precisely to the dissemination of progressive experience and to the creation of all necessary conditions for the development of the initiative of the people's deputies. A great deal is being done in this direction by the radio, television and our press, the newspaper IZVESTIYA in particular.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the unbreakable unity between the Soviet system and competition. "...It is precisely the Soviet organization," he pointed out, "which is the first to organize competition extensively in the course of the conversion from the formal democracy of the bourgeois republic to the factual participation of the toiling masses in management" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 190).

The movement of all of the people in honor of the 26th congress proves, again and again, the tremendous creative opportunities of mature socialism and Soviet democracy. L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in conclusion. One of the important tasks of the party and the state is to insure full scope for the discovery of such possibilities.

## GREAT UNITY OF PARTY AND PEOPLE

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 10-26

[Article by K. Chernenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] The Soviet people are great and mighty. Their successes and achievements arouse the admiration of working people throughout the world. The most profound, life-giving source of this greatness and might lies in Soviet people's cohesion around the communist party and in the indestructible unity of the party and people.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the main, necessary condition of the victory of the proletarian revolution and the building of a new, communist society is a constant, firm link between "leaders, party, class and the masses." "Without alliance with noncommunists in the most diverse spheres of activity," V. I. Lenin noted, "there can be no question of any successful communist building" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 23). He considered it necessary for the party to "form contacts, draw closer and to some degree...merge with the broadest mass of working people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 7). The CPSU's historical experience has confirmed in the most convincing way the vitality and immutability of these Leninist tenets.

The Soviet people's remarkable achievements have been possible as a result of the party's tremendous, purposeful work to extend and strengthen its ties with the masses, of the struggle for the masses and of the success in winning them over to the side of communism. They have been possible because the CPSU has become established as the most authoritative leader and captain of the people's masses; because it has lived for the masses' vital interests, fought and operated in their midst, relied on them and led them; because the masses, led by the communists, have acknowledged the party's ideas and plans as their own vital, essential cause.

The party's faith in the masses' creative forces is inexhaustible. This faith is based on one of the most important tenets of Marxism-Leninism: The true creator of history is the people's masses and their revolutionary energy, revolutionary creativity and revolutionary initiative. "Only he who believes in the people, who plunges into the fount of the people's living creativity," Lenin stressed, "will win and hold on to power" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 61). Today Lenin's great prediction has come completely true: "Living, creative socialism is the creation of the people's masses themselves" (Ibid., p 57).

As a result of the very profound socioeconomic transformations implemented under the party's leadership, a developed socialist society has been built in our country and the process of gradual transition from socialism to communism is under way. In this connection there is a natural increase in the leading role of the party, which has all its roots deeply embedded among the masses and marches in the masses' vanguard.

The CPSU enjoys the boundless trust and support of all Soviet people. Placed at the head of the people's masses by history itself, it rallies the working people and thereby immeasurably augments their forces. The indestructible unity of the party and people is the most important guarantee of the mature socialist society's internal integrity and stability.

1

The USSR's entry into the period of developed socialism is a qualitatively new stage in Soviet society's life. It is characterized by the gradual completion of the restructuring of "the totality of social relations on the collectivist principles inherent in socialism" (L. I. Brezhnev). The main trend at this stage is the further consolidation of the Soviet people's ideological, political, social and international unity and substantial progress along the path of practical resolution of the task—put forward by Lenin—of uniting the party and the working class and working people's masses in a single, indissoluble whole.

That strengthening unity is the reliable basis of the might of our socialist state. It results in the high concentration of Soviet people's creative activeness and makes them strong and staunch in the struggle for communist ideals. "Society's cohesion and unity," L. I. Brezhnev has noted, "is the unique asset of socialism, our invaluable, immense strength."

What forms the basis of the Soviet people's unity, and what are the fundamental sources of its formation and steady consolidation? The correct answers to these questions are given by the theory and practice of socialist and communist building. Above all it should be stressed that the strengthening of our society's unity and cohesion is an objective, but by no means spontaneous process. It is insured by the communist party's multifaceted purposeful activity in all spheres of social life.

Organization and unity of action on the part of the proletariat, Lenin taught, can only be achieved on the firm ideological platform of revolutionary Marxism, since organization without ideas is an absurdity. "Actions can only be united," he wrote, "when there is real unity of conviction as to whether a given action is necessary" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 22, p 211).

From the moment of its creation our party has displayed tireless concern for introducing socialist awareness into the ranks of the working class and has illuminated the path of that class' revolutionary movement with the light of great ideas which have engendered great energy among the masses. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, possessing tremendous inspirational, organizing and mobilizing force, rallied the working people and roused them to the struggle against autocracy and the bourgeois-landowner system, for liberation from exploitation and oppression and for



the building of a new society. Our party regards the formation in all Soviet people of a scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook, ideological commitment and a profound understanding of the commonality of their goals and interests as one of its most important tasks. In ideological work it has seen and continues to see as the main task that of making every Soviet person an active, conscious participant in communist building and welding into a single whole his knowledge, convictions and practical actions.

At the stage of developed socialism Marxist-Leninist ideology, being the ideology of the working class, has become the ideology of all the Soviet people. It profoundly and accurately reflects the working people's interests and the requirements of social progress, makes it possible to work out the correct answers to the most burning, vital issues of today, teaches the bold, creative resolution of urgent problems and arms us with a scientific understanding of the prospects of social development.

Marxism-Leninism has been and remains the theoretical basis of our party's general line, its political strategy and tactics. The CPSU is the party of scientific communism, and "the direct task of science, according to Marx," Lenin wrote, "is to provide the true slogan for the struggle; that is, to know how to represent that struggle objectively as the product of a certain system of production relations, to know how to comprehend the need for that struggle, its content and the course and conditions of its development" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, p 341.).

Our party's policy is the embodiment of the unity of theory and practice, aims and actions. It is the most important instrument of the masses' unification. "Wherever the majority of conscious workers have rallied around specific, definite decisions," Lenin stressed, "there is unity of opinion and action, there is party-mindedness and the party" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 25, p 393).

The CPSU's policy, based on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism, has always been, is and will always be a class, communist policy. In the party approach to social processes and phenomena, the main thing is the organic unity of scientific objectivity and the principled assessment of those processes and phenomena from working class standpoints.

It goes without saying that only a policy which accords with all working people's interests can completely fulfill its "unifying" role. "...We can only govern," Lenin noted, "when we correctly express what the people are aware of. Without this, the communist party will not lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses, and the whole machinery will fall apart" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 112). In elaborating its political strategy and tactics the CPSU unswervingly follows these Leninist instructions.

Our country's working people have seen from their own experience the correctness of the party's policy. That policy fully and accurately takes into account and expresses the vital interests of not only the working class, but also the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the multinational Soviet people. It is a true people's policy. That is precisely why it enjoys the masses' undivided support, is the most important precondition of their creative activity and unites their efforts and channels them into the single common stream of the struggle for communism.

The CPSU's policy in the sphere of social relations plays a special part in rallying our society. Marxism-Leninism teaches that a vital condition of the victory of socialist revolution and the creation of the new society is the working class alliance with the nonproletarian masses of working people, first and foremost the peasantry. "In this alliance," Lenin stressed, "is all the main strength and the main support of Soviet power, in this alliance is the guarantee that the cause of socialist transformation...will be carried to a victorious conclusion by us" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 237).

The CPSU's historical experience has convincingly confirmed the fundamental significance of this Marxist-Leninist conclusion. In the years of Soviet power the alliance of workers and peasants has become an indestructible, fraternal community of working people. Also of fundamental importance is the fact that, with the building of developed socialism, the unity of our society's main classes has been further developed in the ideological and political unity of these classes with the intelligentsia. Now this alliance, in which, as before, the leading role belongs to the working class, is strong and indestructible.

At the stage of developed socialism, the material and spiritual preconditions are maturing for the complete elimination of class differences between people in the future. In these conditions the party's policy is aimed at further narrowing the gap between the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia and strengthening their social unity, at overcoming substantial differences between the cities and the countryside and between mental and physical labor and at creating a socially homogenous society.

The cornerstone of the Soviet people's unity is their internationalism. In the conditions of the multinational state our party has always regarded the nationalities question as one of the vital issues in gaining power and building the socialist society. In the Marxist-Leninist formulation, the dialectics of the revolution amount to the rallying, unity and all-round rapprochement of nations through their complete liberation from all types of exploitation and oppression and the creation of the most favorable conditions for the development of each nation. "Complete equality of nations; nations' right to self-determination; the merging of workers in all nations"--that is how Lenin explained the essence of the party's nationalities program ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 25, p 320).

The birth and successful development of the world's first voluntary state alliance of equal peoples is an example of the fundamentally new, really just resolution of one of the most complex issues in the development of human society. The CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy made it possible for the nations and ethnic groups of the USSR, freed from social and national oppression, to travel, in a historically short space of time, the tremendous distance from backwardness to the heights of progress and to achieve real equality in all spheres of material and spiritual life.

One of the gains of socialism which is most significant and precious to every Soviet person is the indestructible friendship of the peoples. As L. I. Brezhnev has noted, "Internationalism has been transformed from the ideal of a handful of communists into the profound conviction and behavioral norm of many millions of Soviet people of all nations and ethnic groups. This is a really revolutionary upheaval in social consciousness whose significance can hardly be overestimated."

Our party constantly keeps in view all questions of international relations, works to further improve them and resolve them in the interests of the entire Soviet people and of each nation individually. It regards the education of the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism as one of its central tasks.

As a result of the consolidation of the socialist society's economic, ideological, political, social and international unity, a new historic community of people has emerged and become established--the Soviet people. This indestructible fraternity of working people today stands out as the supreme achievement of social progress.

The party has always been and remains the embodiment of the Soviet people's unity, their cementing force. "We neither have nor could have," L. I. Brezhnev has said, "any other political force capable of considering, combining and coordinating with as much completeness and consistency the interests and requirements of all classes and social groups, all nations and ethnic groups and all generations of our society as does the communist party."

What is it that enables our party to correctly express the Soviet people's multifaceted interests and constantly feel the pulse of social development? What are the living sources which mature the party and give it its profound knowledge of life? Above all, firm ties with the broadest masses of the people.

These ties are clearly visible in the CPSU's very composition. With the building of developed socialism, our party, while remaining a party of the working class in terms of its class essence, has become a party of the whole people. Within its ranks, 43 percent are workers, 13 percent are kolkhoz members and 44 percent are engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists, workers in science, education, health care, literature and art, and servicemen. The party unites representatives of all the USSR's nations and ethnic groups. More than two-thirds of its new recruits are Komsomol members. This composition enables the CPSU to consider and express in the most direct way the interests of all the Soviet people.

Clear evidence of the party's strengthening unity and ties with the masses is provided by the steady growth in its members. For instance, in the last 30 years alone its numerical strength has almost trebled. From a "drop in the ocean of the people," the CPSU has become the working people's mighty vanguard--there are more than 17 million communists in its ranks today.

Our party does not force its numerical growth. While displaying constant concern for supplementing its ranks with fresh forces, it devotes unremitting attention to improving their qualitative composition, ensures that the lines dividing and distinguishing it from the nonparty mass are not erased and sees its task as being, to use Lenin's words, "not to reflect the average state of the masses, but to lead the masses in its wake" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 94). The CPSU unites the best representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, who have proved by practical action their devotion to communist ideals.

By its nature the communist party has been and still is the party of the working class. It is the main force in the socialist transformation of society, in organizing and rallying the people's masses. And so long as classes exist, so long as the struggle goes on in the world between the forces of communism and capitalism, the workers have been and will continue to be the party's nucleus, ensuring the revolutionary proletarian spirit and the organization of its ranks, the continuity of its general line and its ideological steadfastness.

It should be stressed that the working people's unity and their cohesion around the party are ensured only by the unswerving unity and cohesion of communists themselves. In answer to the question: What is the working class unity, Lenin noted: "It is firstly and chiefly the unity of the political organization of the working class--of the working class as a whole. Only such a unity can ensure the real unity.... of the entire struggle of the working class" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 24, p 260).

At all stages of its history, in the days of peaceful building and in the trials of war, our party has acted as a monolithic combat organization. It has waged an implacable struggle against all kinds of capitulationists and betrayers of the working people's interests, Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and national deviationists who tried to divert it from Lenin's path.

The unity of party ranks is determined largely by the fact that the CPSU displays tireless concern both for developing intraparty democracy and communists' initiative and activeness toward each party member. These Leninist principles, in their dialectical unity and interaction, serve as the basis for its development today too.

Intraparty life and its norms and principles are a unique kind of laboratory for molding new social relations and developing forms and methods of communist social self-administration. They exert a beneficial influence on the development of Soviet society's entire political system.

As is known, in the conditions of mature socialism the main thrust of this development is the further extension of socialist democracy. As its main transmitter and guarantor, the communist party displays tireless concern for the working people's increasingly wide involvement in managing the affairs of society and the state. In resolving this task it relies on the broad, ramified network of state and social organizations.

The democratic nature of our social system is embodied most fully in the soviets of people's deputies--the political foundation of the socialist state of the whole people. They are directly elected by the people themselves, are made up of the people's worthiest representatives and are accountable to and controlled by the people. Every soviet is a fraction of state power. It is not only empowered to resolve all questions which fall within its competence, but also acts as the transmitter of statewide decisions.

The existence of genuine people's power in our country is convincingly indicated by the composition of the soviets. At present they comprise nearly 2.3 million deputies representing all classes and social groups, all nations and ethnic groups

of the USSR. These are really working people, the "mighty collective brain of Soviet power" (L. I. Brezhnev). The composition of the soviets mirrors our society's social structure, its growing social homogeneity and the people's strengthening ideological, political, social and international cohesion around the Leninist party.

In accordance with their statutory tasks, trade union, Komsomol, cooperative and other mass associations of working people participate actively in resolving political, economic and sociocultural issues. The right of legislative initiative conferred on social organizations by the USSR Constitution enables them to influence state policy directly.

Take, for instance, the trade unions. The party has given them great powers in resolving questions about production management, wages, labor protection, social insurance, the organization of workers' and employees' leisure and so forth. In using these powers the trade unions are called upon to act as defenders of the working people's legitimate rights and interests and to do everything to promote their unity and cohesion around the party, which is fighting for the interests of the entire Soviet people.

Of course, in the conditions of socialism, which radically changes the working class' position in the system of social production, the trade unions' "defensive function" is of a fundamentally different nature compared with capitalist conditions and has a different political and socioeconomic basis. It is closely interwoven with general state functions and is implemented within the general framework of the social plans and programs which are elaborated by the party and the Soviet state and implemented as the socialist economy grows.

Concern for working people's rights and interests is, above all, concern for developing the national economy, boosting production and improving its qualitative indicators. "That," L. I. Brezhnev has stressed, "is trade unions' dual task."

As is well known, in substantiating trade unions' place in Soviet society's political system, Lenin and the communist party struggled implacably against various kinds of political deviations and currents hostile to the working class cause: against attempts by the Trotskyists to transform trade unions into a mere appendage of the state apparatus; against anarcho-syndicalist views of a "worker opposition" which demanded that the management of the national economy be handed over to trade unions; against ideas of trade unions' "freedom" from the struggle for the working class' ultimate goals and their "independence" of all the working people's interests. Lenin called such views "either a bourgeois provocation of the crudest sort, or extreme stupidity and a slavish repetition of yesterday's slogans..."

The defense of the working people's rights and interests and an attentive and solicitous attitude toward their needs and demands and their working and living conditions have always been and continue to be trade unions' most important duty. As far back as the 11th congress the party stressed that working people promoted to these organizations "must live the worker's life, must know it inside and out, must be able to determine unerringly the feeling of the mass on any issue at any time and its real aspirations, requirements and thoughts, must be able to

determine, without a trace of bogus idealization, the extent of its consciousness and the strength of the influence of particular prejudices and survivals of the old days, and must be able to win the boundless trust of the mass through their comradely attitude toward it and solicitous satisfaction of its needs" (KPSS v Rezolyutiyakh i Resheniyakh S'yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU Reflected in the Resolutions and the Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], 8th edition, Vol 2, Politizdat, Moscow, 1970, p 326). Those demands have not lost their force even today.

The comprehensive development of all elements of Soviet society's political system and the enhancement in every possible way of their role in administering state and social affairs are the object of constant concern by the CPSU. By uniting the broad masses of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia and representatives of all nations and nationalities and various generations and embracing practically the whole population of the Soviet Union, these elements are called upon to ensure an effective and constantly expanding and deepening link between the party and the masses and to contribute to further strengthening Soviet society's unity.

K. Marx once pointed out that "In the course of historical development a system is transformed into an integral entity" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 46, Part 1, p 229). Under the conditions of mature socialism the integrity of Soviet society's political system has become an objective reality. Its organizing and guiding principle is the communist party, which welds together the will and actions of state and social organizations. The CPSU's policy is the main core and determining content of their entire work.

In leading state and social organizations, the party takes into account their particular features, composition, functions, sphere of activity, and the role that each of them plays in Soviet society's political system. It does not pit the state and social spheres against one another, but regards them as a complex and interdependent, and makes maximum use of the potential embodied in each element of this system.

Party leadership ensures the purposeful and coordinated functioning of our whole political organism, precise interaction among its various elements, and its great viability and stability. It is characteristic that, in leading this process, the party itself fits increasingly organically into the fabric of developing social relations and its interconnections with state and social organizations become increasingly profound and multifaceted. This is one of the main sources of Soviet society's integrity, dynamism and unity.

## II

Our party sees concern for the Soviet person's good as the highest law and meaning of all its activity. Back in 1902, during the preparation of the party program, Lenin pointed out that its aim was to ensure "the complete well-being and free comprehensive development of all members of society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 3, p 232).

The party has always remained true to these behests of Lenin's. Even in the first days of the revolution's victory it did everything necessary, within the framework

of the opportunities available at the time, to satisfy Soviet people's material and spiritual requirements. Our 10 five-year plans have been glorious historic milestones on this road. And although each of them has been somehow unique, they are all alike in one respect--concern for the working person, for the true masters of the world's first workers' and peasants' state.

Soviet people have seen for themselves from their own historical experience that the party has no interests except the people's interests, no goals except the struggle for their happiness. "It is precisely this extremely lofty, humane party goal that links the party with the people and unites it with all Soviet people by firm and indissoluble ties," L. I. Brezhnev has stressed. Because of well-known historical factors, our potential as regards increasing working people's well-being was for a long time limited. It was only with the building of developed socialism and the creation of a mighty economic potential that the party was able to implement a sharper turn toward resolving this task.

The USSR's share of world industrial output is currently 20 percent, whereas in 1913 prerevolutionary Russia it represented only a little more than four percent. Each day the country's economy produces more than R2.8 billion of social product. This is 67 times more than in 1913, 13.1 times more than in 1940, and more than double the figure for 1965. The country's national income in 1980 will show a 75-fold increase over the prerevolutionary level.

As L. I. Brezhnev noted at the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum, we have now achieved the kind of economic might that means we can channel more than R500 billion into the national economy in the course of 4 years, simultaneously erect industrial giants such as the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES, the Kama truck plant, Atomash and others, create and develop dozens of territorial-production complexes, construct the Baykal-Amur Railway, carry out extensive work in the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone, modernize thousands of enterprises, and meanwhile not only avoid reducing but, on the contrary, expand programs to improve the people's life. Never before has there been such potential, such scope.

The seventies were an exceptionally important milestone in implementing this humane and noble task. The fundamental significance of the socioeconomic program put forward by the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses lies in the fact that it regards the increasingly full satisfaction of Soviet people's growing material and spiritual requirements as the main goal.

In 1980 national income--that most generalizing indicator of economic development and source for improving the people's well-being--will be more than R436 billion. About 75 percent of it is used for consumption and, taking into account spending on housing and social and consumer service construction, about 80 percent of national income is channeled directly into the people's well-being. The social program that has been implemented has covered every aspect of Soviet people's lives--labor, daily life, leisure, spiritual and physical development. It has affected all strata of the population and every Soviet family.

Real income will show an increase of 50 percent over the decade. The average monthly money wages of workers and employees in the national economy will total R168.4 in 1980, or R231, taking into account payments and benefits from the social

consumption funds. A major social measure of the 10th Five-Year Plan was completed in 1979--the introduction of new, higher, wage rates and salaries for 31 million workers and employees in the nonproduction sectors. Nowadays almost half the country's total population has monthly income of more than R100 per member of the family, whereas in 1965 only four percent did. The difference between the living standards of individual social groups are consistently decreasing.

The party is making great efforts to solve the housing problem. The last decade accounts for one-third the total area of housing constructed in all the years of Soviet power. Over this period more than 108 million people, or 40 percent of the country's population, have improved their housing conditions. A fact of considerable importance is that rents in our country have not changed for 50 years now and on average constitute three percent of income in worker families. The state assumes two-thirds of the cost of maintaining housing and municipal services (R6 billion each year).

The communist party is taking energetic measures to satisfy the population's requirements for food, nonfood goods in everyday demand, and also consumer durables. Since the CPSU Central Committee March (1965) Plenum the party has been steadily, step by step, resolving the focal questions of boosting agriculture production. As a result, despite the difficult weather conditions in the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the average annual grain harvest has increased by 27 million tons and production of meat, milk, eggs and wool has also been higher than the Ninth Five-Year Plan level.

Alongside the growth in individual incomes and the level of consumption of material wealth, the services sphere is expanding steadily, working and leisure conditions and the protection of working people's wealth are improving and the population's levels of culture and education are rising.

Unity of purpose and action is the supreme law of our party's life. Its entire activity and all its aspirations are directed toward scoring new successes in developing the economy and culture and in improving Soviet people's well-being.

Cogent new evidence of this is provided by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee October (1980) Plenum and the Fourth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, which discussed the draft plan and budget for 1981--the first year of the new, 11th Five-Year Plan. Their fundamental peculiarity and significance lie primarily in the fact that paramount importance is attached to the questions on whose resolution Soviet people's living conditions are most directly dependent. These include elaborating a food program for the next five-year plan and a long-term program for consumer goods production, improving the quality of housing construction while maintaining its current scale, and specific measures to improve working conditions and develop public health, education and culture. All this stems directly from the economic strategy elaborated at the last party congresses, which envisages a profounder reorientation of the economy toward resolving the diverse tasks connected with working people's well-being. "...It is this that is the most party-minded approach, the approach whereby paramount importance is attached to concern for the people's good," L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the plenum. It is precisely this approach that is the guarantee of the party's inviolable unity with the masses.



This unity and this cohesion are not an abstract concept or a myth, as socialism's ideological opponents argue. They find expression primarily in Soviet people's selfless labor--the main factor making for the steady and stable growth of the socialist economy and culture and the people's living standards, the strengthening of the USSR's defense capability and the increase in its prestige in the international arena. The Soviet Union's working people are well aware that "the sole source of our well-being has been and will remain the labor, intellect and hands of those who smelt the steel, extract the oil, design the machines, construct plants and power stations, sow and harvest the grain" (L. I. Brezhnev). The Soviet people's vital interest in the growth of social production contributes to the steady upsurge of the masses' creative initiative. This is our irreplaceable reserve in accelerating economic development.

The whole road of socialist and communist building is a cogent demonstration of the working people's constantly growing activeness and real corroboration of Lenin's remark that "socialism not only does not extinguish competition, but, on the contrary, creates for the first time the opportunity to use it really widely, really on a mass scale, and to really bring the majority of working people into the arena of the kind of work in which they can show their mettle, develop their abilities and reveal the talented individuals of whom there is a wealth among the people and whom capitalism crushed, choked and stifled in their thousands and millions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 195).

The communist subbotniks of the first years of Soviet power, the shock labor movement during the socialist reconstruction of the national economy, the Stakhanovite movement and the current nationwide campaign to improve production efficiency and work quality are all glorious milestones in the history of socialist competition and a vivid example of the way the party has carefully and solicitously cultivated the shoots of a communist attitude toward labor among the broadest people's masses and developed their initiative and creativity.

Under the conditions of mature socialism socialist competition has gained unprecedented scope and has been transformed into a mighty factor accelerating social progress. About 105 million people are now taking part in it. Labor collectives, sectors, oblasts, krays and republics have been drawn into the orbit of competition. Its high effectiveness is shown by the fact, for instance, that 7,000 enterprise and association collectives, 235,000 teams, shops and farmsteads, and more than five million working people fulfilled their five-year plans and targets ahead of schedule, by the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

Our party seeks to make the fullest possible use of the masses' creative potential and carefully studies and disseminates anything new and valuable produced by practice. Enriched by the party's wise thinking, working people's initiatives meet with a wide response in the country and gain many followers. Precisely such initiatives are the Muscovites' initiative "a worker guarantee for the five-year plan of quality!", the initiative of Leningrad's working people "from high quality in each person's work, to high efficiency in the collective's work!", the movement by the people of Rostov under the slogan "Work Without Laggards!", the Ipatov method, the initiative of Yampolskiy Rayon's sugar beet growers, and others.

The party assigns to trade union organizations an exceptionally important role in developing mass socialist competition, improving its efficiency and educating working people in the spirit of a communist attitude toward labor and public property. It seeks to ensure that competition is really creative and fights against cliches and formalism in its organization and against farfetched initiatives.

The CPSU's socioeconomic policy is inextricably linked with the tasks of further strengthening Soviet society's cohesion. A firm foundation here is provided by the unified national economic complex incorporating the economies of all the Soviet republics and based on socialist ownership of the means of production. The joint labor in the name of man and the mutual assistance of the socialist nations and nationalities bring them increasingly close together in a united fraternal family. As the 25th CPSU Congress stressed, "The unified economic organism that has taken shape over the whole country is the firm material basis for the people's friendship and cooperation."

The modern socialist economy's potential makes the greatest possible contribution to narrowing the gap between our society's classes and social groups. For instance, the party's measures to further develop agricultural production specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration are of truly key significance in this respect. Agrarian-industrial associations are a new, more mature form of socioeconomic alliance between the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia.

The labor collective's role in consolidating Soviet society's unity should be particularly stressed. The labor collective is the basic, primary cell of our sociopolitical organism, the cell in which the whole aggregate of socialist social relations is formed. Besides, people of different generations, classes and social groups and different nationalities work together in the collective as a rule. The unity and cohesion of Soviet society as a whole largely depend on how ideologically cohesive and strong the collective is and on the extent to which an atmosphere of exactingness and principledness, comradely mutual assistance and concern for working people has been created in it.

Labor collectives occupy an increasingly important place in the deepening and expansion of socialist democracy and have at their disposal many effective ways of involving working people in production management. There are the permanent production conferences, team councils, innovator's councils, inventor's and rationalizer's societies, people's control groups and posts, the "Komsomol searchlight" movement, economic analysis bureaus, public cadre sections, and so forth. For instance, about six million working people take part in permanent production conferences alone, while their aktiv is more than 40 million people. The Leninist principle of socialist economic activity whereby the leaders' experience is enriched by the masses' experience is implemented in practice via the conferences.

The new USSR Constitution enshrined for labor collectives a broad package of rights and duties ensuring their effective participation in discussing and resolving state, economic and social issues and educating the working people. The implementation of these rights and duties is enabling millions of Soviet people to take a still more active part in administering the affairs of society and the state.

The primary party organization has a vanguard role in rallying the labor collective and developing and strengthening the party's links with the masses. As is well known, the 11th Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Congress, defining the primary organization's role and place in the party structure, stressed that the "cell must justify its purpose--to be the primary cell of the party organization linking the party directly and daily with the mass [of the people] (KPSS v Rezolvutiyakh i Resheniyakh S'yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK," Vol 2, p 363).

Primary party organizations are often linked to mighty roots that the party puts down right into the midst of the people. The comparison is just, by nourishing the party from the depth of the people's life, they give it energy, experience and knowledge of the requirements of social development. But that is only one side of the issue. On the other hand it is via primary organizations that the party directly implements its policy and links it with the masses' living creativity.

The potential for party influence on particular spheres of society's life can be judged from the degree of development of the network of primary party organizations and the way that party forces are deployed in the various sectors of communist building. It now has more than 400,000 primary organizations. This network is becoming increasingly extensive and ramified and the number of shop party organizations and party groups is increasing.

But the main thing on which the increase in primary party organizations' role in labor collectives' life depends is certainly their level of activeness and militancy. Our party pays constant and unremitting attention to these questions. And the majority of its primary organizations are really militant organizers of the masses.

Under present conditions the center of party work is increasingly shifting to the production sectors, to teams and shifts, to the elements that constitute the foundations of the whole production organism. In this connection the role of shop organizations and party groups is steadily increasing. After all, they are closest to people and operate where the great concepts of politics and economics are translated into the plane of everyday practical work, where people's ideological stances, attitude to labor and the people's property, and moral qualities are primarily instilled in them. It is on the organization of work at the grass-roots that the strength of not only the primary organization's link with working people, but also that of the party as a whole crucially depends.

III

Life confirms over and over again that the style of party work is one of the most important means ensuring the unity of party and people and the expansion and deepening of the party's links with the masses. "In principle all our leaders," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "must have the same style--the Leninist style...." This precisely formulated proposition is of enduring significance.

The Leninist style is our unique asset, our unfailing combat weapon. It can be stated without exaggeration that its core is comprised of the most profound democratism, conditioned by the very nature of the communist party, by its aims

and tasks, by the principles of life and activity. It is a style of profound confidence in the people and of high responsibility to them, a style of all possible promotion of the development of the working people's creative activeness and of a comradely attitude toward their vital material and spiritual needs, a style of real humanism in all the party's activities.

Nowadays the indefatigable activity of L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, serves as a model of the creative application of the Leninist style in work with the masses. His very rich experience of party and state work and of selfless service to the people was graphically reflected in the books "Malaya Zemiya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Tselina" [Virgin Lands], which have rightfully become works of reference for every party and Soviet worker and every economic leader.

The communist party is guided in all its activity by Lenin's instructions that "politics must be the business of the people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 406). The party constantly consults the masses, listens keenly to public opinion and tries to ensure that all state and public organs take into consideration in their work the suggestions, wishes and criticism of working people. This is evidenced by the practice of nationwide discussions of the draft plans for our country's economic and social development and other important laws and decisions. Such nationwide discussions develop into a demonstration of the Soviet people's unity and cohesion around the Leninist party and of their profound interest in the affairs of society and the state.

The USSR Constitution guarantees every Soviet person the right to submit to state organs and public organizations suggestions on improving their activities and to criticize shortcomings in their work. Citizens' written and oral appeals to party, soviet and other organs are an important way of realizing that right. Suffice it to say that in the first 4 years after the 25th party congress the CPSU Central Committee, union republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms received 9.4 million letters from working people, and 5.4 million people made oral applications to those organs. It has been calculated that over the country as a whole newspaper editorial offices alone receive up to 60-70 million letters a year.

Our party attaches exceptionally great significance to work with letters and to organizing the reception of working people as a means of strengthening ties with the masses, involving them in the management of state and social affairs and ascertaining the Soviet people's material and spiritual needs. In recent years this work has been filled with qualitatively new content. Working people's letters and oral appeals now embrace an exceptionally wide range of the people's innermost thoughts and aspirations, of problems troubling them and of questions of proprietary interest in social and state affairs. Therefore, as L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, it is important that "every Soviet person...be certain that his opinion and his voice will be heeded and taken into consideration when decisions great and small are formulated."

The opinions, suggestions and wishes voiced in letters are reflected in CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions and in speeches by party and government leaders. On questions raised in citizens' appeals local party and

soviet organs increasingly frequently put specific proposals to union and republican ministries and departments. However, proper order has still not been instilled everywhere in work with letters and in organizing the reception of working people. Unfortunately, there are many instances of violations of the CPSU Central Committee's demands for an attentive, sensitive approach to the consideration of citizens' requests and suggestions.

There is still much to be done to eliminate the shortcomings which give rise to criticisms and complaints from working people. From taking measures following individual signals, local party organs and also state and public organizations are called upon to make the transition to comprehensively resolving urgent questions and to implementing broad measures in those spheres of our life on which the people's mood and their readiness to work highly productively and with full exertion of effort depend.

Manifestations of red tape, which are still encountered in management organs, seriously undermine the masses' confidence. The trouble with red tape is that it fetters creative initiative, has an adverse effect on people's morale and serves as a nutrient medium for backward and sometimes also harmful views and sentiments.

V. I. Lenin attached great significance to overcoming red tape and pointed out that the struggle against it is a difficult and lengthy but extremely necessary matter. "We must rid ourselves of this enemy," he emphasized, "and we will get to him through all conscious workers and peasants" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 15).

It is perfectly obvious that the conditions of developed socialism offer much greater potential for finally overcoming red tape than the conditions in the first years of Soviet power. However, this potential is still not being fully utilized. The further development of the working people's potential activeness, their broader involvement in monitoring the work of the management apparatus and the assertion of the Leninist style in the activities of all state and social organizations without exception and of their leaders remain the chief means in the struggle against red tape.

A leader's qualities are verified not by a ringing phrase or by administrative zeal but by his ability to draw close to the masses, by his ability to inspire and lead them and by his constant readiness to struggle for the people's interests.

Today's leaders, as is known, are yesterday's progressive workers, rural workers and representatives of the people's intelligentsia. Our party has brought to light and promoted to leading posts thousands upon thousands of talented organizers, whom Lenin described as "people with a sober mind and practical gumption, people combining devotion to socialism with the ability without fuss (and despite turmoil and fuss) to organize the strong and harmonious joint work of a large number of people..." ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 193). Once they heard the masses, the majority of them have not lost the qualities which draw them close to the people and help them to realize their interests and aspirations in practical activities.

At the same time there are also leaders who forget about their "genealogy." Sure signs of this are self-satisfaction, an unhealthy reaction to criticism "from below" and reluctance to take working people's opinions into account or to rub shoulders with them.

Speaking at the all-union conference of ideological workers (1979), V. M. Storonenko, fitter at the Rostselmash plant, said: "Leaders of ministries and main administrations visit the plant, for example, but they frequently confine themselves to talking with the management alone. Why not gather the workers together and tell them how things stand in the sector and what the ministry thinks?" Fair comment. Much here depends on the ministry and department party committees.

Contact with working people, L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "enriches the party worker, strengthens his link with life and helps him to learn people's plans, interests and need first hand, as people say. Finally, it is simply nice to discover for oneself a good person--worker, kolkhoz member, construction worker, agronomist, artist, journalist, scientist."

The main thing in work with the masses is the method of persuasion, of patient explanation of party and state policy, of demonstrating the importance of and need for a particular decision, of explaining what must be done and how in every sector of communist building. This method, founded on respect for human dignity, always stimulates people's activeness and prompts them to act in a proprietorial way, conscious of their direct involvement in the common cause. The Soviet economic leader is, above all, the party's plenipotentiary in the labor collective. But he is also the fiduciary of the working people and the expresser of their interests. A great deal depends on the extent of his party maturity--primarily the choice of means and methods to achieve production goals, the people's mood and the degree of their work satisfaction. A leader's political and business qualities are revealed in the ability to link his activities with the party's guidelines on further strengthening our society's moral and political unity, developing socialist democracy and involving the masses in the management of production affairs.

The overwhelming majority of production leaders justify their high appointment with honor. But the demands on them are growing constantly. Today it is no longer enough to organize the plan's fulfillment "at any price." There has been an increase in responsibility for ensuring production standards, labor safety and appropriate living conditions and for the state of educational work. Special attention is paid to these aspects of the activities of economic leaders in the documents of the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, in the resolutions of the party's Central Committee "On the Participation of Leading Workers and Engineering and Technical Personnel of the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant in the Ideological and Political Education of Members of the Collective" (1971) and "On the Work of the Minsk Tractor Plant Party Organization in Enhancing the Production and Sociopolitical Activeness of the Labor Collective" (1972), in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures to Further Enhance the Role of the Production Section Foreman in Industrial Enterprises and Construction Organizations" (1977), in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work" (1979) and a number of others.

Strict observance of the principle of unity of word and deed, of decision and execution is an essential condition of the further growth of the party's authority among the masses. Project mania, lack of thought, haste and rhetorical, premature conclusions which constantly have to be amended are particularly harmful here. Lenin considered it inadmissible to display a haughty bureaucratic attitude toward the formulation of decisions and sharply criticized those who work by "taking on 20 jobs and not finishing a single one..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 242). "Again and again," he protested, "we see the emptiest 'production of theses' or the invention of slogans and projects instead of attentive and careful familiarization with our own practical experience" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 339).

The reasons for such work methods are well known. They include excessive faith in the power of paper, slipshod verification of execution and poor exactingness toward leaders who, as the saying goes, know how to pull the wool over people's eyes and to seduce them with assurances and promises to "rectify the situation," to "take measures" and so forth. Unfortunately, phenomena of this sort have still not been eradicated everywhere.

"Follow word with deed, and decision with execution"--that is how the party poses the question. "The discrepancy between word and deed, in whatever forms it might express itself," L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "also harms economic building, but it particularly harms moral education." Any decision adopted must ensure that the people's confidence in the party remains unshakable.

Concern for strengthening and broadening the party's ties with the masses has always been and remains one of the most important obligations of every communist. Back in the first years of Soviet power, mobilizing the working people to surmount the difficulties of rehabilitating the national economy, the party's Central Committee emphasized in its letter "On the Attitude Toward Nonparty Workers": "He is not a communist who has not managed to group around himself several honest nonparty workers, to enter into everyday relations with them, to visit their homes, help them in their everyday life, supply them with a newspaper, promote workers from among them to trade unions and soviet organs, and so forth" (PRAVDA 7 May 1921).

Much has changed since then, the Soviet social system has rallied communists and nonparty people into a strong collective of like-minded people making one common cause--the cause of communism. The forms of work among the masses have changed too, however they have changed, though, their aim remains unchanged--the still greater cohesion of the party and the people.

This aim is being ensured through the daily personal work of communists among nonparty people and, above all, through explanation of party policy, firm and unswerving implementation of party decisions, and sensitivity and attention toward people.

The party requires its members to show constant concern for the working people's interests and to respond in timely fashion to their requirements and needs. Of course, this has nothing to do with automatic sympathy and agreement. In the past N. I. Kalinin, for example, cited "instances" of this sort of "sensitivity." In

1942, when the country was experiencing great difficulties caused by war, he said in an address to party workers of Moscow enterprises: "Being at the tail end of the masses is also a 'link' with the masses. They complain to you about one thing and another, and you agree and you cry on each other's shoulders. They sing to you, and you join in singing: 'Yes, there's no light, it's cold, and there really isn't enough food.' Some hitch occurs at an enterprise or establishment, and you go on and join in the song: 'Oh, devil take it, what bureaucrats, what a hopeless situation they have gotten you in!' They listen to you, and maybe at first some people like this. But do we Bolsheviks think about such a link with the masses? No, of course not.... Our Bolshevik line is to lead the masses, not to act as their guardian but to lead them forward behind a conscious vanguard" (M. I. Kalinin's "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Politizdat, Moscow, 1975, p 328).

It is quite understandable that only a communist who devotes his whole being and all his strength, ability, experience and knowledge to the party's great cause is capable of leading nonparty people. The very position of a member of the ruling party obliges him always to serve as a model in everything and to show by his personal example what it means today to follow the principles of communism.

The higher the business, moral and political qualities that communists possess, the higher our party's authority and influence among the masses. And as the Soviet people's awareness and activeness grow, the very concept of the "communist's vanguard role" is becoming increasingly broad and embracing increasingly high demands. This is why constant concern for enhancing the role and significance of every party member is at the same time concern for further strengthening the party's leading role and reinforcing the entire party's link with the people.

On the eve of Great October Lenin wrote: "The majority of the class, the vanguard of the revolution, the vanguard of the people capable of captivating the masses is ours.

"The majority of the people is ours....

"The advantage of the position of a party which knows its way well is ours....

"Certain victory is ours..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 244). The entire Soviet people's undivided support for their dear communist party is incontrovertible proof of the prophetic force of those words of Lenin's.

The decision to convene the 26th CPSU Congress elicited a tremendous surge of labor and sociopolitical activeness from the Soviet people. "The party," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the Central Committee's October Plenum (1980), "is approaching its congress in close unity with people, with a clear-cut action program in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy."

The preparations for the next party congress have become the affair of not only communists but also our entire people. This finds eloquent expression in the mass movement "a shock finish to the five-year plan and a worthy greeting for the 26th CPSU Congress!" The Soviet people's selfless struggle to implement their dear communist party's plans is convincing evidence of its indissoluble unity with the people.



The party values its strong ties with the masses and considers them its great asset. At the same time it does not regard the process of strengthening its unity with the people as something already complete and requiring no further development. All the party's activity--theoretical and practical, organizational-political and ideological-educational--is aimed at deepening ties with the masses and further rallying the Soviet people around their communist vanguard. And this is the guarantee of new victories in the struggle to realize the bright ideals of communism.

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## IMPROVING THE METHODS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

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[Article by S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving the Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality," adopted in accordance with the strategic stipulations of the 24th and 25th party congresses, was a major step in the implementation of the party's course of creating a national economic planning and management system reflecting the objective characteristics of the developed socialist economy.

Based on its profound and comprehensive study of the objective laws of the current stage in the socioeconomic development of the country, the party points out that the main prerequisites for resolving the problems facing the national economy are the systematic enhancement of public production effectiveness, conversion to a qualitatively higher type of economic growth, primarily based on intensive development, improved utilization of material, manpower and natural resources, and a systematic orientation toward the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the members of the socialist society. The optimum rates of growth in the national income needed for the successful implementation of the CPSU social program can only be achieved by decisively upgrading effectiveness and the utilization of all production resources.

However, the practical solution of such problems has lagged behind the requirements of the country's socioeconomic development. Over the past 3 years, the growth rates for national income have declined. Capital returns have diminished and the share of growth in national income achieved through higher social labor productivity has diminished. As a result, the role which intensive factors play in the economic growth of the USSR has not increased. This is largely due to objective reasons, particularly the worsening conditions for the extraction and transportation of raw materials and fuel. It is beyond question, however, that some negative trends in our economy are the result of shortcomings in the functioning of the economic mechanism.

As practical experience in the development of the USSR national economy has proved, and as has been repeatedly noted in party documents and in the addresses of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the existing planning and management system has been unable to

contribute adequately to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and, on this basis, to achieving high growth rates in public production effectiveness. It oriented economic development toward maximum and national economic results and the satisfaction of production and nonproduction requirements poorly.

Planning failed to provide a fully comprehensive approach to the consideration of economic, social, scientific and technical and ecological factors and to achieve organic unity in the solution of current and long-term problems of the sectorial and regional aspects of national economic progress. The level of balancing work in planning-economic organs, associations and enterprises lagged behind the increasingly complex tasks of insuring the balanced development of the socialist economy. In his characterization of the overall situation in this area, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "If we now understand that a steadily developing national economy is being restricted by the limits of the existing economic mechanism, the situation must be decisively improved."

The direction and main purpose of all changes made in the economic mechanism is the creation of planned economic conditions for a considerable acceleration of the pace of scientific and technical progress in the national economy, as the material base for stable growth in the effectiveness with which the material, labor and natural resources of society are used, and the transformation of this growth into a decisive source of increase in the national income with a view to the steady and comprehensive enhancement of the prosperity of the Soviet people. The party begins with the objective requirement--comprehensive improvement in the entire planning and management system and in all its closely interrelated elements: forecasting, planning, economic levers, cost effectiveness, and management structure. This process calls for the further strengthening of the technical base of planning and management and for the development of a methodology for the elaboration and implementation of planning-economic solutions.

The practical implementation of measures to improve planning will require major changes in the entire economic management system, the advancement and further implementation of cost-effectiveness principles, the strengthening of economic development incentives and upgrading of public production effectiveness. It is essentially important that, while implementing the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, the new planning and management system strengthen the foundations of centralized planned national economic management while also strengthening the relative economic independence of ministries, associations and enterprises. It must upgrade their economic responsibility for the adoption and implementation of planned decisions on supplying the national economy and the population with the necessary goods, applying scientific and technical achievements and seeking means for the most effective utilization of material, manpower and natural resources.

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As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, planning is the core of the entire system for the country's socioeconomic management. Its level determines to a decisive extent the effectiveness of the functioning of all other elements in the economic mechanism.

Improvements in planning work are based on the creation of a planning system which will insure a balance among all aspects of the development of the national economy, aimed at achieving maximum and national economic results, or in other words, insuring the optimum socioeconomic development for the country.

In this connection, the accurate theoretical-methodological determination of end results in terms of the different levels of economic planning and management, or in other words, the determination of the global and local criteria of optimum functioning of the socialist economy as a whole and of its individual unit, assumes important practical significance. This problem is quite complex. It has retained its controversial nature despite lengthy debates in economic publications.

The greatest possible satisfaction of the steadily growing needs of the members of society remains the final and direct objective of the socialist economy, in accordance with the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism. This law is identified both quantitatively and qualitatively with the concept and results of economic activities on the global or macroeconomic level of the socialist economy as a whole. In terms of this level, the achievement of maximum national economic results means reaching a maximum level of the satisfaction of population requirements during a planned period of time, providing that the necessary production-economic conditions for the effective development of the national economy in the future have been secured. The latter excludes a possible interpretation of this concept as a consumerist approach to planning the pace and ratios of development of the socialist economy.

Occasionally the concept of maximum end national results is linked in economic publications with maximizing the growth rates of the physical volume of the national income or the end social product which exceeds the national income by the amount of the carried over value of the consumed share of productive capital. We consider this approach erroneous. Neither national income nor end social product are the material embodiment of the attainment of the objective of the development of the socialist economy, for they include an amount of productive capital (net or gross accumulation) which must be returned to the reproduction process. Therefore, the socialist society objectively aspires not to achieve the maximum increase in their growth rates but to achieve an optimal pace, i.e., a pace which will insure the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the members of society and set up the necessary reserve for future national economic development. This is the overall global criterion of optimal economic development under socialism, the criterion of optimum correlation between consumption and accumulation in the national income and in the end social product.

The basic economic law of socialism does not directly define the optimality criterion of end results of economic activities of individual production cells within the socialist society--ministries, associations or enterprises. On this level the achievement of best end results means insuring goods for the national economy in accordance with the plan (or exceeding the planned figures) with minimum outlays of production resources.

The new planning and management system stipulates that a set of measures concerning the activities of ministries, associations, enterprises, scientific research

and planning-design organizations, both in current production and capital construction and in scientific research and experimental design, be more oriented toward the reaching of high end results. The sum total of indicators of production and delivery of goods in physical terms, net output, commissioning of productive capital and projects, production quality, labor productivity, and increased profits is assigned a decisive role in planning and assessing their economic activities. Scientific research and experimental design related to the creation, mastery and utilization of new equipment are converted to cost effectiveness and will be based on orders which will determine, from the very beginning, the end results of such projects. The responsibility of industry for delivering consumer goods to the trade system in the necessary amount, quality and variety, will be increased considerably. The system of settling accounts between suppliers and customers will be restructured on the basis of payment for end results of economic activities.

However, the planning-economic organs in the country, the associations and the enterprises must do a tremendous amount of practical work to insure the factual orientation of the economic mechanism toward achieving maximum end national results.

The entire work of the planning organs, the USSR Gosplan above all, related to the formulation of long-term and current plans for economic and social development, is aimed at insuring high stable growth rates for the people's prosperity. These indicators must become the starting point in planning the rate and proportions of the development of the socialist economy and the distribution of production resources, in particular capital investments, among sectors and economic rayons. The level of planning-economic and scientific research work to determine the needs of the population, their structure, level of priorities, and the optimal level of satisfaction must be upgraded sharply. We must intensify the elaboration of rational consumer budgets for the various population groups, based on comprehensive and extensive ideas regarding the qualitative characteristics and quantitative parameters of the socialist way of life. The study of methods, economic-mathematical ones in particular, for determining the structure of the production requirements of the national economy and the means for their most effective satisfaction is of exceptional importance. The normative base of the plans at all economic levels requires substantial improvements.

This is the first time in the experience of planned management of the national economy that a unified and interrelated system of long-term and current plans has been contemplated. It will include the following:

A comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress covering a 20-year period (broken down by 5-year periods) for the USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and USSR Gosstroy;

Basic directions for the economic and social development of the USSR for a 10-year period (broken down by 5-year periods), formulated by the USSR Gosplan, together with USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics, based on the socioeconomic tasks defined by the party on a long-term planning basis and a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress;

Control figures for basic indicators and economic norms for the forthcoming five-year plan, formulated by the USSR Gosplan on the basis of the plan for basic directions in the economic and social development of the USSR; these figures are issued to USSR ministries and departments and to councils of ministers of union republics which, in turn, issue them to associations, enterprises and organizations;

A five-year plan for the economic and social development of the USSR (with annual breakdowns), formulated by the USSR Gosplan on the basis of the draft five-year plans of the USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics. This plan summarizes the draft five-year plans of associations, enterprises and organizations;

The annual plan for the economic and social development of the USSR, drafted under the guidance of the USSR Gosplan on the basis of the specific annual assignments and economic norms included in the five-year plan.

The operation of a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and the basic directions in the economic and social development of the USSR together implement the principle of continuous planning: each five years these planning documents must be refined and formulated for the new period. Consequently, in the elaboration of each five-year plan the system of planned management of the national economy will have projections for development covering periods of 10 and 20 years ahead. They will be distinguished, naturally, not only by their time length but by the nature and depth of elaboration of corresponding problems.

The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree stipulates a set of measures which contribute to the factual conversion of the five-year plan into the main form of economic and social development planning. First of all, within the five-year plan, annual balances will be formulated for material and manpower resources, production capacities, and population income and expenditures. This represents a major step toward strengthening balancing work in the national economy. The inclusion of economic norms in the plan, including the wage and economic incentive funds, and the retention within the five-year plan of firm wholesale prices for industrial commodities, estimates in capital construction, and freight haulage rates will be of very great importance in national economic planning and in the organization of effective cost accounting. The five-year period of regulated economic activities and the formulation of sufficiently durable "economic game rules" will offer associations, enterprises, and organizations better conditions for making planning-economic decisions whose effectiveness and consequences exceed the one-year planning period. Most major decisions will be precisely of this kind.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the practical implementation of the procedure stipulated by the new planning and management system for the formulation of long-term and current plans for economic and social development will represent a qualitatively higher level in all national economic planning. However, this implementation (something which must be realized most clearly) involves the solution of a number of complex methodological, organizational and management problems.

The full implementation of the new procedure for the formulation of long-term and current plans will unquestionably considerably increase the volume of planning-economic information which must be processed by the planning-economic organs, associations, enterprises and organizations. This poses additional requirements concerning improvements in the methodological, information and computer facilities available to the planning and management system.

Under the new conditions, the role of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress formulated by the USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and USSR Gosstroy for a 20-year period becomes substantially more important.

Our country has already acquired great experience in the formulation of such a program, work on which began in 1972. We have at present a long-term variant of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and its socioeconomic consequences, and its conclusions and suggestions are used by the USSR Gosplan and by ministries and departments in formulating the basic directions for the economic and social development of the USSR between 1981 and 1985 and for the period through 1990. Currently work on the comprehensive program is organically being included in economic and social development planning. This makes the program requirements stricter. Further improvements must be made in the methodology for the forecasting and planning of scientific and technical and socioeconomic development on a long-term basis and the reflection of economic and social, scientific and technical parameters. A thorough study must be made of the possibility of insuring the considerably more extensive use of economic-mathematical and systems analysis methods for this purpose. Currently, such methods are essentially used in short-term and medium-term forecasting and planning. The organizational mechanism for their formulation and elaboration must be improved.

Methodologically and organizationally equally difficult problems must be resolved in order to insure coordination of the indicators of the basic directions of USSR economic and social development and of five-year and annual plans on the different levels of national economic planning and management, bearing in mind that they too are different in terms of size and level of aggregation.

In the course of the practical implementation of the principles for the rational combination of territorial with sectorial planning as stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree, difficult methodological problems must be resolved related to the elaboration of the comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of union republics and economic rayons, bearing in mind differences in departmental affiliation of associations, enterprises and organizations located on their territory. It is clear, however, that such plans cannot be simply the result of the mechanical summarizing of corresponding assignments and indicators, but must become an active tool in shaping the country's optimum production and socioeconomic structures. We must continue to look for ways to upgrade the role of regional planning and management in the planning, financing and operating of industrial and nonindustrial infrastructural projects, the training, retraining and distribution of manpower, the implementation of environmental protection measures, and so on.

The importance of social factors and their influence on economic development and scientific and technical progress will be increased. The new planning and management system organizationally codifies the changes made in this area. The plans at all levels, in their sectorial and territorial cross sections, will include consolidated sections covering the entire set of measures in the area of social development related to the development of output in capital construction and their improved effectiveness. Despite the fact that our country has already acquired a certain experience in social planning, the level of methodological and information support needed for the solution of such problems will have to be upgraded substantially.

## II

The CC CPSU and Soviet government decisions have repeatedly indicated that the considerable acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the national economy is the main prerequisite for the required enhancement of public production effectiveness. The new planned management system calls for the implementation of a set of special planning, economic and organizational measures which will insure the all-round consideration of the achievements of science and technology and the enhancement of the technological level and quality of output in the formulation of economic and social development plans. They include the elaboration of programs for the most important scientific and technical problems and problems in the comprehensive utilization of resources, plans for upgrading the technical standard of individual sectors, the introduction of stricter standards to be met by produced machines, equipment and other items, planning-economic production incentives for the manufacturing of superior quality goods, penalties for the production of substandard goods, and so on. The cost-effectiveness responsibility of production and scientific-production associations and enterprises for the development, utilization and application of scientific and technical achievements will be upgraded considerably. The effective implementation of these principles is closely related to further improvements in the methodology used for determining economic results of the utilization of scientific and technical achievements and their reflection on commodity prices, the structure of outlays for scientific research and experimental design, and wages and bonuses in this area.

Today upgrading the balanced nature and effectiveness of the national economy depends to a tremendous extent on radical improvements in capital construction work. It is above all through this area, which absorbs a rising amount of production resources, that the achievements of scientific and technical progress are being materialized. It is no accident that the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree contains a special section on measures aimed at improving planning and economic incentives in this economic area.

The experience gained in the field of economic construction in the USSR has revealed the existence of a certain gap between current production planning and capital construction and the fact that the gross volume approach prevails in the latter. This has been one of the reasons for the sharp increase in the volume of unfinished construction, which is having a very adverse impact on the indicator of effectiveness of industrial capital investments in the national economy. The new planning and economic incentive system extensively deals with the elimination of



such trends. It stipulates the essentially important rule that capital investments in the five-year plans must be based on the planned growth in the volume of output and services. The systematic implementation of this principle should increase the targeting of capital investments and stimulate the accelerated commissioning of industrial capacities and productive capital, while reducing the volume of unfinished construction. From the national economic viewpoint this means that the volume and structure of industrial capital investments must be based on the tasks of upgrading the living standard of the population and developing the production area within the planned period. The dynamic models of the intersectorial balance of the production and distribution of commodities in the national economy could become the methodological instrument for the solution of this problem.

The indicators of the commissioning of industrial capacities and projects and of marketable construction output will assume decisive significance in planning and assessing the activities and determining the economic incentives of construction organizations. Thus, planning, economic and organizational prerequisites will be created in the area of capital construction, leading to a considerable reduction in the number of frequently uneconomical new construction projects, improvements in the structure of capital investments and their substantially speedier, and consequently more effective, utilization. Briefly stated, conditions will be created for a radical turn in the constructive solution of the problem of "what" to build and "how" to build.

The coordination between physical and value ratios in the expanded socialist reproduction process and in the area of material and financial resources is a major prerequisite for insuring proportional economic development. So far this problem has not been resolved satisfactorily. In current production, capital construction and the consumer sector, cases of substantial disparities have been noted between physical and financial flows. This has led to shortages of production resources and goods and created stresses in plan implementation. This fully justifies the measures adopted in order to upgrade considerably the level of balancing among natural, value and financial indicators in public production. It has been found necessary to include within the five-year and annual plans a consolidated financial balance and consolidated estimates (for basic indicators) of revenues and expenditures in the state budget both for the entire five-year plan and its annual breakdown, with the required financial reserves. At the same time, USSR ministries and departments, associations and enterprises must formulate their own five-year and annual financial plans. The measures necessary to improve the planning of long-term and short-term credits are being adopted.

One of the main problems in insuring the overall balancing of the economic and social development of the USSR at the present stage is the coordination of solvent demand by the people and the volume of goods and services which should be channeled into the satisfaction of this demand. The balance of population income and expenditure is the basic planning instrument for such coordination. Work on drafting such balances must be substantially improved. Currently the five-year and the annual plans for the monetary expenditure and income of the people must be drafted by the USSR Gosplan and the councils of ministers of union republics for the country at large and by union and autonomous republic, kray and oblast. The effectiveness of this exceptionally important work may be improved through the

extensive use of the differentiated balances for the formation of population income, expenditure and consumption developed by the planning organs of the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic Mathematical Institute, the USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Economic Institute, and others. This will make it possible organically to combine the macro- and microeconomic approaches to the planning of such processes, taking into consideration the societal structure and making extensive use of mathematical methods and computers.

Today insuring a stable balance in the consumption area is perhaps one of the most important prerequisites for achieving effective economic growth as a whole, for this is a most essential factor in the organization of an effective system for promoting the material incentive of the workers to develop and upgrade public production effectiveness. In addition to overall improvement of all planning activities in this area, and strengthening the economic incentive and responsibility of production associations and enterprises and trade organizations for insuring uninterrupted supplies of the necessary goods to the population, as the new planning and management system stipulates, a number of interrelated planning-economic measures could contribute to the successful solution of this problem, focused on accelerating the growth rates of output of consumer goods and services, improving their quality and increasing their variety, strictly linking the growth of the population's income with that of public labor productivity, optimizing ratios between free and paid services, and upgrading the efficiency of the retail price system, which should take more flexibly into consideration the demand and supply ratio. One of the main tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan for the economic and social development of the USSR between 1981 and 1985 is to insure the necessary conditions for the solution of this problem.

### III

The effectiveness of all the measures aimed at improving planning and strengthening the influence of the economic mechanism on upgrading public production effectiveness will be greatly determined by the extent to which the country's planning-economic organs are able to elaborate long-term and annual plans for the economic and social development of the USSR, balanced in all their aspects. Naturally, this implies the type of balancing which organically includes the choice of the most effective means for achieving high and material economic results or, in other words, balanced economic growth which insures maximally effective public production. It is only on this basis that a system of scientific economic norms, which is becoming an ever more important element in the economic mechanism, can be formulated and an overall economic incentive system can be scientifically substantiated.

Balancing is the pivot, the nerve center of all planning and analytical work in the national economy. It is no accident that the new planning and management system takes as its basis the need to have its level drastically improved. Essentially, for the first time in our planning practice, we must achieve a unified system of balances of material and manpower resources, balances of production capacities, and cost and financial balances at all planning levels for the five-year and annual plans. This problem can be resolved only by substantially upgrading the methodological, information and technical facilities available in the area of planning.

There are at least three interrelated problems which must be resolved at an accelerated pace:

We must substantially develop the methodology for determining the needs of the national economy for productive capital and consumer goods and services provided to the population by the nonindustrial sectors;

We must develop a scientific system of normed outlays covering all types of material, manpower and natural resources used in commodity output;

The planning-economic organs must master the entire arsenal of balancing and optimizing economic-mathematical models whose level of present development allows us to consider them as an important instrument for upgrading balancing and the effectiveness of the country's economic development. It would be expedient to formulate a special program for the solution of these problems with the guidance of the USSR Gosplan. Naturally, its results would be applied to the creation and development of an automated system of plan computation by the USSR Gosplan and the gosplans of union republics, and automated control systems for use by ministries, departments, associations and enterprises.

#### IV

The further development of cost effectiveness, based on the assignments and economic norms of the centralized state plan, which creates the economic prerequisites for the organic combination of the national economic and the local economic interests of the individual production cells of our society, is an important element in improving the methods of socialist economic management at the present stage. As we pointed out, the purpose of revising economic levers and incentives is to increase their influence on the achievement of maximum and national economic results and the effective fulfillment by all national economic units of assignments based on the five-year and annual plans for economic and social development. This is the main task of the system of indicators used in the evaluation of economic activities of production associations and enterprises.

Together with the development of cost effectiveness by production associations and enterprises, the new planning and management system calls for improving cost-effectiveness work methods by all-union (republic) associations and the gradual adoption of such methods in the activities of industrial and construction ministries. Extensive use should be made of the normative principle of distribution of profits among associations (enterprises), ministries and the state budget and, on this basis, starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, the economic stimulation funds of associations (enterprises), such as the material incentive, sociocultural measures and housing construction, and production development funds should be set up. A certain share of the profits will remain at the disposal of each production unit. Thus the normative principle will create the incentive to increase production and upgrade production profitability. This makes it unquestionably progressive. The fact that the normative principle can be used as an incentive is important: higher norms governing the establishment of economic incentive funds will be set for production associations and enterprises which considerably increase the production of highly effective productive capital and new consumer goods.

The problem now is to elaborate a scientific system of norms which will insure the economic interest at all levels of maximally upgrading production effectiveness.

In developing cost effectiveness and applying its principles on the level of ministries and all-union (republic) industrial associations, thorough consideration must be given to the limits and functions of cost effectiveness at each management level. In particular, the cost effectiveness of production associations (enterprises) must not be replaced by the cost effectiveness of ministries and all-union (republic) industrial associations. The fact is that it is precisely the production association that is the basic cost-effectiveness unit in industry and which implements the factual reproduction process. The task is to strengthen this unit organizationally and economically.

The new economic mechanism ascribes a major role to upgrading the material incentive of labor collectives and individual workers to accelerate the increased effectiveness of public production and labor productivity. The most important feature here is a conversion to planning the wage fund on the basis of long-term norms of outlays per ruble of output, granting production associations (enterprises) the right to give wage supplements to workers, engineering and technical personnel and employees for productive work and high skills, and making the brigade system the basic form of labor organization and incentive. Within the framework of these principles, we must look for the most effective methods for labor organization and wages and link them as fully as possible with achievement of the best end results of economic activities.

The improvement of wholesale prices in the national economy is a necessary prerequisite for the effective implementation of the new planning and management system.

Figuratively speaking, prices are a type of infrastructure for the planning system and the economic mechanism. As we know, a lag in the development of the infrastructure leads in turn to the appearance of bottlenecks in the economic growth of the country, adversely affecting its pace and effectiveness. In our view, the main line to be followed in improving the wholesale price system is for prices to reflect considerably more than at present the national economic effectiveness of output and production results and the planned conditions governing demand and supply. It is only on the basis of the reflection of the national economic effectiveness of output in prices that, in our view, the concept of the socially necessary production outlays can be constructively applied.

Another exceptionally complex problem to be resolved is that of improving the organizational structure of economic management and efficiently assigning functions, rights and obligations among its individual units. The new system for planning the economic and social development of the country presumes the extensive use of the program-target approach. From the planning viewpoint alone this creates the very complex methodological problem of coordinating the sectorial, territorial and program-target aspects of the five-year and annual plans. However, the problem of restructuring the management organs and changing their functions, rights and responsibilities will be even more complex. Objectively it arises along with the elaboration and implementation of target national economic,

regional and sectorial programs. Clearly, no routine solutions could be applied here. Everything must be based on the type of program: its scale, duration, amount of resources needed for its implementation, number of participants involved, and so on. Our country has acquired a certain amount of experience in the elaboration and implementation of target programs. Such problems are being intensively discussed in economic publications. It is a question of the development of flexible and effective mechanisms for the utilization of the program-target principle at all levels of national economic planning and management and of taking into consideration their specific features, while creatively summing up this experience. It is important for programs, whatever their level and scale, to become an organic component of the plans for the country's economic and social development and not result in "unplanned" allocation of resources, as has been the case in the course of our economic construction, creating additional difficulties in insuring planned proportionality.

In our view, no proper solution has been found as yet to the problem of elaborating a system for the management of regional socioeconomic development and, particularly, of territorial-production complexes. However, the need to upgrade the role of regional management in the overall national economic management system is entirely obvious.

The implementation of a system of measures aimed at improving planning and management is, unquestionably, a major stage in the improvement of socialist economic management methods. However, it would be wrong to take this as a one-time action which could resolve all problems. The improvement of the planning and management system is a continuing process and the search for socialist economic management methods consistent with developed socialism must never stop.

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CSO: 1802

## FULL USE OF EQUIPMENT

Moscow KOMM'NIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 39-45

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Vorotilov and Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Cherevan']

[Text] The saturation of enterprises with highly productive and expensive machines and equipment and the reducing of the time span of their moral obsolescence and economic service objectively require increased daily returns on labor tools. The potential productivity of modern equipment can be achieved only on the basis of planned, i.e., two-shift, use, as a minimum. Otherwise outlays for its development will be compensated slowly. This would substantially lower production effectiveness.

Unfortunately, the planned capacities of one-of-a-kind and expensive equipment, machine tools with digital programming, and automated lines designed for two- and three-shift work are not as yet being practically maintained in any single sector. The shift coefficient (which indicates the average number of shifts using a unit of installed equipment per day) is rising all too slowly, or is occasionally even declining, in the big territorial-production complexes throughout the country and in the leading industrial centers. Practical experience proves that the problem of operating labor tools at full capacity can be resolved only through the implementation of a set of organizational, technical-economic, social and educational measures on the scale of individual enterprises, regions and sectors.

Leningrad has acquired good experience in the more effective utilization of equipment: it has been successful in halting the trend of shift coefficient decline. Whereas in 1973 it was six percent below the union level in the city's machine-building industry, today the level is at 1.49, 10 percent higher than the union level. Within the same period intrashift equipment idling has been reduced by the same percentage. In 1973 productive capital in Leningrad's machine-building industry was used almost entirely on a single shift basis; in 1979 equipment use averaged 1.5 shifts daily or the equivalent of additional output worth almost 400 million rubles. A number of modern and expensive equipment sets have been converted to regular two-shift work. Shift coefficients average 2.78 for the utilization of one-of-a-kind forge-press machinery, 1.9 for mechanized assembly lines, 2.0 for automated lines, 1.77 for casting equipment, and so on. Each metal-processing machine tool in the city's machine-building industry is operated an average of 12.4 hours per day (compared with 10-11 hours for the entire USSR machine-building industry).

Raising the equipment shift coefficient is a complex problem whose solution presumes both an increased number of machine tool operators and better utilization of the machines.

Since it is virtually impossible to rely on the recruitment of additional manpower, labor reserves must be found within the enterprises themselves.

One of the realistic means of achieving this objective is to release workers engaged in manual labor. The high pace of saturation of the national economy with new equipment and the application of basically new technological processes are reducing the percentage of these production workers. However, their factual number remains the same while the overall number of workers is rising. The time is ripe for undertaking the systematic reduction of the absolute volume of manual labor used as well.

As we know, most underproductive and labor intensive types of work and operations are in auxiliary production. In this are the share of workers doing mechanized labor at Leningrad machine-building enterprises is considerably lower than in basic shops. Estimates have shown that if we release 10 percent of the workers engaged in auxiliary production and assign them to basic production work the shift coefficient could be raised by 15-20 percent. Experience indicates that such a task would be entirely realistic. The Leningrad enterprises and associations are continually detecting labor-intensive operations, which are being mechanized on a priority basis. The most expedient itineraries for the moving of parts and assemblies are being developed in accordance with ecological production requirements. Intershop conveyor belts and others are being installed. In the first 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, some 50,000 people have been transferred from auxiliary to basic production in the city's industrial enterprises.

Expanding multiple machine-tool servicing and combination of skills are major reserves for upgrading the shift coefficient. In many associations and plants every worker is servicing two or more machine tools performing different operations. Naturally, the introduction of multiple machine-tool servicing must be preceded by extensive preparatory work. First of all, the type of equipment characterized by a considerable share of machine time in the overall operational time must be located side by side. This enables the worker, with normal labor intensiveness, to operate several machine tools. The shift assignments call for the machining of the type of parts whose production does not require the permanent presence of an operator by the machine. Group forms of technological production preparations and organization have become quite widespread in Leningrad. They help to reduce the amount of time spent in organizing and transporting the goods and preparing the machine tools for work. The percentage of multiple machine operators is rising. Whereas in 1973, 1 in 11 workers serviced several machines, by 1980 their number had risen to 1 in 8.

The collectivistic principles inherent in socialism are imbuing social relations in all realms of life and work of the Soviet people ever more profoundly. The popularization of the brigade form of multiple machine servicing is one of the clear manifestations of this process.

We shall illustrate the advantages of this form of work with the example of the hydrogenerator shop of the head plant of the Elektrosila Association. The turners' brigade headed by P. V. Ivanov assumed the obligation to service four one-of-a-kind turning and boring mills in three shifts. Each shift consists of four or five people who perform both the basic and auxiliary operations needed for the uninterrupted running of the highly productive equipment and are in charge of minor repairs, cleaning up shavings, and so on. The brigade form of multiple machine-tool servicing has made it possible to combine skills, reduce intrashift idling by 12-15 percent and lower the number of workers from 24 to 16, while the shift coefficient rose from 1.8 to 2.9; collective and individual responsibility for the effective utilization of the equipment has been enhanced; the quality of the work and the state of labor discipline have been improved and the obligations have been met. Currently the brigade forms of labor organization account for approximately 50 percent of the overall number of workers employed at the city's enterprises.

The new equipment received by many machine-building enterprises in the country frequently serves the purpose of expanding the number of existing machine tools, while unnecessary and physically and morally obsolete machinery is not written off and is "held on to" just in case. This even further increases the disproportion between the numbers of work places and machine tool workers, hinders the organization of second shifts and lowers the effectiveness of the utilization of new machine tools.

A similar trend was noted between 1971 and 1975 in Leningrad's enterprises as well. Only 14 percent of the total capital investment for the purchasing of metal processing equipment was used for the replacement of obsolete machine tools, while the balance went to increasing their number. Within that period the number of machine tool workers increased by no more than 0.7 percent. Consequently, some of the labor tools were not provided with workers cadres and the amount spent on capital repairs was twice the amount spent on the replacement of obsolete equipment. This not only worsened economic activity indicators but substantially undermined the prestige of the machine tool worker's profession and increased cadre turnover (old equipment is 25-35 percent less effective than modern machinery).

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the city enterprises wrote off a far larger volume of obsolete equipment. This increased the load of the equipment with the same or, in most cases, an even smaller number of workers.

For example, at the Eskator imeni I. Ye. Kotlyakov Association, 130 units of obsolete equipment were removed. The machine tool operators who previously operated the worn out machine tools in one shift converted to two-shift servicing of modern equipment. Consequently, capital returns rose four percent, the shift coefficient rose from 0.94 to 1.5, and machine tool worker earnings rose 13 percent. Positive experience in the intensive renovation of productive capital and increasing the load time of highly effective equipment has been acquired by the machine tool building associations imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov, imeni Karl Marks, Elektrosila imeni S. M. Kirov, Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod and Znamya Oktyabrya, the Elektroapparat Scientific-Production Association and several others.



The removal of surplus equipment does not lower the production possibilities of enterprises but, conversely, increases them, and improves the results of their economic activities. Furthermore, the surplus equipment becomes an additional source for the satisfaction of the needs of other enterprises and construction projects for some types of labor tools, for saving on capital investments, and for lowering the need for new equipment. In the past 2 years, only one-third of the equipment discarded by Leningrad's industry went into scrap metal while the other two-thirds went to auxiliary subunits (repair workshops, garages) and to agriculture.

The use of computers is one of the progressive trends for insuring the operation of machines at full capacity. Computers are used by many Leningrad plants in formulating programs for efficient technological machining processes, establishing the optimum itineraries for the moving of parts among machine tools and shops, and determining the effectiveness of specific alternatives for the renovation of the machine tool fleet and the needs of shops and enterprises for material and manpower resources. The enterprises keep records on the work of the equipment, making daily note of the idling time of each equipment unit in basic shops and the reasons for its being idle. At the end of the working day, the overall results are summed up and suggestions are made for the elimination of various types of losses. Every month the best shift and leading production workers are named.

Some enterprises are keeping such records with the help of automated control systems. For example, a dispatcher system has been organized at the Optical-Machine Association imeni V. I. Lenin. It provides data on the time and reasons for the idling of 300 machine tools and assigns fitter-repairmen, electricians, material or tool storeroom personnel, and so on to the various work places. Over the past 5 years, effective control of equipment loading and the operative elimination of work hitches have made it possible to reduce machine idling 20 percent and increase capital returns 30 percent. Unfortunately, industry is producing very few such automatic control facilities. That is why thus far, only 0.6 percent of the entire volume of metal processing equipment in the city is equipped with such facilities.

The intensive use of labor tools is not only a technical-economic or organizational problem but a social one as well. Sociological surveys have indicated that approximately 80 percent of the engineers and technicians in Leningrad's enterprises consider two-shift work to be both expedient and necessary, in principle. However, as the material and cultural standards of the working people improve, as we know, evening leisure time is ever more highly valued and preference is given to a single shift, which offers greater opportunities for study, recreation, or raising children.

Furthermore, the plant administration does not work evenings. This hinders the operative solution of current problems. Not all auxiliary services operate on the second shift. Food catering and medical services are inferior. Other difficulties related to imperfections in the urban infrastructure (particularly in the larger cities) exist. Frequently, in an effort not to miss the last streetcar or bus, the workers end their shift prematurely. Many mothers cannot work evenings, for by then kindergartens, nurseries, and other such facilities have closed. All

this affects output and, consequently, wages. In order to operate the equipment at a higher capacity, such shortcomings must be eliminated and working conditions similar to those of the daytime shift must be created.

Leningrad's industry has acquired increasing experience in the implementation of social measures aimed at upgrading enterprise shift work.

The Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee systematically studies the activities of urban passenger transportation and of trade, public catering, and communal service enterprises and children's preschool institutions. As the number of people working the second shift rises, changes are made in the working hours of such facilities based on the time the second shift is completed. New streetcar, trolley bus, and bus lines have been introduced and existing ones have been extended, thus speeding up evening traffic. The system of preliminary orders for foodstuffs has been considerably developed at the enterprises. The number of prepared-food stores and service centers open at convenient times has been increased in associations, plants, and factories.

Extensive use is also made of material incentives for evening and night shift work. For example, at the Optical Machine Association imeni V. I. Lenin, second shift production workers are paid a 10 percent bonus, while third shift workers are paid a 15 percent wage differential. Night workers receive free food. In order to encourage two- and three-shift brigade equipment servicing, many Leningrad enterprises distribute overall earnings among brigade members according to the number of evening shifts worked. Engineers and technicians directly employed at the shops may have their wages raised by as much as 30 percent if they create conditions for the operation of the equipment at full capacity in two or three shifts.

It would be expedient to develop other incentives making it equally profitable for the workers to work on the basis of one-, two- or three-shift work (such as, for example, offering certain priorities in the allocation of bonuses and traveling cards, convenient periods for paid leave, and so on) and to draft a regulation covering such benefits. It may also be worthwhile to shorten the length of the second shift somewhat as compared with the first. Naturally, this would require a review of output and wage rate norms, for which the additional effect of the fuller utilization of labor tools would fully compensate. For example, raising the shift coefficient of equipment in Leningrad's machine building by only 10 percent would yield an additional volume of output worth almost 200 million rubles per year.

In our view, one should (particularly in the big cities) plan for new construction and allocate apartments on the basis of places of employment, introducing a system of automated (computerized) reference-information data on housing exchanges and providing such data to requesting enterprises. This will make it possible to reduce crosstown commuting to work, as well as "transportation fatigue" and cadre turnover.

As we know, public production effectiveness greatly depends on the skill of the individual, attitude toward the work and work quality. The socialist competition

which has developed in Leningrad's industry under the slogans of "Two-Shift Work Is a Five-Year Plan Reserve," "A Two-Shift Load for Modern Equipment," and "The Second Shift Is a Komsomol Shift" is helping to upgrade the creative activeness of the masses and to increase labor tool yields. The shift coefficient must be mandatorily taken into consideration in summing up competition results.

The influence of the collective itself is the strongest tool in the arsenal of educational means. In this connection the enterprises are determining the essence of progressive experience in the best utilization of labor tools, informing every machine tool operator and describing the results achieved. Radio and television broadcasts and articles in Leningrad's press deal ever more frequently with the topic of intensive use of the equipment and upgrading capital returns. In a word, all available propaganda and agitation means are being used to develop an active feeling of high responsibility for common projects in the working people and to teach them awareness of the political and economic aspects of upgrading labor tool returns.

In conclusion, let us discuss a few unresolved problems in the rational utilization of equipment of intersectorial, regional and national economic importance.

The elaboration of norms which reflect the use and return levels of a labor tool, considered normal at a given stage, is a prerequisite for improving equipment utilization planning. Unfortunately, no such norms exist today. For this reason neither planning organs nor enterprise managers have a sufficiently clear idea of the necessary duration of production work for specific types of equipment in the course of a day, month, year, or entire service life (in terms of norm-hours), the number of shifts required per average labor tool unit, or the changes in the levels of future shift coefficients needed. However, the lack of answers to such questions makes it very difficult to plan the use of productive capital and find the possibilities at the disposal of enterprises, sectors, or regions.

For example, thus far there are no uniform criteria and regulations for assessing the shift coefficient level. This limits the possibility of objectively comparing the level of equipment loads among different enterprises, administrative rayons and industrial sectors in one city or another, summing up the results of the socialist competition among labor collectives, and promoting material incentives for better equipment utilization.

As requested by the Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee Council for Economic and Social Development, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems formulated methods for substantiating the norms for effective work time and shift coefficients for city enterprises and rayons. Method approaches and the results of experimental calculations using computers were approved by the council's sections. The overall normative shift coefficient for the metal-processing equipment installed in Leningrad's machine-building enterprises was set at 1.72. This is the immediate objective on which the efforts of the working people must be focused in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

On the basis of the planned conditions for the operation of labor tools, which take into consideration the structure of the equipment, the nature of the production process (individual, series, mass), established intervals for capital repairs, and so on, this indicator varies from one enterprise to another. The

normative shift coefficient for metal-cutting machine tools set for the Kirovskiy Zavod Association is 2.06; it is 1.76 for the Plant for Lifting-Transportation Equipment imeni S. M. Kirov, 1.74 for the Eskalor Association imeni I. Ye. Kotlyakov, and so on. Differentiated norms for the administrative rayons in the city are based on such factors as well. They are 1.75 for Dzerzhinskiy Rayon, 1.70 for Krasnosel'skiy Rayon, 1.71 for Oktyabr'skiy Rayon, 1.96 for Kolpinskiy Rayon, 2.13 for Vyborgskiy Rayon, 1.86 for Sestroretskiy Rayon, and so on.

Such indicators make it easy to determine the extent to which the enterprises use their possibilities and define reserves which could be utilized. The shift coefficient norms also make it possible to determine the required level of output of installed capacities at associations, plants and factories and to avoid unjustified requests for additional capital investments. Naturally, their effective practical utilization requires improved accountability and study of the utilization of productive capital and the establishment of the required order in this area of economic activities.

Obviously, the method developed in Leningrad should be analyzed and, taking into consideration all aspects of the problem and the experience of other cities, it should lead to efficient recommendations of a methodical nature concerning the formulation of normative shift coefficients.

In order for the equipment to operate at higher capacity, we must make more efficient use of territorial and sectorial reserves and improve intersectorial relations. As we know, the individual machine or set of machines within any enterprise, even a large one, cannot operate at full capacity at all times. Frequently the number of some types of equipment available to associations and plants proves to be double or triple that needed to implement an assignment, while other types of equipment remain in short supply. This is explained not only by a variety of organizational defects, but by objective reasons as well: changes in the labor intensiveness of programs, accelerated installation of new labor tools, whose operation leads to disproportions in the use of the entire fleet of machines, and so on.

Computations indicate that with the formulation of a production program based not only on individual production capacities but on the sum total of metal-processing equipment installed in the different sectors within the city, Leningrad could increase its machine-building output by 4-5 percent through the cooperated use of equipment, raising the output capacity of the machine tools by 6-8 percent, and largely eliminating the problem of so-called "bottleneck" sectors.

Unfortunately, thus far such intersectorial and interdepartmental cooperation only occurs occasionally. In the best of cases, the enterprises operate on the basis of past experience or established relations. Obviously, an automatic control system for such cooperation should be set up on the regional scale: regularly updated information should be acquired on the utilization of equipment, the consistency between available equipment and the plans formulated, the idle time of specific labor tools (based on types and sizes), the value of a machine-hour, the distance between enterprises, the extent of wear and tear on the equipment, the skill grade of machine tool operators, and so on. Payments for work based on

cooperation should be profitable to the manufacturing plant (it should at least equal the average enterprise profit) and should provide for incentives for the people who organize the filling of orders.

The territorial planning organs should gradually be converted into something like "dispatchers" to coordinate the sectorial and territorial possibilities for the operation of labor tools at full capacity. Their rights should be broadened with regard to the creation of territorial equipment repair bases, the organization of output of intersectorial importance, and the redistribution of surplus equipment. Ministries frequently sell labor tools which could be effectively used in various sectors of the city's economy, in the service industry, and in other parts of the country. In our view, methods must be formulated to define what is surplus equipment, to organize enterprise accountability for surplus labor tools, and draft a procedure for the selling of used equipment at reduced prices.

The skilled utilization of all reserves for the fullest possible use of the equipment and the decisive elimination of psychological and departmental barriers would enable us to insure a considerable increase of output and quality improvements without increasing the number of workers or capital returns, while saving on capital outlays. In the final account, this will contribute to the successful implementation of the party's tasks and to upgrading the material and cultural living standards of the people.

5003

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## TOPICAL PROBLEMS IN THE CONSOLIDATION OF LAW AND ORDER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 46-57

[Article by N. Shchelokov, USSR minister of internal affairs]

[Text] The contemporary stage of the building of communism is characterized by the further development of socialist democracy, the enhancement of the political and labor activeness of the toiling masses and the increased role of communist education.

Insuring reliable law and order, high social discipline and respect for the honor and dignity of the Soviet person are some of the characteristic features of the developed socialist society. The need for the strict and undeviating obedience to Soviet laws is dictated by objective reasons. Expressing the will of the entire people, these laws serve the tasks in the building of communism and reliably protect the socialist system and the rights and interests of the citizens. The laws operate in the broad realm of management. They regulate economic and property and other legal relations. They also punish those who violate the established social law and order or the rights of the working people, steal public property or misuse their official positions. The Soviet laws actively contribute to the advancement of social relations, the development of creative initiative among the masses and education in a spirit of communist conscientiousness.

"A good, properly thought out system of laws and their strict observance," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "mean legality and law and order without which the socialist way of life and socialist democracy would be inconceivable." High state and public discipline, firm socialist law and order and respect for the laws and rules of socialist community life are of exceptional importance for the successful building of communism. Law and order and legality, which are based on the political, economic and social gains of developed socialism and on high idea-mindedness, morality and the level and purity of human relationships, are an essential qualitative aspect of our Soviet reality. In this area the party and the Soviet state have always formulated strict requirements concerning individuals and public institutions, working persons and labor collectives, citizens and state organs.

In January 1979 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered the practical implementation of the laws by law enforcement authorities and made it incumbent upon the USSR Prosecutor's Office and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to improve their activities in the struggle against delinquency. Problems in strengthening

law and order were reflected in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" and the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Further Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy."

The party's concern with the further strengthening socialist legality was manifested also in the CC CPSU decree "On Improving Work on the Preservation of Law and Order and Intensifying the Struggle Against Delinquency." The decree notes that our country is systematically pursuing a course of further strengthening social law and order and implementing important measures to improve legislation and the work of law enforcement organs, to develop the active participation of the public and to upgrade its role in the preservation of law and order. All this creates the necessary conditions for uprooting delinquency and eliminating the reasons for it. The document summarizes the extensive and varied experience acquired by the party, soviets, economic and public organizations and law enforcement organs in the struggle against violations of the law. It defines specific measures for the further improvement of prevention work, increasing the struggle against criminal and other antisocial actions, and insuring the strict observance of Soviet law by all citizens and officials. This is a long-term multipurpose action program for party, soviet and state organs, and the public. All social and governmental institutions are actively involved in strengthening law and order and public discipline. Under developed socialist conditions, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, this is a truly national and all-party project.

The scale and complexity of the constructive tasks faced by the party and the people are increasing with each congress and five-year plan. The farther we advance toward communism the greater the conscientiousness, organization, discipline and responsibility displayed by the makers of the new society, and the more each case of drunkenness, hooliganism, parasitism, greed, irresponsibility or waste becomes intolerable. A society of conscious builders of communism cannot tolerate an anarchic attitude toward public and state discipline or contempt for the rights and obligations of the individual.

The decree assigns particular responsibility for the status of efforts to strengthen law and order to the organs of the prosecutor's office, internal affairs, justice and the courts. Their very nature requires that they watch over legality, the interests of society and the state, and the rights of the Soviet citizens. That is why the decree pays particular attention to upgrading their level of activity, perfecting the methods and means of combating delinquency and improving interaction in the work of the law enforcement organs.

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In the course of their implementation of the party's decisions and the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the republic and local internal affairs organs, guided by the party committees and soviets of people's deputies and interacting with the other law enforcement organs and the public, are making persistent efforts to insure the further strengthening of law and order and socialist legality.

Of late major qualitative changes have taken place in the structure and the methods used in the activities of internal affair organs. Their material and

technical and scientific base has been strengthened. Modern methods for the study and planning of social prevention of delinquency have become a permanent part of their work. New services were created: prevention, execution of punishments not involving deprivation of freedom, internal affairs organs in transportation and management and, locally, inspectorates in charge of juvenile cases. The summarization and application of progressive experience has been organized on a scientific basis. Interaction with public organizations is being strengthened and the internal affairs organs are paying greater attention to prevention work. The struggle against hooliganism, drunkenness, idleness, theft of socialist property and speculation is being intensified.

The CC CPSU decree also draws attention to the fact that the problems in strengthening law and order are not being resolved effectively everywhere. Experience has shown that the means of governmental and public influence are still not utilized sufficiently in the struggle against delinquency. Occasionally such work lacks purposefulness, and a comprehensive approach and unity of action between law enforcement organs and the public are not always applied. Measures for the prevention and elimination of violations of law and order are not always made operative.

The CC CPSU has made it incumbent upon the law enforcement organs to wage an uncompromising and decisive struggle against criminality, to improve crime prevention and to develop and strengthen relations with labor collectives and the public.

One of the main tasks formulated by the CC CPSU calls for radical improvement in the preservation of public order in cities and other settlements. Violations of the law in public, drunkenness, hooliganism and other antisocial actions have been justifiably condemned by the citizens in a number of areas.

The militia patrol-post service plays an important role in improving the maintenance of public order. It has been considerably strengthened and its transport and technical facilities have been improved. All this has made it possible to increase the presence of patrols in settlements and main traffic arteries.

Violations of public order in the streets and other public places, hooliganism in particular, are being stopped more energetically. In recent years the number of street crimes has been declining. The ties between militia inspection sectors and the population are broadening.

The experience in the organization of the patrol-post service in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Ulyanovsk and some other cities is noteworthy. Here order is maintained on a comprehensive basis with the personnel and facilities of a number of militia services and members of the voluntary people's units, operating on the basis of a single plan. The deployment of forces and facilities has been linked with the requirements. More militiamen are assigned to some sections. At night patrol groups consisting of militiamen, voluntary unit personnel, and members of operative Komsomol detachments are used for the preservation of law and order. All this yields positive results in maintaining public order.

The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism remains an important task in strengthening law and order. About one-half of all violations of the law are



committed in a state of inebriation. Naturally, the struggle against drunkenness is being stepped up and ever greater use is being made of antialcohol legislation. However, the effectiveness of this struggle remains inadequate. This work can be made successful only by combining educational, legal and medical measures. We must continue to develop the drug intoxication service and to improve administrative and medical-social forms of struggle against alcoholism.

At present many enterprises are successfully operating in-patient and drug addiction centers for treatment of alcohol abuse. Many former patients are able to resume normal life and productive work. The health care organs and the trade unions are doing a great deal of work in this area. Extensive use is being made of the conclusion of standard contracts with economic organs for the creation of drug treatment sections.

The AUCCTU has recommended that ministries, departments and heads of enterprises broaden the network of such sections and offices. Practical experience has most clearly proved the great effectiveness of their work. Another very important fact is that every patient is subject to the daily control and educational influence of his collective.

We are concerned with the fact that in a number of areas such an antisocial phenomenon as black marketing has increased. Black marketing increases shortages of one type of consumer goods or another. Frequently it is the result of the basic carelessness and irresponsibility evidenced by some personnel in the economic, planning and supply organs. However, it also appears as the result of direct misuses on the part of some commercial workers who profit from shortages, and work together with other people who purchase considerable amounts of goods needed by the population with a view to reselling them at higher prices.

The real way to eliminate shortages is to improve the work of departments and enterprises engaged in the production and marketing of consumer goods and to improve the quality of such goods. At the same time, we must comprehensively increase the struggle against black marketing by involving the broadest possible population strata in it. Unfortunately, such speculation is sometimes tolerated and the black marketeers often openly resell goods without interference. That is precisely why the militia must combat this antisocial phenomenon aggressively.

Sponging, which is the antisocial manifestation of parasitism or living at someone else's expense, has a definite influence on the dynamics of crime. The internal affairs organs have energized their work on the prompt detection of individuals who avoid socially useful labor. Measures for their placement and retention in labor collectives are being pursued with the help of the commissions of the local soviets of people's deputies. The measures for exerting pressure stipulated by the law are used to influence those who stubbornly refuse to work.

The struggle against encroachments on social property plays a particular role in the activities of internal affairs organs. The party has always ascribed exceptional importance to the protection of people's property. "Every party member, every economic and party worker must be concerned with the people's good," Comrade

L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. It is precisely in the light of such strict party requirements that we evaluate the activities of internal affair organs in this direction.

At the present time the service for the struggle against theft of socialist property has been considerably strengthened centrally and locally. The social aktiv and specialists in various sectors are becoming ever more extensively involved in theft prevention work. The interaction among the militia, the people's control organs and the auditing apparatus is improving. Modern fire safety alarm systems are being installed more energetically. Furthermore, even petty theft, particularly at light and food industry enterprises and in construction work, sovkhoses and kolkhoses merit the constant attention of the public and the heads of enterprises and farms and guards. We have no right to ignore petty theft, for its expansion would cause the state and labor collectives substantial material and moral losses. Furthermore, as we know, impunity leads to recurring and sometimes more severe crimes.

The effectiveness of the struggle against petty theft is directly related to the extensive involvement of the public, the improvement of control, and the enhancement of the responsibility of individuals in charge of the protection of material values. In this respect work with the collectives and visual exhibits of losses caused by petty thefts play an important role. A great deal could be accomplished also by measures exerting pressure through comrade courts and discussion of the actions of the culprits by the collectives. If necessary, the stipulations of criminal law are used as well.

The Soviet militia has everything necessary to insure the strict and decisive application of the law, which is just and is understood by the working people, so that no one could ever count on impunity after maliciously encroaching on the social and personal values and interests protected by the laws or the stipulations of the rules of socialist community life.

It is precisely for this reason that, on the basis of the USSR Constitution and the laws, the law enforcement organs in our country enjoy the universal support of the working people and high governmental and social prestige; their rights and obligations are strictly regulated. In order to insure this, Soviet legislation uses the system of administrative liability, along with the penal and other legal institutions.

Recently the USSR Supreme Soviet Session approved the Foundations of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Administrative Violations of the Law. They define a system of means for the prevention of and struggle against administrative violations. Even though these are not classified as crimes, their harmfulness and danger to society are unquestionable.

The Foundations directly stipulate that in performing their function of preserving state and public order and the rights of citizens, the soviets of people's deputies must coordinate the work of all state and public organs in their territory to prevent such delinquencies and to determine and eliminate the reasons and conditions which contribute to their commission. This creates a solid base

for the further development and application of union and republic administrative legislation with a view to maintaining state and public order, protecting socialist property and the rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens, and maintaining established administrative procedures.

Success in the struggle waged by the law enforcement organs against various types of crimes largely depends on the level of party guidance. Experience indicates that wherever party control over the work of such organs is effective and tireless attention is paid to the preservation of law and order, better results are achieved in the prevention of delinquencies. Extensive work is being done in this respect by the party organizations of the Kirghiz SSR and by Volgogradskaya, Kaliningradskaya, Amurskaya, Sakhalinskaya and other oblasts.

The Kursk city party organization pays great attention to strengthening law and order and socialist legality. The city party committee has formulated a system of effective measures to improve the work of law enforcement organs and strengthen control over their activities. Here party, soviet, administrative and other state organs, labor collectives and public working people's groups fight delinquencies jointly. The struggle against antisocial actions has been assigned a major role in the implementation of the comprehensive plans for social development. This has strengthened public order in the city.

2

At the present stage, when the complexity and scale of economic and social problems being resolved by the country are increasing, cadre requirements are also rising sharply. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said that "A great deal depends on and a great deal is demanded of...." those who have been given the trust of the party and the people. "They must be talented organizers. They must be adamant and consistent and display efficiency and exactingness in their work."

Great political maturity and high standards and a statesmanlike view of one's work, inflexible ideological convictions, discipline, responsibility and professional skill are the major prerequisites for the development of such qualities. The party committees of republics, krays and oblasts are always concerned with the problems in the selection, placement and development of internal affairs organs. For example, work with the republic's MVD cadres has been discussed by the central committee bureaus of the Lithuanian and Turkmen SSRs and has been considered at rayon and city party committee plenums. Particular concern has been shown for strengthening the important management level of heads of city and rayon departments and their deputies. It is precisely this level, as we know, which largely determines the level of all activities of internal affairs organs.

The MVD cadres are trained in a spirit of boundless loyalty to the cause of the communist party, impeccable fulfillment of official duties, critical assessment of work results, and great political vigilance. Thanks to the strict attention focused on them by the party and the government, the internal affairs organs and the militia have achieved great qualitative changes. Today 82 percent of the militia privates and sergeants throughout the country and over 90 percent in a number of republics, krays and oblasts are secondary school graduates. They are

chosen on a strictly individual basis. Sixty percent of the new reinforcements come to the militia on the recommendation of collectives of working people or on assignment by party and Komsomol organs. The overwhelming majority of them are party or Komsomol members.

In services such as criminal investigations, BKhSS [Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] and GAI [State Automobile Inspection], the number of section inspectors with special training--most of them economic specialists or jurists with higher education--has increased. Over 80 percent of the investigators in internal affair organs are university graduates. The training of specialists with higher and secondary skills is conducted at the USSR MVD Academy, 16 VUZs and schools, and in courses within the internal affairs system.

Prime attention is being paid to the political and moral upbringing of the personnel. Whatever his work sector, every member of the internal affairs organs must be clearly aware of the great governmental and social importance of his work. He must evidence an attentive attitude toward the citizens, their suggestions and their critical remarks, as well as competence, objectivity, and high work standards.

As we know, the most important prerequisite for a successful struggle against delinquency is the systematic implementation of the principle of inevitable punishment. "...The preventive importance of punishment," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "is not at all based on its strictness but on its unavailability" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 4, p 412. In the case of the internal affairs organs, this means the prompt and full detection of all crimes and investigation of their perpetrators. This problem is resolved through the joint efforts of all services. However, the leading role here is played by criminal investigation and by the investigation subunits. The importance of the scientific and technical departments is becoming greater. These services have a number of skilled workers, true masters of their work, knowledgeable in areas of modern technology and in crime detection and investigation. In the future as well, improvement of their methods and means of work will be ranked among the main tasks.

We must admit, however, that cases of bureaucracy and red tape, superficial treatment of statements and reports by citizens and, in a number of cases, groundless refusals to instigate criminal proceedings are still encountered.

The ministries of internal affairs of the USSR and the union republics and the local internal affairs organs are continually studying public opinion on the work of the militia, taking into consideration the increased intolerance of various types of antisocial actions shown by the Soviet people. Many studies show that the actions of the militia are not actively aggressive everywhere. Any report on shortcomings or complaints should be thoroughly investigated and strict measures must be applied to the culprits. Bureaucracy, callousness, arrogance and indifference are incompatible with the vocation of the Soviet militiaman, who is the guardian of public order.

Any violation of socialist legality is intolerable. Such violations are being decisively eliminated by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the prosecution organs. Individuals who have abused their official status or misused their

positions are penalized in accordance with the law. Equally intolerable are all manifestations of insufficient attention to reports, an indifferent attitude toward the problems of the people, and formalism. All of these must be evaluated on a principled basis. A single criterion must prevail here: a person who has been placed by the party in the front ranks of the struggle against antisocial phenomena must himself be, above all, a model of the strictest observance of the law.

Every militia worker or member of the internal affairs organs must obey the firm rule of reacting actively to statements and reports on legal violations, resolving such matters in strict accordance with the law, and preventing, blocking and exposing crimes.

3

Crime prevention plays the most important role in the system of measures implemented by the communist party and the Soviet state to strengthen law and order and socialist legality. Under developed socialist conditions, the opportunities offered by educational-preventive factors in the struggle against the opposites of communist morality and in surmounting, and consequently totally eliminating, delinquency from social life have increased immeasurably.

The improvement of the entire system of such preventive measures is a permanent factor governing the effective struggle for law and order. Experience in the comprehensive planning of preventive measures acquired in a number of areas has become the basis for the methodical recommendations drafted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Prosecutor's Office and the USSR Ministry of Justice, together with the USSR Gosplan, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee, with the participation of a broad circle of scientists. The CPSU Central Committee deems it necessary for the comprehensive preventive work measures to be reflected in the work plans for communist education formulated by the party committees.

Councils for the prevention of delinquency at enterprises, voluntary public order maintenance centers, voluntary people's units, comrade courts, and the prevention service of the internal affairs organs are important links within the comprehensive prevention system. This system encompasses a broad public aktiv. It is important to direct its work skillfully and to rally the efforts of all state and economic organs, public organizations, labor collectives, ideological organizations, the family and the school.

The party committees are resolving this problem in accordance with the CC CPSU decree on improving the preservation of law and order. Problems in strengthening legality and law and order are discussed and reports are submitted by heads of internal affairs organs, enterprises, establishments and organizations on the maintenance of public order and the struggle with delinquency at the sessions of the soviets of people's deputies and meetings of their executive committees.

In this area labor collectives play a particularly great role. It is precisely here that the force of public opinion is most fully used, along with the entire arsenal of means for exerting ideological-political and moral influence on unstable individuals. There are over 135,000 councils for the prevention of

delinquency engaged in extensive work to prevent theft, drunkenness and labor discipline violations at plants, factories and enterprises throughout the country.

Daily individual work with specific people is of tremendous importance in the area of social prevention. In particular, work with "problem" adolescents, social control over the behavior of individuals who have come to a collective after serving a criminal sentence, is very rewarding.

Interesting practical experience has been acquired by the collective of Leningrad's Admiralty Association. It has a council for the prevention of delinquency guided by the party committee, which incorporates the efforts of the public in enterprises and shops. The council has several sections on accountability and for the study of the reasons for violations of public order, legal propaganda, work with adolescents, protection of socialist property and others. The measures taken by the council are of great preventive importance, for the members of the collective know that no single action will remain unnoticed or unpunished. The various activities of the party organization, the administration and the prevention council designed to strengthen labor discipline and law and order have brought tangible results. In 5 years absenteeism has declined 48 percent; petty hooliganism, 74 percent; and drunkenness, over 45 percent.

Extensive work on the patriotic, labor and moral-legal education of delinquents is carried out by the production collectives of Khar'kovskaya Oblast. Such individuals are helped at work and in organizing their affairs and in leading honest lives. Particularly valuable experience has been acquired by enterprises such as the Khar'kov Tractor Plant, the Plant for Transport Machine Building imeni Malyshev, the First State Bearings Plant, Uralelektrotyazhmash, and Serp i Molot. Here a sponsor is assigned to every person whose behavior has shown deviations or who has served a sentence. Individual educational work is being done with such people in the collectives and at their homes.

Preventive activities are being successfully carried out in some parts of the country in railroad transportation. For example, members of the voluntary people's units of enterprises and workers living in the suburbs have set up special prevention groups riding suburban trains on the L'vov Railroad. Together with the militia they maintain public order and implement a number of other measures to prevent legal violations in trains or railroad stations.

However, a great deal more remains to be done in order to strengthen public order along all main transport lines and to insure the reliable protection of economic freight and automotive and agricultural equipment. A number of cases in which negligence in the protection of freight results in substantial losses still occur. This calls for upgrading the responsibility of the managers of transport facilities and internal affairs organs in the transportation system.

Of late useful experience has been acquired in interaction between internal affairs organs and labor collectives and their prevention councils. Heads of internal affairs organs regularly address enterprise personnel. Section inspectors regularly report on their work to the residents of microrayons.

However, many shortcomings and unresolved problems remain in this area. Not all managers of public organizations or enterprises and establishments properly react to information provided by internal affairs organs on legal violations committed by one member of the collective or another. The status of labor discipline, education work and delinquencies is not always taken fully into consideration in summing up the results of the socialist competition.

Work on a broad front, unity and purposefulness of action at work and at home are important in the prevention of delinquency. The public centers for the maintenance of public order have become the centers of this work in the microrayons. Currently there are over 40,000 such centers in the country. They have rallied the purposeful efforts of deputy groups and deputies, the public, enterprises, the voluntary people's units, the comrade courts, the housing management offices and the militia. Such interrelationships must continue to be strengthened.

Method coordination centers are being set up by the executive committees of many soviets to take charge of improving the work methods of the voluntary centers for the maintenance of public order. The method office created on the initiative of the Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast party committee systematically instructs the activists of units and voluntary centers for the maintenance of public order. Unquestionably, this practice deserves our attention.

The voluntary centers deal mainly with the prevention of delinquency in domestic life. Domestic life is the most conservative aspect of social relations and resistant to educational influence. Of late some types of delinquency have appeared in this area. For example, over one-third of the cases of hooliganism and up to 70 percent of severe crimes against individuals are committed for domestic reasons. That is why we must energize the work of the public and the militia in the residential sector, in the microrayon. Unquestionably, any sort of interference in family life is a delicate matter which must be dealt with cautiously and carefully.

The preventive service of the internal affairs organs, the sectorial militia inspectors, and the inspectors in charge of juvenile affairs bear a particular responsibility, for their work must set an example of high legal, professional and moral standards and skillful interaction with the public. The main feature here is work with potential delinquents. The experience of the best sectorial militia inspectors shows that success is achieved through the skillful utilization of public opinion, when the inspectors themselves are skillfully engaged in preventive work, teach the activists the means and methods of preventive work, and offer proper training and instruction to the voluntary people's units.

The sectorial inspectors' activities are comprehensive and complex. We try to assign to such positions people with practical experience in party and Komsomol work training and with juridical and specialized education. In this respect we are greatly assisted by the party and soviet organs. For example, at the end of last year the Gorkiy city party committee and city soviet executive committee approved a joint decree stipulating measures to improve the working conditions of this category of workers and to strengthen their ties with public organizations.

Among the numerous problems in work in a microrayon, concern for adolescents and young people demands the greatest attention. The so-called bad families and "problem" adolescents must be considered priority targets for educational influence. Statistics show that one-third of minors which a militia file come from single-parent families. It is precisely they who need good and efficient tutors. However, as studies conducted in five oblasts in the RSFSR have indicated, 25 percent of such adolescents have no tutor.

Particular attention should be paid to juvenile delinquents who have received suspended or delayed sentences or have returned from special children's educational institutions. It is precisely such adolescents who are the prime targets in the work of sectorial inspectors and the personnel of inspectorates in charge of juvenile affairs. Voluntary educators who keep regularly in touch with their pupils, and who guide them tactfully and skillfully, have proved their worth in a number of areas.

This is a delicate matter requiring great finesse and educational skills. Formalism and inadequacy on the part of the educators rapidly lead to irreparable losses. That is why the personnel of the internal affairs organs help actively in the proper selection and training of public educators, keeping touch with them and, together with the labor collectives, encouraging the difficult educational work of the volunteers. The purposeful joint work done by the militia and the public workers yields positive results as a rule. Many former juvenile delinquents have entirely changed their behavior and found their vocation in socially useful labor.

The organization of useful recreation for children and the creation in each microrayon of optimum conditions for play, sports, and technical creativity is of great importance. Such work is being done efficiently and extensively in Leningrad: Komsomol members in VUZs and enterprises sponsor "problem" children; clubs for adolescents are organized at housing management offices; military-sports camps are established; adolescents are invited to join student construction detachments; artists perform in children's clubs; Komsomol and militia members conduct surprise investigations in the evening; and there are many others activities. It is entirely natural that the number of delinquencies among minors in Leningrad has been diminishing steadily.

Unfortunately, however, this approach is not applied everywhere. The necessary base for the organization of the leisure time of adolescents is lacking in the new residential microrayons of many cities. The effort is scattered among a number of organizations and the funds allocated for the purpose by the state are not fully used for such purposes. The general educational schools do not always provide methodical aid in work with the children in the microrayon.

Working adolescents and students at vocational-technical schools need tireless educational influence. An ever-growing number of secondary school graduates annually join the ranks of the working class. It is very important for yesterday's secondary school students to be taken over by concerned tutors such as brigade leaders, foremen or cadre workers.



Educational work in workers' hostels, particularly in new cities, remains a weak link in the system. In a city such as Ust'-Ilimsk, for example, a considerable percentage of the population lives in hostels. However, educational work here is often formal. Furthermore, pedagogical institutes and trade union and Komsomol courses do not train special hostel educators, and frequently unsuitable people are hired for such jobs.

The CC CPSU decree on improving the maintenance of law and order and intensifying the struggle against delinquency points out that legal propaganda among the working people is becoming more important today. Party, soviet and law enforcement organs, public organizations and economic managers are being held more responsible for the observance of legality and discipline.

The scale and complexity of the tasks set by the party for the further strengthening of law and order and socialist legality require not only practical solutions but the profound scientific-theoretical elaboration of various problems in the struggle against crime and for the maintenance of public order and social prevention of delinquency. A great deal has been accomplished in this respect of late. However, the scope and level of the study of many problems have lagged behind practical requirements. In particular, juridical science must undertake the comprehensive study of the reasons and conditions for delinquency, the individual types thereof, and the means of upgrading the effectiveness of preventive work. Scientists must energize the study of the psychological and pedagogical aspects of social control. In our view, particular attention should be paid to the determination of the reasons for and the formulation of suggestions for the elimination of socially negative phenomena which accompany crime, such as drunkenness, family conflict, parasitism, irresponsibility, waste, the private ownership mentality, petit bourgeois consumerism, and others.

Politics, economics, law and ideology are closely interwoven in the process of strengthening law and order in the socialist society. Consequently, the management of the struggle against delinquency and the approach to such activities should also be comprehensive, combining the efforts and interests of all ministries, departments, public organizations and labor collectives. This is precisely the way in which the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government set forth this important question.

The party considers the strengthening of state, public and labor discipline and socialist legality and law and order an important front in the struggle for communism. The successful solution of such problems largely determines the course of the further economic, sociopolitical and cultural development of our country and the full utilization of all the very rich opportunities offered by developed socialism. The personnel of the internal affairs organs are clearly aware of this fact as they fulfill their responsible duty to the homeland and the Soviet people.

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## LET US MAKE RUSSIA COMPLETELY ELECTRIFIED

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 58-66

[Article by Nikolay Petrovich Bogdanov]

[Text] This year will mark the 60th anniversary of the adoption by the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Lenin's plan for the electrification of the country--the first comprehensive economic plan in the world whose purpose was to lay the material and technical foundations of socialism on the basis of the latest equipment.

The following are recollections by Nikolay Petrovich Bogdanov, a party member since 1914, delegate to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, direct participant in the formulation and implementation of the GOELRO plan and, at the same time, chairman of the Central Committee of the Construction Workers Trade Union and member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

I heard Lenin's simple words-- "Let us make Russia completely electrified!"-- for the first time at the end of January 1920, when Gleb Maksimilianovich Krzhizhanovskiy read Vladimir Il'ich's letter to us at a meeting of the collegium of the Committee on State Equipment. The letter called for the formulation of a state plan for electrification which was to become the base for laying the material and technical foundations for socialism. We knew that Krzhizhanovskiy met with Lenin frequently. He described the way Il'ich was literally seized by the idea of using peat as an energy-generating fuel. Anyway, Gleb Maksimilianovich's radiant eyes shone with a particular happiness and he joyfully exclaimed: "This is the beginning of the greatest revolutionary technical advance of which the best minds of Russia have ever dreamed!"

The GOELRO commission, created soon afterwards on Lenin's instructions, and headed by Krzhizhanovskiy, undertook the elaboration of the first state plan in the history of mankind for the development of the national economy on the basis of electrification. Over 200 of the most prominent scientists and engineers worked intensively on the formulation of the plan. The overwhelming majority of them were doing voluntary work along with their regular work in various establishments. Lenin guided the entire formulation of the plan, steadily supporting the creative initiative of the people who were investing their profound and varied knowledge in this work.

Toward November 1920, work on the plan was completed. In his letter to the members of the RKP(b), Lenin suggested that the agenda of the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, planned for 22 December, include a report by Krzhizhanovskiy, the GOELRO chairman. Vladimir Il'ich wrote: "...We can fully succeed...in obtaining at the congress of soviets precisely what the party and the country need: an efficient report on 'Basic Tasks for the Restoration of the National Economy,' which will also be a broad and attractive work plan" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 42, p 8). The party's Central Committee adopted Lenin's suggestion.

The Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets went down in the history of the Soviet state as a most important event in the life of our people. The date 22 December 1920 is an unforgettable day in the chronicles of the building of socialism! On that day we, the congress delegates, heard Lenin submit the report of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Sovnarkom on domestic and foreign policy. Vladimir Il'ich dealt extensively with the plan for the electrification of Soviet Russia and described its tremendous social significance: "I think that we are witnessing a very important turn here, one which in any case confirms the beginning of the great successes of the Soviet system. Henceforth not only politicians and administrators but engineers and agronomers will address the all-Russian congresses. This is the beginning of a most happy age...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 156).

Those were hard times for our young republic. The blockade and intervention had created hunger and epidemics. Most factories and plants were idle. The lengthy war had undermined agriculture. Many workers and peasants had gone to the front to defend their Soviet system, weapons in hand. Together with hundreds of other delegates to the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, I was sitting in the semidark unheated hall of the Bol'shoy Theater. All of us were impatiently awaiting Vladimir Il'ich's speech. His appearance on the rostrum was greeted with a stormy ovation and shouts of "Long live Lenin!" Breathlessly and eagerly we listened to every one of our leader's words. I remember how Il'ich paced the stage excitedly. Holding high the book "Plan for the Electrification of the RSFSR," just published, as though in answer to the thoughts of the entire country, he said: "...Here is our second party program." With this Lenin emphasized not only the economic significance of the GOELRO plan but its sociopolitical and cultural-ideological import as well. The entire world then heard the historical words with which every Soviet child in school today is familiar: "Communism means Soviet power plus electrification of the entire country." The Eighth Congress met for 8 days. The more profoundly the delegates studied Lenin's GOELRO plan, the firmer their conviction that electrification was necessary and was the very foundation for the building of a new life became.

Throughout the event, Vladimir Il'ich circulated among the masses. People were attracted to him like a magnet. I remember how peasants from Tambovskaya and Kaluzhskaya guberniyas came to Lenin and asked: "Vladimir Il'ich! GOELRO is a strange word. How should we interpret it?" Smiling, Lenin answered: "Get together and build an electric power plant in your volost' or uyezd, and that will be GOELRO. We will most assuredly deal with this. We shall find the necessary

materials and we shall help the knowledgeable people. Electrification will change our entire way of life." As he addressed us, Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin urged: "Learn from Il'ich how to agitate."

Sometimes the people crowding the hall of the Bol'shoy Theater carried in their pockets a handful of oats or lentils instead of bread. One of them passed the following note to the presidium: "If any one of us is still living 50 years from now, let him describe this congress and the people who struggled, lived and painfully created in the great years of the Russian revolution to our grandchildren."

We listened to Vladimir Il'ich with great emotion. "We have a plan for electrification. Its implementation, however, will take years. This plan must be implemented at all costs, and the period of its implementation must be shortened" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 160). Was that not an appeal for the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the plan?

I remember how patiently and persistently Lenin taught us how to become active promoters of the GOELRO plan. Vladimir Il'ich said that the entire working class and the multimillion-strong peasant masses must understand and realize the creation of heavy industry and the country's electrification as their most profound objectives.

On the morning of 23 December 1920, G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy addressed the congress. As he developed Lenin's ideas, he described the GOELRO plan in detail. As though bewitched, the delegates watched lights appear on a map exhibited on the stage to indicate the locations of the future Soviet electric power plants. Listening to Gleb Maksimilianovich, the delegates were thinking of the wonderful transformation of the land in the near future. We forgot the cold. The main tasks facing the country's economy and the upsurge of its production forces were made clearly evident.

The Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets approved the GOELRO plan and expressed its confidence that "all Soviet institutions, departments, workers and toiling peasants will stretch all their forces and will stop at no sacrifice for the sake of the implementation of the plan for the electrification of Russia, at all costs and regardless of all obstacles."

"The Dreamer in the Kremlin" was the heading of Chapter 6 in Herbert Wells' book "Russia in Fog," in which he described his encounter with Lenin in October 1920. The two men--the leader of the victorious proletariat and the famous English science fiction writer who was visiting our country--were sitting in a Kremlin office discussing the situation of Russia and its future. Even though they spoke the same language (in English), they saw reality through different eyes. That is why Wells was unable to understand Lenin. In his book, which was published in 1921, he wrote that "...Lenin, who as a true Marxist rejects all 'utopias,' in the final account has himself succumbed to a utopia--the utopia of electrification. He is doing everything possible to build huge electric power plants in Russia.... Can one imagine a more daring plan for this vast, flat and forest-covered country inhabited by illiterate peasants..., lacking technically knowledgeable people and with almost no trade and industry?... Whatever magic mirror I look into I cannot

see this reflection of the future. However, this short man in the Kremlin has quite a gift.... I argued with him...." After listening to Wells, Lenin answered calmly: "Come back in 10 years and see what has been accomplished in Russia meanwhile."

In 1934, 14 years later, Wells revisited the land of the soviets and realized that he had been wrong. Lenin's plan had been overfulfilled!

Soon after the talk with Wells, Vladimir Il'ich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna were invited by the peasants to visit Kashino Village, Yaropol'skaya Volost', Volokolamskiy Uyezd, in Moscow Guberniya, where an electric power plant was being commissioned. "A meeting was held in the street," Lenin recalled. "One of the peasants stood and delivered a speech welcoming this new event in the life of the peasants. He said that they, the peasants, had been in the dark, but that now a light had appeared, 'a non-natural light which will illuminate our peasant darkness'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, pp 159-160).

Lenin knew how to look into the future with perspicacity and how to guide the will of the party and the creative activity of millions of people toward truly daring accomplishments. His confidence in the course of his talk with Wells was also based on the fact that the plan for electrification was already beginning to be implemented on a scale which was vast for that period.

In November-December 1917, Vladimir Il'ich talked in with the old Bolshevik I. I. Radchenko and Engineer A. V. Vinter in Smol'nyy about the construction of the first electric power plant to utilize peat from the Shaturskiye peat swamps in the Moscow area. It became apparent that the country lacked the necessary boilers. In order not to delay the commissioning of the stations, Vladimir Il'ich instructed that boilers for a navy ship be used. They were installed in Shaturka. This experimental rayon electric power plant, developing a power of 5,000 kilowatts, was completed within an incredibly short time--in 1 year. It was inaugurated on 25 July 1920.

As instructed by Lenin, when congratulating the construction workers at the ceremonious public meeting, Kalinin read the address of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee: "Aware of the many difficulties facing the construction workers in the implementation of their assignments, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers all workers who participated in the building of the Shaturskaya Electric Power Plant worthy of having their names entered on the "Red Board" as examples to be emulated by all working people in the republic." In his speech, Kalinin said that it was here, in the swamps around Moscow, that the hands of the workers and peasants had laid the cornerstone for the foundations of communism.

One cannot recall Lenin's Volkhovstroy without emotion. The enemy stood at the walls of Petrograd. Lenin and his fellow workers were engaged in defending the city--the cradle of the revolution. In those alarming days, Vladimir Il'ich instructed P. G. Smidovich, who was the head of the electrical engineering department of the All-Russian Sovnarkhoz to go to Petersburg to find G. O. Graftio, who had previously worked on the study and elaboration of a plan for the use of the rapids of the Volkhov River for the building of a hydroelectric power plant which would develop 80,000 horsepower.

Despite all Graftio's efforts, the tsarist government ignored the Russian engineer's plan, in order to please the foreign capitalists, in particular the German Electric Power Company, which had controlled the entire electric power supply of Petrograd since 1886 and earned tremendous profits from the project. Smidovich informed Graftio of Lenin's request that he urgently submit to Smol'nyy a cost estimate and blueprints for the Volkhovstroy project. As the secretary of the Petrograd trade union of construction workers, I had the opportunity to meet with Graftio at that time. He came to the construction workers trade union to resolve the problem of manpower for the construction site and study the wage rates. He was an elderly man of average size, dressed simply and neatly. He raised his engineering cap, bowed politely, and said:

"Citizen Lenin has instructed me to deal with the Volkhov power system. To whom shall I address myself about the necessary workers?"

At my request Graftio described the forthcoming project. In conclusion, he said: "For more than 10 years I have been dealing with problems related to the building of the the Volkhov station. It is only now that Citizen Lenin, our leader, has suggested, through Citizen Smidovich, that we undertake this construction. Lenin is an amazing person. I would describe him as a man of decisive practical action."

On Lenin's initiative, on 26 January 1918 the All-Russian Sovnarkhoz presidium heard the report submitted by P. G. Smidovich on the development of the electric power industry and the building of the Volkhov Hydroelectric Power Plant as a key center for the generation of electric power for plants and factories.

The offensive of the German troops in the direction of Petrograd and the moving of the Soviet government to Moscow might have delayed the construction of Volkhozstroy. However, one week after his arrival in Moscow, Vladimir Il'ich attended a conference on Volkhovstroy. During the meeting Lenin made notes such as: "Volkhoz must be built.... The plans must be printed...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 33, p 542).

On 13 July, Lenin signed a Sovnarkom decree allocating to Volkhozstroy 17.1 million rubles for the procurement of equipment and materials, the construction of housing and the purchasing of machine equipment.

The building of the largest electric power plant in Europe on the Volkhov River--the champion project of the Soviet hydroelectric power industry--was undertaken.

The construction workers had to surmount incredible difficulties. They were helped in all cases by Vladimir Il'ich. The opponents of Volkhozstroy and the skeptics created all sorts of obstacles and did everything possible to stop construction on the Volkhov. However, the collective developed, the party organization strengthened and, although slowly, the construction work progressed. On a number of occasions the construction workers appealed to Lenin. At critical times, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee repeatedly discussed Volkhovstroy problems on Vladimir Il'ich's initiative. At Lenin's suggestion, a commission headed by Kalinin was set up to control and assist in the construction project. I was a member of this commission. At Sovnarkom meetings Lenin listened

with great interest to reports on the course of the work, and he always invited Graftio to take a seat next to him. Frequently, on hearing of successes, Il'ich exclaimed: "Comrades, comrades, listen! Despite incredible difficulties the construction workers are advancing. They must be helped!" This always inspired the collective.

Bureaucrats tried to hinder and disorganize the construction. In 1921, the financing and even workers' wages were halted, and the construction project faced a critical situation. On 26 August 1921, Graftio turned to Lenin for help and Vladimir Il'ich virtually saved Volkhovstroy by succeeding in getting it placed on the list of extraordinary construction projects immediately. Lenin demanded that those guilty of red tape delays be prosecuted.

The party organization and the trade unions did everything possible to correct the situation. When funds, food and the necessary construction materials were released on Lenin's instructions, the collective displayed unparalleled heroism. Ignoring time, they worked incessantly, and by the end of the year had fulfilled their plan 98 percent. This made the completion of preparatory operations possible and in 1922 construction of the hydroelectric power plant dam was undertaken.

Lenin had faith in the creative strength and enthusiasm of the Volkhovstroy workers. They justified his faith. The construction collective, inspired by party and Komsomol members, successfully resolved complex technical problems. Informed of Lenin's instructions, the Petrograd proletariat went to the aid of Volkhovstroy: they set up a construction fund and helped to equip good machine workshops, assigning them machine tools and skilled workers. The sluggish Petrograd industry was revived by the large Volkhovstroy orders for the production of metal structures, casings, gates, nails, and lumber. The Putilov, Izhorsk and Nevskiy plant metallurgical workers and the workers of the brick manufacturing trust did everything possible to supply Volkhovstroy with all that was needed.

The resurgence of the legendary Elektrosila Plant began with Volkhovstroy orders. A marble memorial plaque adorns the wall of the machine hall of the Volkhov Hydroelectric Power Plant. It reads: "For the electrification of the USSR, planned by Comrade Lenin, the Leningrad Elektrosila plants have produced the first four main generators of 8,750 kilovolt amperes each, two auxiliary generators of 1,250 kilovolt amperes each, and 8 motor generators of 1 kilovolt amperes each, with Russian materials and Russian manpower."

Specialists from the world famous ASEA firm in Sweden were amazed by the fact that our domestically made generators proved in tests to be the most efficient.

The labor heroism of the Volkhovstroy workers increased. This enabled them to pour over 100,000 cubic meters of concrete and reinforced concrete in the foundations of the dam and the hydraulic power plant in 1924. No such thing had ever been accomplished in tsarist Russia.

Already severely ill, Vladimir Il'ich continued to think of the Volkhov construction workers. In periods of relaxation he looked at newsreels on the work at

Volkhovstroy which revealed the heroic exploits of the construction workers in a few words and frames. In that period, working on "Better Less But Better," Lenin used the tremendous power of his writings for his favorite brainchild--Volkhovstroy. He bequeathed the following to the party and the people: "...At tremendous cost and with tremendous economy our state will see to it that even the smallest saving is used for the development of our large-scale machine industry, the development of electrification and hydraulic power generated through the use of peat, and the completion of Volkhovstroy.... This is our only hope" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 405).

Vladimir Il'ich's dream was implemented through the heroic toil of construction and power workers. The Volkhov GES imeni Lenin was commissioned on 12 December 1926.

I remember how persistently Vladimir Il'ich challenged scientists with the task of developing the Moscow coal basin and using its deposits as fuel, for electric power plants above all. In addition to Staturka, which used peat as fuel, he warmly supported the plan for the development of a powerful thermoelectric power plant in Kashira. The Russian bourgeoisie was not interested in the Moscow coal basin since it believed that this coal, because of its high ash and water content, was not truly effective fuel. In the course of the formulation of the GOELRO plan, a group of scientists and specialists including the young engineer V. S. Kulebakin, the future academician, made a thorough study of the problem, carried out scientific studies, and concluded that the use of Moscow coal by electric power plants was expedient and suitable.

A site for the building of a rayon electric power plant was chosen on the bank of the Oka, not far from Kashira, an ancient Russian town. The young engineer G. D. Tsyurup, recently demobilized from the armed forces, was appointed construction chief. Vladimir Il'ich met with him and subsequently showed great concern with the development of the construction project. Many of the documents related to the needs of the project bear Lenin's signature.

Vladimir Il'ich paid attention to the urgent needs of the construction workers. For example, on his personal orders, a physician was sent to the construction project and medical care was organized. Twenty cows were allocated to the auxiliary farm. Their milk was used to feed children and convalescents. A rest home for the construction workers--the first in those years--was organized on a former estate. One hundred large tarpaulin tents were allocated for the better housing of the workers.

Occasionally our plants were unable to produce the equipment needed by the stations. Such equipment had to be purchased from foreign companies against payment made in gold. Frequently equipment deliveries were delayed and, once again, Vladimir Il'ich personally straightened out the situation.

In May 1922, Lenin's "Kashirka" delivered its first electric power via the high-tension cable to Moscow. The solemn inauguration of the electric power plant was postponed until 4 June: Vladimir Il'ich was expected to attend. His illness, however, prevented him from being present. Lenin was elected honorary chairman of



the ceremony. The meeting took place in the park, next to the station building. The rostrum was decorated with wild flowers and the slogan inscribed on red calico read: "Electrification--Strengthening of the Soviet System--Road to Communism." Another slogan read: "Through Adamant Toil With Hammer, Plow and Shovel We Shall Build Our National Economy." This reflected the hard work of the victorious construction workers.

The initial capacity of the station did not exceed 12,000 kilowatts. Today the capacity of Lenin's first-born brainchild in the Moscow area has reached 2 million kilowatts. It is one of the huge GRES. How very perspicacious Lenin was in supporting the building of electric power plants in the Moscow area!

On June 1 of the hard and crop-poor year 1921, Lenin signed a Labor and Defense Council decree on the plan for state electric power construction for the year. It called for continuing work at the Volkhovstroy, Shatura, Kashira, Utkina Zavod and Kizelovskaya power plants and the electric power units of the former Sudakov Plant near Tula. The construction of the Nizhegorozskaya and Shterovskaya power plants was to be undertaken. The building of the legendary Dneprostroy was undertaken while Vladimir Il'ich was still living. On 10 August 1921, the Labor and Defense Council, chaired by Lenin, passed a decree on the expropriation of land to be flooded for the building of the Dneprovskaya Hydroelectric Power Plant.

The formulation of the technical plan was assigned to Prof I. G. Aleksandrov, who undertook the work with tremendous enthusiasm. After studying the flow of the Dnepr he covered the entire vast Zaporozh'ye area on foot. The blueprint drafted by Aleksandrov was completed in 1926.

I shall never forget the meeting of the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo held at the beginning of 1927, which I had the opportunity to attend. The question of the building of Dneproges was on the agenda. A decision had to be made: to build it with our own resources or to award the project to an American company. Comrades K. Ye. Voroshilov, M. I. Kalinin, V. V. Kuybyshev, G. K. Ordzhonikidze and others zealously supported the idea of building the project ourselves. A. V. Vinter assured the leaders of the party and the government that our specialists could cope with the assignment. The decision to build it ourselves was passed. The American Hugh Cooper Company was to be hired as a consultant.

In those days the call was heard throughout the country: "Make way for Dneprostroy!" The newspapers came out with such banner headlines as "Dneprostroy in the Five-Year Plan," and "Dneprostroy for the Country."

I remember my first trip to the future construction site. The distance from Zaporozh'ye to Kichkas is no more than seven kilometers. Today this is a short distance but at that time.... There was only the yellow-brown steppe and the fast-flowing Dnepr. On the river bank there were some 15 people wearing padded jackets and carrying saws, shovels, and axes. These were the first construction workers, who had come from Chumaki, the native village of V. Ya. Chubar', chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Sovnarkom, in answer to his appeal. When spring came the construction workers had become an army a thousand strong, including people from Volkhovstroy, Kashira, and Shatura and workers from Khar'kov and Donbas. Kichkas

Village had become a huge camp. From the very first days the construction of homes, hostels and clubs was undertaken. The experienced power builders, well-trained at Volkhovstroy, Shatura and Kashira, became the nucleus of the Dneprostroy workers' collective.

Most of our labor force was seasonal--half workers and half peasants. We were to make an army of Soviet hydraulic power construction workers out of them. It was here that the people acquired professional training and gained sociopolitical maturity. A number of courses, construction training schools, technical schools for workers, and a secondary technical school were opened. A higher technical educational institution was set up for on-the-job training with daytime and evening departments. The people learned and worked, carried forward by their ideas and full of enthusiasm and energy. Dneprostroy became the school for skilled cadres who later became talented production leaders at other construction projects in the country. Consider the career of F. G. Loginov, one of the Dneproges construction workers: in 1927 he graduated from a construction training course in Dneprostroy and several months later was promoted to foreman. He entered an institute and graduated as an engineer. During the war he headed the rebuilding of the hydroelectric power plants destroyed by the fascists and subsequently became minister of power plant construction.

Dneproges was built under difficult conditions. We learned how to build here directly on the banks of the Dnepr. At first it took the inexperienced crane operators 40 minutes to deliver a bucket of concrete. Soon afterwards they had learned to do this in less than two minutes.... This refuted the claims of the Americans that we were unable to handle machinery. This was Dneprostroy pace! It increased day after day. In 1930, for example, the plan called for pouring 427,000 cubic meters of concrete at the dam. American specialists considered this ambitious, for the world record at that time, set by the Americans, was only 386,000.

A freezing wind made movement sluggish, covering faces with snow and putting out the fires on the dam. Meanwhile, the pace of the concrete pouring steadily increased, finally pouring the total number of cubic meters of concrete based on the program of the counterplan of the construction workers, which was 500,000 cubic meters, on 4 December!

A. M. Gor'kiy visited Dneprostroy in the spring of 1928. He was amazed, excited and touched. Aleksey Maksimovich recalled a scene he observed in revolutionary Petrograd in the summer of 1917 following a street meeting with a warm feeling of humor. A soldier, turning to a person attending the meeting (apparently a bourgeois):

"As to you, mister with a hat, I will tell you frankly: we will take over the land mandatorily! And we shall redo everything on it..."

"Will you take down the mountains?"

"Why not? We will if they stand in our way."

"Will rivers start flowing?"

"They will where we tell them to. What is so funny, mister?"

Gazing in triumph at the construction site, the writer thoughtfully concluded:

"Yes, he told the truth."

It was such people who completed the building of the giant on the Dnepr in 5 years rather than 7 as planned by the American consultants.

It was 10 October 1932. The wind fluttered the red calico flags and banners. Standing on the rostrum, together with the construction project managers, were Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, Henri Barbusse, Stanislav Vikent'yevich Kosior, Vlas Yakovlevich Chubar', Grigoriy Ivanovich Petrovskiy and others. Crowding around the rostrum were tens of thousands of Dneproges workers.

I remember word for word the open letter from the Dneprostroy workers, which I also signed: "Years will pass and our great Soviet country will build even bigger stations on the Volga and later on, the Angara. However, the working people will always remember the great and beautiful poem of the building of the hydropower plant on the Dnepr, the largest in the world to date."

The legendary power plant was given the name of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Dneproges, generating 650,000 kilowatts, began to work for communism.

During the Great Patriotic War, the fascists wrecked the Dnepr GES with particular frenzy as they retreated. After the war, the Soviet people, headed by the Leninist party, rebuilt Dneproges within a particularly short time: its first turbine was put back in service on 2 March 1947. To us the patriarch of the Soviet power industry--the Dnepr Hydroelectric Power Plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich Lenin--has become a symbol of the industrial might of the land of the soviets. The Soviet hydraulic power workers have now erected the second building of the hydraulic power plant on the left bank, and Dneproges has doubled its capacity to total 1.3 million kilowatts. That is how Lenin's great dream came to life.

Never before in the history of the world's power industry has there been such a headlong and tempestuous development as in our socialist state. During the civil war and the foreign intervention, with the resulting dislocation and poverty--the legacy of tsarism--the land of the soviets initiated an unparalleled spurt. By 1935--the deadline for the implementation of the GOELRO plan--the Soviet Union had outstripped industrially developed capitalist countries such as France and Italy in the production of electric power, and had become the third ranking nation in Europe and the sixth in the world.

Today the electric power plants in the USSR generate 255 million kilowatts. Our country ranks first in Europe and second in the world in the production of electric power.

In the summer of 1954 the Soviet Union was the first nation in the world to build a nuclear electric power plant--one in Obinsk generating 5,000 kilowatts. Let us

recall that this was the power of Lenin's "Shaturka" in 1920. Today nuclear power plants are making a substantial contribution to the country's supply of electric power. "We will continue to develop our nuclear power industry," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum. "Our attention to promising types of energy such as thermonuclear power must not flag." The unified power system of the Soviet Union is among the greatest achievements in the socialist planning and utilization of electric power. Today 749 electric power plants are working on a parallel basis, generating a total of 212 million kilowatts. For the first time in the world there is a power system--Mir--interlinked with the power system of the European CEMA-member countries. Lenin's prediction that our communist economic construction, which began with the historical GOELRO plan, would become a model for the future socialist countries of Europe and Asia has come true.

The successful implementation of the GOELRO plan and the further development of the Soviet power industry comprise a worthy monument to Lenin and to his brilliant concept of the electrification of the entire country.

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## MAJOR SOCIAL GAIN OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 67-77

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences K. Suvotov; article written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the elimination of unemployment in the USSR]

[Text] Half a century has gone by since the last labor exchange, unnecessary henceforth, was closed down in the Soviet Union. The path of the Soviet people toward an independent working life does not begin where hundreds or thousands of the unemployed huddle in painful hope for a demand for their work but with the acquisition of one skill or another in a vocational-technical school, higher technical school, institute or course taught by experienced master instructors.

Such was not the case when our country was taking its first steps from capitalism to socialism. A. S. Yakovlev, the famous Soviet aircraft designer and twice Hero of Socialist Labor, recalls how in 1923 he was looking for a job at a plant or airplane workshop in Moscow. This, however, proved impossible, for there were no jobs. "Then," said A. S. Yakovlev, "I went to Rakhmanovskiy Lane. The labor exchange was located in the building which now houses the Ministry of Health. I registered as unemployed and requested to be assigned to a plant.... As assigned by the labor exchange, I frequently was asked to unload timber, bricks or potatoes from freight cars along with other youngsters." It was not until the spring of 1924 that he was able to enter the training workshops of the Air Fleet Academy.

The unemployment inherited from the old system was a major socioeconomic problem in the transition from capitalism to socialism in the land of the soviets. The struggle for its total elimination required considerable effort on the part of the communist party, the Soviet state and all working people. As a result of radical socioeconomic and cultural changes and special measures adopted in the USSR, this terrible phenomenon was brought to an end for the first time in world history and within a short time (from October 1917 to 1930). A problem which the developed capitalist countries are unable even to formulate on a real basis was resolved.

The experience of the land of the soviets convincingly proved that unlike capitalism, the new social system--socialism--brings the working people true freedom, material and cultural well-being and scope for creativity and construction. It insures full employment. A guaranteed right to work is one of the important features of the socialist way of life. It has become customary and has been expanded in the new USSR Constitution.

Unemployment, as K. Marx and F. Engels were the first to prove scientifically, is a creation of the capitalist production method. It is its permanent satellite and one of the mandatory conditions for its functioning. "The greater the social wealth and operating capital become and the greater the increase in the volume and energy of its growth, and consequently, the absolute size of the proletariat and the productive force of its soil, the larger the industrial reserve army grows. However, the larger this reserve army is, as compared with the active labor army, the greater the migration of the population, whose poverty is directly proportional to the labor pains of the active workers army, becomes. Finally, the more the poor strata of the working class and the industrial reserve army expand, the greater official poverty becomes. This is an absolute, a universal law of capitalist accumulation" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 659).

In prerevolutionary Russia as in other capitalist countries there was no full workers employment. Unemployment had taken on substantial dimensions. In 1913 there were about 500,000 unemployed in the large cities--Moscow, Petersburg, Kiev, Khar'kov, Tula and others.

Millions of poor peasants belonged to the reserve army of the unemployed as well. "They," as V. I. Lenin wrote, "cannot exist on the proceeds of their pitiful farms and must earn a living essentially by hiring themselves out" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 19, p 332). At the turn of the century the rural areas of 50 guberniyas of European Russia had a considerable manpower surplus totaling 23 million people. There were masses of people with no means of subsistence whatever. However, no single governmental institution was concerned with helping them. The so-called socialist parties, such as the Mensheviks, S. R. and others, did not touch the foundations of the capitalist production method in their economic and political programs and practical activities, and they were helpless when it came to suggesting effective means for exercising the right to work.

The only political organization in Russia whose purpose was to eliminate the capitalist system and with it social disasters such as unemployment was the Bolshevik Party. It relied on the Marxist analysis of the nature of capitalism and scientifically proved that the reason for unemployment and for the catastrophic situation of the working people under capitalism was not the increased size of the population, as the defenders of the bourgeoisie had always claimed, but capitalism itself. The Bolshevik Party tirelessly explained that the problem of unemployment could be considered in isolation from the general struggle of the proletariat against capitalism and that only the joint revolutionary efforts of the entire working class--employed and unemployed--could lead to the establishment of a social system which would guarantee the right to work. Mutual aid institutions, economic strikes and various kinds of unemployment assistance could be no more than auxiliary means in the struggle. They could not change the conditions of the capitalist system which sentenced the toiling masses to the most severe privation and unemployment. "In order to change these conditions," Lenin wrote in 1901, "we must wage a revolutionary struggle against the entire contemporary social and political system..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 5, p 16).

The Bolshevik Party based the possibility of eliminating unemployment solely on the elimination of the capitalist system, the waging of a socialist revolution and

the victory of socialism. This orientation was scientifically substantiated in a number of documents, particularly in the materials of the Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference and the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress in 1917.

Thanks to the victory of the socialist revolution, the oppressed and exploited working class in Russia became the ruling class. Led by the communist party and together with its allies--the toiling peasantry--it immediately undertook the building of a new society free from the exploitation of man by man, poverty and unemployment. In the very first days following the victory of the Great October Revolution, the Soviet system introduced the eight-hour work day. It declared Sundays and holidays to be days of rest, introduced paid vacations and implemented other important measures.

Under the conditions of grave class struggle, it was impossible to eliminate the heavy legacy of capitalist Russia and the consequences of imperialist war--the breakdown of industry, transport and other economic sectors--rapidly. However, the party was fully resolved to change the situation radically.

The establishment and consolidation of the Soviet system, the nationalization of industry, banks, and railroad, maritime and river transport, the introduction of workers' control of industry, the nationalization of the land which was given to the peasants, and the implementation of some agrarian changes (the creation of sovkhozes, agricultural communes and many kolkhozes) and other economic measures substantially reduced unemployment in the first post-October Revolution year.

The subsequent assumption of command positions by the state of the workers and peasants, the dominant position achieved by the socialist economic sector and its planned development led not only to an increase in the number of jobs but also to something particularly essential, the intensification of the process of unification between producers of material goods and productive capital. The development and strengthening of public property led to the establishment of essentially new, socialist production relations. The equality of all working people in terms of productive capital and, consequently, equal access to jobs, was established.

Noting radical changes in labor conditions under the Soviet system, Lenin wrote as early as December 1917 that "Each factory where the capitalist has been expelled or even merely restrained by proper workers' control, and each village where the landowner-exploiter has been smoked out and his land confiscated, is now and only now a field in which the working person can prove himself, stand somewhat straighter, and feel like a man. For the first time after centuries of working for others, after forced labor for the exploiters, one has an opportunity to work for oneself, doing work based on all the latest accomplishments in technology and culture" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 196).

At the beginning of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the state of the workers and peasants lacked the necessary material prerequisites for the total elimination of unemployment. However, within the general set of priority tasks, it immediately formulated and implemented a number of important measures aimed at reducing unemployment in the country. A People's Commissariat of Labor was set up by decision of the Second Congress of Soviets. On 27 November (10 December) 1917,

Lenin included the word "unemployment" in the list of basic problems on which he intended to issue practical instructions ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 123). A number of Soviet government decrees formulated the initial measures in the struggle against unemployment. In December 1917 the "Regulation of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Sovnarkom on Unemployment Insurance," signed by Vladimir Il'ich, was enacted. It made it incumbent upon all employers to pay a certain amount of money for unemployment aid. This regulation covered all individuals, regardless of sex or age, employed by state or private enterprises or, offices or private individuals. Thus, for the first time in the world, social insurance was introduced in the struggle against unemployment, based not on withholdings from workers but from employers and the state. The most extensive participation of workers' organizations--trade unions, factory-plant committees, and other--in resolving problems of hiring and firing was legitimized.

The files on the unemployed were kept by the reorganized or the newly opened labor exchanges. The unemployed were given aid in cash and kind and clothing. Labor colonies, cafeterias and hostels were set up for unemployed adolescents. All of this eased the burden of unemployment.

The internal counterrevolution and world imperialism threw the young land of the soviets into a civil war and created a most difficult economic situation. Displacement and hunger forced thousands of workers to go to the countryside. Under these circumstances as well, however, the party and the proletariat state did everything possible to help both the employed and the unemployed. The working person was the focal point of attention. "In a wrecked country," Lenin said in May 1919, "the first task is to save the working person. The worker, the working person, is the leading production force for all mankind. If you survive we shall rescue and restore everything.... We must rescue the worker even if he cannot work. If we rescue him over the next few years we shall rescue the country, society and socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 359).

In formulating a program for future activities in 1919, the Eighth Congress of the RKP(b) called for the maximum utilization of the entire country's manpower and for returning everyone who had lost his job to work.

The number of unemployed persons remained considerable after the end of the civil war. The tremendous destruction of production forces was the main reason. Restoration required time. In January 1924 the country had 1,240,000 unemployed. In January 1925 the RSFSR accounted for about 75 percent of all the unemployed; the Ukraine for 17, Uzbekistan and Turkmeniya for 3.5 percent, the Transcaucasian republics for 3 percent and Belorussia for 1.5 percent (USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution and the Building of Socialism, Archive 5,451, List 9, Storage Unit 348, Sheet 234). Let us point out that the party members shared the burden of unemployment with the nonparty people. In January 1927 there were 45,020 unemployed party members, representing 3.9 percent of the party's membership (see "Vsesoyuznaya Partiy'naya Perepis' 1927 Goda" [1927 All-Union Party Census], No 3, Moscow, 1927, p 8).

The effect of petty commodity farming was the main reason for the gravity of unemployment. As a result of the gains of the Soviet system the peasantry began to



live far better than under the landed estate system. The agrarian overpopulation in the countryside declined considerably. However, considering the backward farming methods, use of primitive equipment and the low income, the poor and even the lower middle classes in the countryside were unable to earn a living and moved to the cities in search of jobs. Between 1923 and 1924, more than 1,852,000 peasants left the countryside; more than 3.5 million went to the cities in 1925-1926. "The main source of unemployed cadres is the countryside, from which the surplus farm manpower is pouring into the cities," the 15th VKP(b) Conference noted in 1926 ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], Eighth expanded and corrected edition, Vol 3, Politizdat, Moscow, p 381).

The struggle against unemployment was a party and statewide task. The party considered unemployment and agrarian overpopulation one of the major difficulties in the building of socialism. Unemployment was striking at the main political, social and production force of the new system--the working class, resulting in a loss of class status by a part of the class as a result of unemployment, loss of production skills, a deteriorating material situation and the development in some workers of an uncertainty about the possibility of building socialism. It led to the growth of crime, black marketeering and prostitution. The class enemies tried to use the discontent of the unemployed to lead them into the struggle against the Soviet system.

The VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo systematically considered measures to be adopted in the struggle against unemployment. At different periods, a number of prestigious commissions were set up by decision of the Politburo to insure the more profound study of the reasons for unemployment and to seek effective means of eliminating it. They included party and state leaders such as A. A. Andreyev, F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, M. I. Kalinin, N. K. Krupskaya, V. V. Kuybyshev, A. V. Lunacharskiy, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, Ya. E. Rudzutak, N. A. Semashko, N. M. Shvernik and others. To one extent or another the problem was discussed at virtually all party congresses, Central Committee plenums, party conferences and congresses of soviets until unemployment was eliminated once and for all.

The republic, guberniya, city and rayon party committees set up permanent unemployment commissions. The party members in Moscow, Leningrad and other industrial centers in the country engaged in systematic and purposeful effort to eliminate unemployment. This vitally important problem was permanently on the agenda of the primary party organizations, which engaged in active work among the masses and the unemployed.

The steps taken by the party and the government to reduce the acute unemployment included explanation of the reasons for it in various parts of the country; comprehensive registration of the unemployed by labor organs; strengthening of the People's Commissariat of Labor and the labor exchanges with capable and honest personnel selected among party members and progressive workers; organization of a procedure in which manpower recruitment was conducted through labor exchanges only; inclusion in the labor exchange committees, along with plant personnel committees, of representatives of the Komsomol and elected representatives of the

unemployed; organization by the state of broad dissemination of printed information on jobs and on the comprehensive concern for rebuilding factories, plants and workshops, with the creation of labor cooperatives of the unemployed for the repair of household metal goods, the manufacturing of furniture, the making of clothing and shoes and so on; organized transfer of the unemployed to where manpower was needed; extensive development of state social insurance with an unemployed aid fund not taken from wage withholdings, as practiced in capitalist countries, but from withholdings from state enterprises, public organizations and private employers; training the unemployed in skills in demand in industry and agriculture in various state courses and at the expense of the state while receiving government assistance, and so on.

The party regarded the comprehensive development of the socialist national economy at a more rapid and stable pace than that in capitalist countries as a decisive means of eliminating unemployment. The Leninist plan for the building of socialism, the essential parts of which were socialist industrialization, the establishment of peasant cooperatives and cultural revolution, was also a plan for the elimination of unemployment. As a result of its implementation in all national economic areas the public ownership of productive capital and planned economic management were established and a truly equal right to work was insured. Industry, which was rebuilt and developed on a new technical basis, offered a potential for employing available manpower not only from the cities but from labor resources released from agriculture as it acquired progressive equipment.

The socialist cooperativization of the peasantry made it possible not only to intensify agricultural production but to eliminate the class stratification of the peasantry, to abolish the exploitation of man by man in the countryside, and to provide security to the peasants.

The purpose of the cultural revolution was not only to upgrade the general educational and cultural standards of the people and their conscientiousness but to increase employment in science, education, culture, health care and other fields.

The trade unions participated actively in the struggle against unemployment. Together with the party, state and public organizations they formulated measures for the improvement of the work of the labor exchanges and social insurance. No single decision of the People's Commissariat of Labor or state legislative act on labor was approved without the agreement of the trade unions. Along the trade union line they provided extensive material aid to unemployed trade union members.

The party's theoretical stipulations and practical measures aimed at the building of socialism and consequently the elimination of unemployment, met with resistance not only from the class enemies but the opportunists as well--the "leftist" communists, the "workers opposition," the right-wing deviationists, and in particular, the Trotskyites.

The pro-Menshevik elements proclaimed the theoretical views and practical actions of the Bolshevik Party on the problem of the struggle against unemployment erroneous and called for abandonment of the industrialization of the country, for

according to their "theory," the accelerated development of industry would bring about even further aggravation of unemployment. In their view, the struggle against unemployment should be waged not through a powerful upsurge of socialist industry and cooperativization of agriculture, but through the development of petty commodity production by peasants and artisans.

In repelling the attacks of the opportunists, the communist party firmly followed the Leninist general line in the building of socialism by creating conditions for improving the well-being of the people and entirely eliminating unemployment. As the socialist national economy strengthened, the social insurance funds for unemployment increased. State expenditures for material and labor aid to the unemployed totaled 22.35 million rubles in 1923-1924, 44 million in 1924-1925 and 60 million in 1925-1926. The unemployed were granted a number of substantial benefits: they paid no taxes, enjoyed free communal services and had free medical care.

The main result of the struggle waged by the party and the people against unemployment during the restoration of the national economy was the prevention of its most dangerous consequence: the declassing of the working class. Between 1922 and 1925 81 percent of the metal workers and nearly 90 percent of the textile workers who had moved to the countryside or had engaged in artisan production between 1918 and 1921 returned to industry. By the end of 1925 the number of factory-plant workers had almost returned to the prewar level. They went to the socialist rather than the private sector. In 1925 nearly 94 percent of the workers were employed by socialist enterprises (see "Itogi Desyatiletiya Sovetskoy Vlasti v Tsifrakh 1917-1927" [Results of a Decade of the Soviet System in Figures, 1917-1927], Moscow, 1927, p 285). The public ownership of productive capital made it possible for the Soviet state, even with unemployment, to insure for every worker and employee of state enterprises and establishments wages based on single rates with a clearly expressed rising trend.

However, at that time the level of development in socialist production forces had not reached the point at which everyone could be provided with a job. Unemployment remained a grave problem at the end of the restoration period. "This faces the party, the trade unions and the Soviet system," the decisions of the 15th VKP (b) Conference stated, "with the task of waging an energetic struggle against unemployment both through the adoption of the most urgent individual measures... as well as work along the Soviet line (the Gosplan) and the solution of the more general problem of utilization of the surplus population" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 3, p 395).

The period of the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture became the decisive stage in the struggle against unemployment. The decision to shorten the eight-hour workday of factory-plant workers to a seven-hour day with no reduction of wages, approved on the initiative of the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo in October 1927, was of great importance in reducing unemployment.

In its directives on the formulation of the first five-year plan for the development of the national economy and the theses on work in the countryside, the Central Committee earmarked a system of measures aimed at reducing agrarian overpopulation and drastically increasing opportunities for the growth of the working

class ranks. The 15th party congress issued directives on the pace of development of socialist industry, the ratio for the production of productive capital and consumer goods, capital investments in industry, improvements in the organization of labor and so on. Petty industry was not forgotten. The decisions of the 15th congress noted that "serving as an absolutely necessary supplement to large-scale state industry at the present time," petty local industry and home industries and crafts "are helping to eliminate the shortage of commodities and to ease unemployment" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh....," Vol 4, p 40).

The Trotskyite opposition published its countertheses on the five-year plan for the development of the national economy. It opposed the basic stipulations of the VKP(b) Central Committee on the development of the Soviet economy. The opposition's proposals on the subject of unemployment contained nothing of substance and were aimed at turning the workers against the party. The opposition suffered total defeat in the course of the debates. It did not even win the support of the unemployed party members. This fact proves particularly convincingly the internal cohesion of the party and the groundlessness of all the platforms and actions of the Trotsky-Zinov'yev antiparty bloc.

The 15th party congress stipulations concerning the further industrialization of the country, the cooperativization of peasant farms and the development of culture were of exceptional importance in resolving the unemployment problem. The development of labor-intensive crops in the countryside and agricultural intensification and industrialization, the congress stated, "will inevitably absorb a growing number of workers, while expanding industry, particularly on the basis of the reduced workday and the introduction of a greater number of shifts, will quite rapidly resolve urban unemployment" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh....," Vol 4, p 37).

The five-year plan for the development of the USSR national economy triggered a powerful creative upsurge among the working class and all working people and gave great hope to those still unemployed. Between 1926 and 1929, 528 new industrial enterprises were built and 260 were reconstructed. The building of the Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, Kerch, Krivoy Rog and other metallurgical plants was initiated in 1929.

The measures adopted by the party, particularly in the area of development of socialist industry, substantially reduced unemployment in the very first year of the five-year plan.

By creating and developing many new industrial sectors and increasing the production of agricultural machinery, the party created the necessary material prerequisites for the socialist reorganization of agriculture. A mass kolkhoz movement was launched in 1929. The peasantry embarked firmly along the path of the building of socialism and joined the kolkhozes on an ever growing scale. New sovkhoses and machinery repair centers, and subsequently machine-tractor stations, were created.

Kolkhoz construction required masses of skilled workers such as kolkhoz chairmen, bookkeepers, accountants, agronomists, mechanizers, zootechnicians, and so on. As early as 1930 the socialized agricultural sector was in need of more than a million drivers, tractor operators, fitters, blacksmiths, and other workers.

The sovkhoses as well had a major impact on the growth of farm population employment. In 1929 sovkhoses and machine-tractor stations employed 416,400 workers on an annual average. By 1930 their number had nearly doubled, totaling 795,000 (see S. G. Strumilin, "Problemy Ekonomiki Truda" [Problems of Labor Economics], Moscow, 1957, p 451).

At its very beginning, the socialist reorganization of agriculture provided steady jobs for millions of rural residents who had previously gone to the towns in search of work, thus drastically reducing the agrarian overpopulation in the countryside. The material situation of the kolkhoz members improved as compared with the private farmers. The bulk of the peasants who had previously gone to the towns in search of work remained in the countryside.

Cultural construction in the country increased employment both by directly involving specialists in the fields of culture, science and public education and by training cadres in technical schools and VUZs and employing them in the various national economic sectors.

The growth of industry and the development of socialist agriculture and culture required an ever larger volume of manpower. Unemployment was disappearing. Whereas on 1 February 1930 the labor exchanges had on file 1.2 million unemployed, by 1 July there were only 787,500.

In summing up the results of the building of socialism, the 16th party congress (June-July 1930) noted the reduced level of unemployment with satisfaction. "The giant's pace of the country's socialist industrialization," stated the congress' resolution on the report submitted by the VKP(b) report, "was paralleled by a considerable quantitative increase in the working class, the enhancement of its material and cultural standards, real wage increases, conversion to a seven-hour workday, introduction of a five-day work week, and a drastic reduction in unemployment" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 4, pp 409-410).

The labor organs were already lagging behind the increase of manpower requirements. Thus, between July and September 1930 they were unable to meet requests from enterprises and construction projects for 1,670,000 workers and employees (see PRAVDA, 16 November 1930). The shortage of workers, even unskilled, threatened the normal course of construction and the starting up of completed plants. For this reason the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo instructed the People's Commissariat of Labor and the AUCCTU to study the problem of registration of the unemployed in labor exchanges and the supplying manpower for industry, transportation and construction. The USSR People's Commissariat of Labor checked the status of the unemployed persons registered in the largest labor exchanges and formulated measures for their immediate placement and transportation to the new construction sites. Particular attention was paid to the industrial training of the unemployed. To this end, 74.5 million rubles were additionally assigned in October 1930. The network of courses for the training and retraining of the unemployed was broadened on an urgent basis. The network of factory-plant courses for the training of unemployed youth was expanded and the hiring of students was increased by several hundred percent.

The result of all of these measures was that between 1928 and 1930, the average annual number of workers and employees working in the national economy rose from 11.4 million to 15.4 million. The available "reserves" were exhausted. Nearly two million additional workers were needed for 1931.

After analyzing the situation, the VKP(b) Central Committee noted in its 20 October 1930 decree "On Measures for the Planned Supply of the National Economy with Manpower and the Struggle Against Turnover" that "The tremendous success of the socialist industrialization of the country and the fast pace of kolkhoz and sovkhoz construction have brought about the total elimination of unemployment in the Soviet Union and created the need for hundreds of thousands of additional workers" (PRAVDA, 22 October 1930). As a result of the elimination of unemployment, the labor exchanges were closed down. Cadre administrations were set up to insure that the national economy was supplied with manpower as planned and to plan and control the industrial training of the workers.

The elimination of unemployment led to an increase in the wages of workers and employees and to the more extensive use of an insurance budget for the development of health care, sanatorium-resort treatment, housing and communal construction and other social needs. In summing up the results of the First Five-Year Plan the joint January 1933 Plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission noted that the elimination of unemployment and lack of confidence in the future among the workers were among the basic factors which radically improved the material situation of the working people in the USSR (see "KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 5, p 70).

That is how the USSR resolved a problem of world-historical significance: the total and definitive elimination of unemployment. This was a major victory for the party and the entire Soviet people and, in the words of M. I. Kalinin, one of the most valuable achievements of the Soviet system. Let us recall that this victory was won by the Soviet system in a period when an unparalleled economic crisis was raging throughout the capitalist countries and the number of the unemployed had reached 30 million.

The Soviet system, the leading role of the working class, the party's scientific political guidance of society, the domination of socialist production relations, and the dynamic, stable and planned development of industry and agriculture on a socialist basis were the main prerequisites for the elimination of unemployment in the USSR.

Under the leadership of the Leninist party, our people gave the world its first example of the elimination of unemployment in history. They proved that unemployment can be eliminated not only temporarily, but forever. As he noted this great accomplishment, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, said: "Socialism gave our people something which the working people of the richest capitalist countries do not have: freedom from capitalist oppression and a feeling of confidence in the future. The Soviet people do not know the meaning of exploitation or unemployment and never will."

Our country has achieved tremendous development of production forces and has insured a high level of material and cultural well-being. Every year dozens of new industrial enterprises are being commissioned, agricultural production sectors are broadening, the network of consumer services enterprises is growing and so on. All of this is creating new manpower requirements. In the first half of 1980, the average number of workers and employees in the USSR national economy totaled 111 million people, or 1.8 million more than in the first half of 1979. The content of the work of the Soviet people is becoming ever more creative and labor conditions are improving steadily.

The party and the government are showing tireless concern for the more efficient utilization of manpower resources, for strengthening discipline and reducing cadre turnover.

In taking into consideration the fact that in the 1980s the natural growth in manpower resources will level off, the 25th congress pointed out that in resolving the problem of labor resources we must rely not on the recruitment of additional manpower but on raising labor productivity exclusively. The implementation of the CC CPSU decree "On Measures to Increase the Production and Extensive Application of Automatic Manipulators in National Economic Sectors in the Light of the Instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress" will not only contribute to the considerable enhancement of labor productivity but to the release of many workers currently engaged in physically hard and monotonous production operations. The extensive use of industrial robots will be of great importance in resolving manpower problems in the 11th and 12th five-year plans.

The maximum acceleration of scientific and technical progress under socialism, unlike the case in capitalist practice, does not bring about unemployment. The planned distribution and redistribution of the country's manpower resources, the extensive cadre training system, the shortening of the work week with no material harm to the working people, the extended paid leave granted workers and employees, the extension of the state social insurance system covering old age, illness and disability to the kolkhoz members, the increased wages in different workers categories, the higher pensions, the development of housing construction and cultural and consumer institutions and the secondary and higher education systems, combined with the powerful upsurge of the entire national economy, insure the full employment of the Soviet people and their growing prosperity. The right of the Soviet people to work is guaranteed. It is codified in the fundamental law of the USSR, and on the basis of the achievements of developed socialism, has been expanded by the right to choose one's profession, type of employment and so on. Article 40 of the Soviet Constitution states that "USSR citizens have the right to work, i.e., to obtain guaranteed work with wages consistent with the quantity and quality of labor and equal at least to the minimum wage established by the state, including the right to choose a profession or type of occupation and work in accordance with vocation, capabilities, professional training, education and the needs of society."

For many decades now the Soviet people have been accustomed to the right to work. There has been no unemployment in the USSR since 1930 and there is no basis for unemployment in our country.

Under imperialist conditions, unemployment long ago became a chronic phenomenon with a tendency to grow. Even according to official and substantially reduced statistical data, unemployment in the developed capitalist countries increased from nine million people in 1973 to more than 16 million in 1979. Currently the United States has 8.2 million unemployed. All in all throughout the world, 455 million people are either unemployed or partially employed. Young people in particular are suffering from unemployment. In Common Market countries young people account for 41.7 percent of all those unemployed.

The ruling classes in the capitalist countries are demagogically promising to raise the level of employment. Bourgeois leaders, particularly in electoral campaign periods, formulate new programs for the reduction or elimination of unemployment. Such programs, however, cannot be implemented.

The experience of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity has given mankind convincing proof that socialism alone brings the people prosperity, eliminates unemployment and poverty and guarantees the right to work.

The forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress will earmark prospects for the further development of our country. The Soviet people view the future with confidence. Their thoughts and actions are aimed at achieving a new upsurge in the living standard, fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people, and strengthening the cause of peace, democracy and socialism through their toil and on the basis of the entire public production system, all-round utilization of the achievements of science and technology and the better organization of labor.

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## NEW STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

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[Article by V. Zagladin and V. Shaposhnikov on the results of the World Parliament of Nations held in Sofia]

[Text] The problems of war and peace have always affected people. Today, however, they have become particularly acute and topical. One may say that they have truly become problems affecting the individual fate of every person on earth. This is entirely natural: whereas in the past wars took tens of thousands and later on, millions and dozens of millions of lives and inflicted tremendous material damages, today, following the appearance of nuclear and missile weapons, the nature of weaponry has changed and any new major war, not to mention a global conflict, could prove to be fatal to all mankind.

As historical practice proves, imperialism has always brought with it war, like a storm cloud. Today, however, it is blocked by powerful sociopolitical forces which can blunt the edge of its militaristic policy.

It is true that, in the final account, the popular masses have invariably been against war. However, in the past, wars came down upon them almost always unexpectedly, like a natural disaster. Wars were prepared in the quiet of diplomats' offices, secretly from the "man on the street," and efforts to prevent this were virtually useless: the ruling circles, the dominating classes did everything they could to keep the working people away from military-political problems. In this connection V. I. Lenin pointed out that "The unfamiliarity of the popular masses with foreign policy is incomparably more widespread than ignorance in the field of domestic affairs.... The deception of the popular masses has been artistically developed in the field of foreign political 'affairs'...." ("Poin. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 32, p 335).

The situation drastically changed after the Great October Socialist Revolution. For the first time in the history of international relations the Soviet state initiated an essentially new foreign policy course. Its purpose was to eliminate wars from the life of mankind. It is very important to underscore that in order to accomplish this it chose entirely new methods: it put an end to secret diplomacy and began to address itself not only to governments but to nations. All this helped and is helping to reveal to the people the secrecy within which war breaks out. The revelation itself, the public exposure of the intrigues of the warmongers, has been, and remains, one of the important methods in the antiwar struggle.

The result is that with every passing year the people's masses are learning how to intervene ever more actively in the solution of the problem of war and peace. They loudly and firmly proclaim their hostility to preparations for war. They organize and act for the sake of its prevention.

Under such circumstances neither an outbreak of war nor its preparations become possible without the proper ideological and psychological indoctrination of the population. That is precisely why, starting with October 1917, the imperialist governments and the bourgeois mass information media have intensively instilled in the minds of the public in their countries the totally fabricated myth of "Soviet military strength." And that is precisely why the active struggle against the fanning of hostility and mistrust among nations and against chauvinistic zeal is a necessary and an effective means which enables the public to make its specific contribution to the prevention of wars and to the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among countries with different social systems.

Together with world socialism, the people's masses in socialist and nonsocialist countries who are trying to block the way to a nuclear catastrophe have played, together with world socialism, a noteworthy role in the fact that for the past 35 years after the defeat of Hitlerism no global armed conflict has broken out and objective conditions have developed to prevent such an outbreak in general.

It is understandable, however, that at each new stage of historical development the fighters for peace face new tasks. Such was the case at the beginning of the 1980s, when the activities of aggressive imperialist forces brought about a considerable increase in tension, created the opportunity to launch a new round in the arms race and, speaking frankly, to a certain extent increased the threat of war which had been put off thanks to the successes of the policy of detente in the 1970s.

Despite the active efforts of the socialist countries, of all peace-loving forces, of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and of realistic circles in the Western capitals the negative factors are still developing. Under such circumstances the responsibility and role of social forces in the elimination of the threat of war rises considerably. Will they be up to playing this role? Could the movement for peace of the peoples and the masses become one of the cornerstones of the dam which would block the path of the potential warmongers?

These questions were largely answered at the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, held in Sofia between 23 and 27 September 1980.

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In 1975 the representatives of the European countries and the United States and Canada signed in Helsinki the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. All the participants in the forum held in the Finnish capital solemnly proclaimed their will to follow the charted course and to observe the mutually agreed upon principles of international relations.

Naturally, this was proclaimed by the U. S. representative as well.

However, the factual practice of American foreign policy proved that it was hardly possible to trust his words entirely. Here are several now well-known facts:

As early as the 1970s, on Washington's initiative NATO considered the matter of the development and deployment in Europe of new American medium-range nuclear missiles. Starting with the mid-1970s, the American navy began to experiment with cruise missiles. It was also at that time that the active development of the Pershing-2 missiles began. In 1975, the Helsinki year, along with the Vienna talks on reciprocal reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, NATO engaged in the further detailed elaboration of a program for "modernizing" nuclear missile "Eurostrategic" weapons. In 1976 the United States conducted 16 underground tests of various nuclear charges to be used in such missiles. Finally, in June and November the same year the NATO nuclear planning group discussed detailed plans for updating the nuclear weapons of the bloc on the European continent.

In May 1978, while the United Nations General Assembly was holding a special disarmament session in New York, in Washington the NATO council decided on the steady increase in the bloc's armaments practically to the end of the century. Let us note the fact that this decision was to be enacted regardless of any possible results of talks underway or which could have been initiated on problems of restricting and ending the arms race.

In the summer of 1979 President Carter signed in Vienna the SALT II Treaty with the Soviet Union. The simultaneously published joint communique stipulated that neither party is aspiring or will aspire to achieve military superiority. No more than 6 months later, on U. S. initiative, a decision was made in Brussels on the production and deployment in Western Europe of new American medium-range nuclear missiles. Almost simultaneously the American administration announced a number of military measures whose purpose was to achieve superiority over the USSR and reach an unparalleled level of military strength.

This list could be extended, but even these facts alone convincingly prove that the aggravation of tension which took place was not sudden. It was a question of a preplanned operation coolly implemented by the United States and NATO over a number of years, directly aimed against the policy of detente and the cause of peace throughout the world.

Something else should be recalled as well: the world public promptly identified the meaning of this operation and actively opposed NATO's dangerous plans. This became one of the decisive factors which forced the U. S. President to postpone his decision on the production of the neutron bomb. A literal hurricane of protest arose in many countries throughout the world against the May 1978 NATO decision. The campaign of the struggle for peace, against the 1979 Brussels decisions and against the conversion of Western Europe into proving grounds for American nuclear warfare played a major role in the fact that some NATO-member governments, disregarding Washington's strong pressure, have still not agreed to the location of American missiles on their territory.

However, the ever more energetic swinging of the pendulum of military preparations by the United States and the raging campaign of hatred it mounted against the USSR and the other socialist countries, Vietnam, Laos and Cuba in particular, and against a number of revolutionary-democratic countries and movements, armed provocations against Iran and adventurous actions in the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean were indications that the world is rapidly reaching a dangerous threshold. It became obvious that under the developing circumstances the forces which oppose war and favor peace must launch new efforts and find new and more effective forms of activity to prevent the sinister drifting toward a war.

Such were the circumstances in which the idea of calling a world peace parliament of the peoples was born. In May 1980 the international preparations committee for this forum held its constituent meeting in Budapest. It discussed the objectives and the agenda of the parliament whose purpose was to find means for the coordination or unification of the efforts of all existing movements, organizations or currents supporting the peace, regardless of different political, philosophical or religious convictions. Above all, it was a question of giving a new scope to the development of a mass movement against the arms race.

While the preparatory committee in Budapest was discussing these matters, extensive and painstaking work was already underway the world over. Mass campaigns were mounted in a number of countries, focused on the most topical political problems. This pertained, above all, to the struggle against the aggressive plans of the United States and NATO to deploy new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe and against Washington's provocative actions in the Middle East and Latin America.

All this energized the antiwar movements and increased their ranks. In some countries it helped to strengthen cooperation among different political forces in the struggle against the threat of war. The work of a number of national peace committees became noticeably energized and such a committee was set up in the United States for the first time since the war.

The truly extensive efforts which were made were not lost. An impressive audience gathered on 23 September in Sofia's Universiada Hall. The history of the peace movement is familiar with many important events, encounters and congresses. The largest among them, unquestionably, was the World Peace Congress, held in Moscow in 1973, attended by over 3,500 delegates from 143 countries. However, that congress had met when detente was in a state of upsurge. The Sofia parliament began its work in a period of serious worsening of global circumstances. Nevertheless, its scale was truly impressive.

The World Parliament proceedings were attended by 2,260 delegates from 137 countries. They included representatives of 83 communist and workers' parties and 33 national liberation movements and revolutionary democratic parties (including many leaders of such parties). The social democrats showed a great interest in the Sofia parliament. Sofia welcomed 129 representatives of 35 social democratic parties, including 33 members of their leading organs. Representatives of a number of radical, liberal, Christian, conservative and centrist parties and over 100 international organizations, including 18 specialized United Nations agencies, committees and commissions, and of the Organization of African Unity and OPEC came to attend the proceedings of the Sofia parliament.

As a whole, delegates representing over 300 political parties and organizations participated in the parliament's proceedings. Sofia welcomed many ministers and former ministers, over 200 parliamentarians, over 100 noted church leaders, about 200 trade union leaders and noted representatives of the world of culture and the arts.

The World Parliament of the Peoples organized its work on a rather unconventional basis. The entire first day was spent in plenary sessions. The parliament was addressed by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, by Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council, who was elected president of the parliament, and by B. N. Ponomarev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and CC CPSU Central Committee secretary.

B. N. Ponomarev read the message sent by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. The message was heard with tremendous attention and welcomed with stormy applause. The parliamentary delegates rated the message of the head of the Soviet state as a major political document and proof of the fact that the Soviet Union ascribes exceptional importance to the movement of social forces opposing the imperialist course of restoration of the cold war.

Furthermore, during the first day the parliament was addressed by representatives of over 20 countries who read the greetings of the heads of their governments. This included J. Kadar, E. Honecker, Yu. Tsendenbal, G. Husak, Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Sekou Toure, Hafiz al-Assad, Mu'ammarr Qadhdhafi, D. Sassou-Nguesso and U. Kekkonen. Noted representatives of liberation movements took the floor, such as Ya. Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, S. Nujoma, president of the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and others.

Three separate meetings were held on the second day, 24 September. Essentially, they developed into a sort of plenary sessions each of which was attended by representatives of all delegations. Three topics were discussed: "The Arms Race and the Threat of War and Their Influence on Disarmament and Detente;" "The Arms Race and the Threat of War and Their Influence on the Struggle for National Independence and for a New World Economic Order;" and "The Arms Race and the Threat of War and Their Influence on the Struggle for Social Progress."

The highlight of the discussions on the key problem facing the parliamentary delegates--the need to prevent the threat of war--was the appeal adopted at the end of the second day, at a plenary session. It was a brief emotional call for unification and active efforts on the part of all peace-loving forces.

The third day of the World Parliament was allocated to the meetings of its commissions. The mere enumeration of the topics discussed at the meetings will give us an object idea of their topical and significant import to the defense of the peace. They were the following:

The struggle for economic independence and a new economic order and the role of multinational cooperations;

The problem of energy resources and environmental protection and their correlation with the cause of peace and national independence;

The contribution of the nonalignment movement to the struggle for peace and national independence and the struggle against the imperialist policy of destabilization;

European security and cooperation;

Peace and justice in the Middle East and solidarity with the people of Palestine and the other Arab peoples;

The struggle for national liberation and economic independence in Africa;

Peace and security in Asia;

The struggle for national liberation, democracy and economic development in Latin America and the Caribbean;

The struggle against racism and other forms of discrimination.

On the fourth day hearings were held on violations of human rights. Working group meetings were held (on cooperation among nongovernmental organizations in support of United Nations efforts to insure peace and security, the publication of peace materials, collection of funds for the peace movement and problems related to its further expansion and the work of its local organizations). In the afternoon so-called "round table" discussions were held with various groups of World Parliament delegates to discuss "matters of specific interest" (trade union workers, representatives of women's organizations, men of culture, science and education, journalists, religious personalities, parliamentarians, and delegates of youth and student organizations).

In practical terms, as we pointed out, no problem pertaining to the current international tension, the struggle for detente and against the threat of war was ignored at the meetings. This alone shows the scale and significance of the amount of work done and the contribution of the Sofia parliament to the struggle of the peoples for a safe future. Naturally, however, the content of this work and the nature of this contribution are even more important.

On 27 September, at the final plenary meeting, a charter of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace was adopted amidst tremendous enthusiasm. This is an unusual noteworthy document. It not only summarizes the experience of the entire debate which took place in the course of the parliament's proceedings and formulates a program for action for the peace-loving forces in the forthcoming future, but also formulates a code of basic stipulations which provide a comprehensive characterization of the very concept of "peace." In particular, peace was defined as the inviolable right of the peoples, and the struggle for peace as the common just cause. The charter is a document of lasting significance and is of fundamental importance to the peace-loving forces. We may say that an international sociolegal foundation was laid for the struggle for disarmament, national independence and social progress, which are the inseparable elements of a lasting and just peace.

The course of parliamentary discussions entirely proved the timeliness of the parliament's convocation. It convincingly reflected the concern of the broad world public concerning the drastic aggravation of international circumstances. Each new session and hour of work made it more and more clear that the participants in the parliament were united on the basic problems.

Naturally, since a rather broad spectrum of political forces was represented in Sofia, rather sharp debates developed on some problems, particularly in the commissions' meetings. In particular, this applied to assessments of the situation relating to Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq military conflict and the so-called "problem of human rights" in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In some of the commissions statements were heard blaming both the United States and the Soviet Union for the current aggravation of the international situation. It is worth noting that in a number of cases statements on such topics seemed to be coordinated, as the very same argument and even expressions were repeated at different meetings. However, these statements did not determine the course of the parliament's work in the least, the more so since even the majority of those who expressed such viewpoints were in agreement with the other delegates on the problem of the struggle for peace and detente. In other words, the world of ideas which influenced the sessions of the parliament of nations was quite broad and varied. In the final account, however, the idea of peace always prevailed.

This is related to another important feature of the parliament and its proceedings: the truly internationalist approach adopted by its participants on the problem of the struggle against the threat of war. Naturally, this is not to say that all of a sudden all delegates took the positions of proletarian internationalism. No, the majority of the parliamentarians did not share a revolutionary proletarian ideology. Virtually all, however, or the overwhelming majority of the delegates, at least, proceeded from the clear understanding that peace is indivisible and that it must be defended wherever it is threatened. The main thing was that representatives of all continents participate in the discussions of all problems.

What were the main problems discussed by the delegates attending the World Parliament?

First. All delegates were profoundly concerned by the state of the current international circumstances. The appeal, unanimously adopted on 24 September, stated the following: "The danger of a global nuclear war has never been felt so sharply. The growth of nuclear armaments and the stockpiling of arsenals of death have reached a critical level. The further extension of this process faces mankind with the threat of annihilation." Precisely as in the charter of the World Parliament, its participants emphasized their concern in connection with the aggravation of international circumstances and the intensified trend to resort to the threat of wars, and to its waging, and to blockades and psychological warfare which poison the international atmosphere. They proclaimed their extreme concern about the unrestrained growth of armaments throughout the world and their indignation at the irresponsible policy aimed at their even more intensive growth. They pointed out that vital social, economic and political problems are becoming aggravated as a result of the headlong growth of military expenditures.

Second. Naturally, great attention was paid to the reasons for the aggravation of the situation. Who was to be blamed for this aggravation? How could it happen? "All of us know that there are different answers to such legitimate questions," B. N. Ponomarev said in his address. "Nevertheless, truth has no variants. There is only one truth. What is important for all of us and for all peace-loving forces is to find the accurate answer, for a way to an effective counteraction to the threat of war can be defined only by developing a clear idea of who specifically is behind the present recurrence of the cold war."

The overwhelming majority of parliamentarians unanimously indicated that the responsibility for the current tension falls on imperialism, American imperialism above all, and on NATO as a bloc whose objectives are not in the least defensive. Even the parliamentarians who were not free from anticommunist or anti-Soviet bias showed their profound and serious understanding of the danger presented by the adventuristic line taken by Washington and NATO.

The parliamentarians paid particular attention to the exposure of the new American nuclear doctrine as formulated in Presidential Directive No 59. They emphasized its adventuristic and extremely dangerous nature. The charter adopted by the parliament summed up the discussion on this topic as follows: "Social, economic and political rights can be exercised only by guaranteeing the rights of the people to peace and life. Any encroachment on this sacred right--the planning, preparations for and starting a war--is the most severe crime against mankind. It is the authors of the so-called 'new nuclear strategy,' based on the monstrous doctrine of 'limited' nuclear warfare, who are guilty of violating this right. No 'limited,' 'local' or 'drawn out' nuclear war is possible. It would inevitably develop into a general nuclear catastrophe."

Third. Many delegates subjected to a close study the foreign policy of the Beijing leadership. The partnership between China and American imperialism, the speakers particularly emphasized, is a new dangerous phenomenon in world politics. Such partnership, combined with Beijing's adventuristic line, has considerably helped imperialism's current offensive launched against detente and peace. The policy pursued by the United States and the Chinese hegemonists is a threat to the peace and sovereignty and international integrity of a number of countries.

The delegates emphasized that today the thesis of the alleged inevitability of a new world war, comprehensively disseminated by the Chinese leadership, is particularly dangerous. "It must be openly stated," B. N. Ponomarev said, "that views of the inevitability of war are not in the least abstract. They are not mere gloomy prophecies. Certain political and practical conclusions may be drawn from such a concept."

If war is inevitable, one must resign oneself and idly and passively observe the dangerous development of events. The Beijing leaders are in fact suggesting to the peoples the idea that the struggle against the threat of war and endless rearmament is senseless and doomed to failure. Naturally, this position suits imperialism quite well. It ideologically disarms and dooms nations and states to give in to the militant forces of imperialism and its accomplices.

Fourth. The overwhelming majority of the delegates supported the foreign policy of the USSR and of the other members of the socialist comity, characterized as a



policy which systematically and steadfastly pursues the strengthening of the peace among nations and the elimination of the threat of war, a policy which contributes to the national and social liberation of the peoples. "The fact that peace is alive today in the world," T. Zhivkov declared, "is, to a tremendous degree, the result of the principled policy of the Soviet Union. When we speak of everything that the land of the Soviets is doing for the cause of peace we cannot fail to point out, with the greatest possible gratitude, the exceptional contribution made by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the outstanding fighter for peace."

Yassar Arafat, tempestuously applauded by the delegates, said: "How could we have endured in the past 16 years without the support and aid of our friends and allies, of the democratic and progressive forces and the peace-loving movements? How could we have endured without the position adopted by our loyal friend--the socialist comity--headed by the USSR, our friend and defender of our cause, of our legitimate cause of returning to the homeland, and of the right to self-determination and creation of our own state?"

The same thought was expressed by Sam Nujoma, the head of the Namibian fighters for freedom: "Today the ratio of forces is steadily changing in favor of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces fighting for national liberation, the strengthening of socialism and the progress of science and technology within the socialist society. The concrete material aid and support which the socialist countries gave the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola helped them to gain their independence. Today this aid and support is backing those who are fighting for the just cause, for national independence," he stated.

W. D. Brown, the Australian representative, drew the delegates' attention to the need actively to spread the truth about socialist foreign policy and to take it to the people the world over. "The greatest lie being spread today by the imperialist mass information media," he said, "is that the Soviet Union threatens the world with war and that the Soviet Union is preparing to use nuclear weapons against the West. The truth is entirely different. It is that the Soviet Union is the only nuclear power fighting for peace and against the threat of war."

Finally, all participants in the Parliament of Nations, regardless of their viewpoints on one or another matter, were unanimous in their view that we have entered a period in which specific and active action is needed. It is worth considering this conclusion in particular.

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In Sofia many of the speakers stated that in recent years a large number of good speeches had been made in favor of the peace and many different documents had been adopted, properly assessing the circumstances and earmarking tasks for the future. Had all of them been implemented the threat of war would have disappeared once and for all. Unfortunately, however, this did not take place. Naturally, everything that was done was of some use. So far, however, there still exists a certain gap between good intentions and their practical implementation. Naturally, this gap is not the result of the unwillingness of the fighters for peace to undertake any given initiative. It is influenced by a number of factors and, above all, by the active opposition of the enemies of the peace and the supporters of the arms race.

Essentially, the theme of the entire work of the parliament was the idea that proper conclusions must be converted into proper actions, into active efforts aimed at achieving a turn in the development of international relations. This thought was expressed in the report by Romesh Chandra, the parliament's president. "This parliament was convened with a feeling of responsibility, a feeling of realism and optimism," he said. "The lowering of tension we achieved in the 1970s presents opportunities for avoiding wars. Unfortunately, however, the growth of armaments is not diminishing. We would like to point this out, to point at reality and to state that we must act! We must be aware of the strength we represent and must remember it!"

The same idea was expressed by the participants in all meetings, commissions and round table gatherings. Finally, the idea was codified in the final parliamentary documents. The appeal adopted by the parliament ends with the following touching call: "Today it is no longer sufficient to express concern! It is insufficient to sound the alarm! The people have the strength to defend the peace which is their basic right! We must act! Let us ignore everything which divides us! Let us unite in the struggle for preventing the threat of a nuclear war! Let us stop those who are trying to push the world over a precipice! Let our voice be heard with unparalleled strength!"

The World Parliament charter as well ends with a call to action. "1981," the document states, "must become the starting point for the decisive offensive by the peace-loving forces in the 1980s and for achieving a change in restraining the growth of armaments!"

The entire matter, however, lies in how precisely to act and what directions to follow in such activities. There were dozens, if not hundreds, of suggestions formulated on this subject in Sofia. Naturally, it would be impossible to describe them here in full. Their main features, however, may be singled out.

Most of the delegates stated that the fighters for peace in each individual country must do everything possible to promote the comprehensive energizing of political and social forces in order to force governments which sabotage or hinder the solution of the vital problems of peace and security and the termination of the arms race to agree to act, to sit at the conference table and engage in constructive discussions.

From this viewpoint an interesting document was drafted by the first parliamentary forum which discussed the influence of the arms race and the threat of war on disarmament and detente. The document contains a voluminous list of objectives which should be discussed in the most immediate future. A look at this document clearly shows that it lists all basic, all most important problems from the viewpoint of international security. In fact, in it the delegates supported the main ideas formulated of late by the USSR, the other socialist countries, the nonaligned countries and all peace-loving forces and organizations.

The appeal adopted by the parliament contains a special paragraph on this topic, which reads as follows: "We appeal to the common sense and feeling of responsibility of political and state leaders. We address ourselves to the governments:

Abandon new armament programs! Stop the production of new types of mass destruction weapons--nuclear, neutron, chemical and all others! Reduce military stockpiles; ban nuclear weapons! Talks! There is no other choice!"

In order to insure the broad scope of the antiwar campaign in each country, the majority of the population must be won over to the side of engaging in active efforts in favor of the peace and the termination of the arms race.

From this viewpoint, the meetings of the working group on the activities of the organizations for the struggle for peace on the local level were of great interest. Representatives from different countries pointed out that, in the final account, success in this matter depends on the extent to which significant masses of people will become involved in the struggle for peace and in the campaign for the defense of the peace. The delegates exchanged specific practical experience. They described the various methods they use for propagandizing the ideas of peace among the masses. The speakers also emphasized the difficulties in involving the broad masses in the struggle for peace. They pointed out that there still are people who fail to realize the seriousness of the threat created by the present arms race. There are some who do not believe in this threat and tend to be excessively optimistic. Finally, there are those who are simply hoping to stand aside, hoping that a nuclear war would bypass them. For this reason today, more than ever before, we must intensify our efforts to expose the danger of war and its true culprits. In this connection, in particular, the delegates spoke of the vital need to expose the activities of the military-industrial complex and of the social forces encouraging a war psychosis.

The delegates paid particular attention to the role which the working class can play in the struggle for peace. The energizing in favor of peace of the activities of the workers' movement--the main, the leading social force in contemporary society--is one of the key tasks. This is a broad and noble field of activity for the different trade unions and workers parties, and for joint actions by communists, socialists, social democrats and Christians. If the workers movement were to use its tremendous forces and opportunities, and if the working class were to display in the struggle for peace the same energy it has demonstrated in recent years in defense of its socioeconomic demands, it would be able to erect powerful barriers on the path of the forces of war and aggression. This would benefit both the cause of peace and of improving the living conditions of the workers.

The role of the working class and its position in the common struggle waged by the peoples against the threat of war was the special topic of a round table meeting of delegates representing trade unions. It was attended by representatives of over 120 trade union organizations from all over the earth.

The participants in this meeting emphasized, above all, that the working class is the first to experience the full burden of the arms race. We know that so far some circles in the labor movement still believe that the preservation and even development of the war industry can ease the unemployment problem. Using specific examples, the participants in the round table discussion decisively refuted this viewpoint. They proved that the war industry is a sector in which a considerable amount of labor is wasted but that such outlays do not enrich but ruin society. The reorganization of industry for peacetime production, the speakers stated, will provide more jobs. It will really benefit society and will make it possible to increase the production of goods truly needed by the people's masses.

Regardless of the party or ideological affiliation of one or another tolling stratum, the speakers pointed out, the working class is most deeply interested in the preservation and strengthening of the peace, detente and disarmament. Essentially, all existing international trade union organizations unanimously agree on this matter. This is a good prerequisite for the organization of joint actions. As a practical step leading to such actions, the round table participants appointed an initiative group which was entrusted with formulating the necessary measures to help the convocation of an international trade union conference on the socioeconomic aspects of disarmament, scheduled for 1981.

One of the important topics discussed by the parliament was that of the role and responsibility of the mass information media. The Western press, radio and television are those which poison the minds of the people, suggesting to them that a nuclear war is somehow "fashionable." Painter Brian (Magloch) (Great Britain) stated in an interview given to RABOTNICHESKO DELO that, "Every evening, when the English go home, they hear on television false information on the "preparations" made by the socialist countries to attack the West. Such manipulations, as well as articles in the major newspapers and BBC radio broadcasts are poisoning public opinion. Under such circumstances, the activities of the honest fighters for peace meet with serious difficulties. Our duty, which we steadfastly fulfill, is to disseminate as widely as possible the truth on the worsening of the international circumstances and of the sincere aspiration of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for a lasting peace and universal disarmament."

The mass information media must play a positive role, the parliamentarians said. They could and should serve the strengthening of the peace and rapprochement among nations and the reciprocal understanding and cooperation among countries. The possibilities at the disposal of the mass information media, noted, for example, the participants in the journalists' round table discussion, have increased to a tremendous extent in recent years. As time goes on scientific and technical progress is making such opportunities literally unlimited. But how are they used? Unfortunately, reactionary forces in many countries are directing the press, radio and television to supporting plans for war preparations and aggression against other peoples. Furthermore, the mass information workers who object to this line are frequently persecuted or fired. V. Iosifov, chairman of the Bulgarian Union of Journalists, reported that a meeting of the initiative committee for the defense of journalists' rights was held in Sofia on 24 September 1980. The decision was made to convene a world forum in 1981 to discuss the problem of defending the rights of journalists fighting for peace, democracy and social progress.

The role and responsibility of the intelligentsia for the fate of the peace was extensively deliberated in the discussion on the practical steps to be taken to promote the peace.

The following fact was cited at the meetings: one quarter of all scientists and outstanding specialists in the Western world are currently employed in sectors producing weapons for human destruction. The greatest value--the human mind--is used for the creation of means for the destruction of life. This conflicts with the very purpose of science as a tool for the preservation, improvement and enrichment of human life. The humane duty of the scientist is to be in the leading ranks of the struggle for safety and for a lasting peace. The duty of the men of science, education and culture is to explain to the peoples, convincingly and with

the help of arguments, that should a new world war break out it would destroy the tremendous intellectual potential of the planet. Science and its results must serve the cause of social progress. Nuclear power must be used for peaceful purposes only. Such were the conclusions of the representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia who attended a round table discussion.

The important conclusion drawn by the delegates was that no single social stratum or social group should allow itself to remain aside from active participation in the struggle for peace. The work meetings held by the various special interest groups refined their specific assignments and targets.

Social practice has already convincingly proved that the tremendous and splendid segment of humanity--the women--is part of the potential force for peace. "Women of the world, stand up as one in the ranks of the enemies of war!" This was the appeal addressed by the Indian representatives to their sisters from other countries. This appeal was heard at the round table discussion of delegates of women's organizations from dozens of countries. "One of the most outstanding manifestations of our age," said L. Zhivkova, who represented Bulgarian women at this session, "is to awaken the women and to include them as creators in all realms of social life." She called on the women of the world to make their substantial contribution to the cause of peace and understanding among nations.

Let us consider the problem of the youth. The turns in contemporary political life are greatly determined by the direction in which its bubbling energy and restless thinking will be channeled. The present young generation faces a tremendous responsibility: it is better educated, more active and more free. However, speaking frankly, the mercurial youth could also become entrapped by chauvinistic, militaristic or fascist feelings. This must not be allowed. All young people must rally under the banners of peace. At their meeting, the representatives of youth organizations comprehensively discussed the matter. They noted the close interconnection existing between the consolidation of the peace, the social and national liberation of the peoples and the development of education.

Over 200 delegates--members of elected authorities and of local administrations of many countries--discussed the topic of "Actions and Initiatives of Parliaments and Other Elective Organs Aimed at the Removal of the Threat of War." One of the topics of particular attention was the development of relations of trust among nations, relations which would make it possible to exclude a nuclear catastrophe.

Religious representatives of more than 30 countries gathered together to consider the specific contribution which clergymen could make to the cause of the peace. It was pointed out at the meeting that it is a question of bringing the word of peace to every believer and to prove the need to fight for the prevention of war. It is also a question of encouraging the corresponding countries to adopt a peaceful course in world affairs. As he recalled the numerous peaceful initiatives of the Soviet government, Pimen, patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, called upon his Western colleagues to use their moral authority in order to promote everywhere a positive response to this initiative.

Therefore, entirely real forces exist capable of insuring the preservation and consolidation of the peace. It is obvious, however, that if they are to be successful, these forces must act cohesively.

The Sofia parliament itself proved that the base for mutual understanding in the struggle for peace is broadening. In practical terms this is manifested, above all, by the fact that many among those who only yesterday were not ready to engage in a broad dialogue on the problems of peace are today its active supporters. "Let nothing separate us in our common struggle for the life of mankind! Let the power of public opinion show its full strength in order to stop those who are pushing mankind ever closer to the nuclear precipice!" stated the charter of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace. This was the opinion shared by all its participants.

#### IV

At the beginning of this article the following question was asked: can the peoples of the world erect a reliable obstacle on the path of preparations for a new war? We believe that, as a whole, this question could be answered in the affirmative.

In fact, the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace proved, first of all, that the broad antiwar movement has grown to a tremendous extent. It has grown numerically, as was quite clearly proved by the audience which gathered in Universiada Hall. It has grown up from the viewpoint of political maturity and the skill in fighting for peace, as confirmed by the entire course of the debates, the nature and scale of the formulation of the problems, their answers and the displayed feeling of responsibility. Finally, it has grown from the point of view of moral authority. It is no accident that the secretary general of the United Nations, its numerous organizations and institutions, and literally dozens of international organizations representing a great variety of political currents greeted the parliament and wished it success in its work. This was also confirmed by the messages which heads of states sent to the parliament and the words of approval received from all churches.

Secondly, it is unquestionable that the parliament convincingly proved the rapprochement between and, in some respects, the interweaving of the struggle for peace with other democratic, liberation and progressive movements and currents of our time. Naturally, this applies, above all, to the unquestionable rapprochement between the movement for peace and the movements for national liberation and social progress. The assertions of some imperialist propagandists notwithstanding, this rapprochement does not confirm in the least that the struggle for peace is losing its nationwide and general democratic nature and is converting, in their words, into "someone's instrument."

The entire course of postwar developments has convincingly proved that colonialism, the oppression of nations and the suppression of their freedom are inseparably linked with militarism and aggression. Colonialism and aggression and the policy of colonial oppression and of force are not only related phenomena but, as the saying goes, two sides of the same coin.

The internal link between the struggle for national freedom and the struggle for peace was manifested with tremendous conviction in the course of the long battles for freedom waged by the inflexible peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The successes of the fighters for the freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America narrow the possibilities of the forces of arbitrariness and aggression. They broaden the realm of action of the principles of peace and peaceful cooperation. As a result of these successes new independent countries are joining the active struggle for a durable peace waged in the world arena. Had such successes not been achieved in the 1970s detente would have hardly been possible.

Thirdly, the work of the parliament and the very fact of its convention proved that in our days a successful process is underway for the renovation and improvement of the forms of struggle waged by the peoples against the threat of war. This is entirely natural, for the conditions prevailing in different countries and different continents vary greatly. The deeper the movement of the supporters of peace becomes rooted in the national soil and in the specific reality of one or another country, the more varied it must become. The results of the proceedings of the World Parliament indicate that a successful search is underway for such new ways and means of work.

In our view, all this proves that the opportunities of the peace movement, in the broad meaning of this term, have unquestionably increased. Such opportunities are today incomparably broader than ever before. It is important to emphasize that it is a question not only of the subjective but the objective side of the matter, for today the peace movement is operating under the conditions of a new ratio of social forces in the world arena, a ratio far more favorable to the fighters against war than, for example, 10 years ago.

One could confidently claim that the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace proved that conditions exist for the new stage of development of the antiwar struggle on our planet. However, a possibility is not a reality. In order to implement such opportunities a great deal of persistent work is needed, undisturbed by failures in one or another sector and not yielding to the difficulties and obstacles which unquestionably exist and will be erected, again and again, by the forces of war.

As to the Soviet Union and the Soviet public, no one should have even the least doubt that our country and our party and the public organizations in the country will do everything they can to promote new successes for the peace movement. "We shall continue to spare no efforts," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, "for the preservation of detente and for all the benefits we gained in the 1970s, for achieving a turn to disarmament, for supporting the right of the peoples to free and independent development, and for the safeguarding and strengthening of the peace."

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## SPORTS, PEACE AND WORKERS MOVEMENT IN THE FRG

Moscow KOMMUNIST IN Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 88-93

[Article by Hermann Gautier, deputy chairman of the GCP [German Communist Party]]

[Text] The FRG communists were tremendously pleased by the fact that for the first time in the history of the modern Olympic movement, the Olympic Games were held in the USSR, the capital of the first socialist state in the world.

My personal impressions as a guest of the 22nd Olympic Games fully coincide with what all communists in the FRG said, namely, that the Olympic spirit remains alive and that it was rooted in Moscow and was felt here at every step.

The reactionary forces in the FRG tried to prevent the holding of the Olympic Games in the Soviet Union. They opposed the holding of the games in the first socialist country in the world from the very start and not only at the beginning of 1980, when U. S. President Carter issued his notorious demand for a boycott of the games. These forces opposed the games several years ago, when Moscow was assigned the right to host the 22nd Olympic Games (by this I mean, for example, F.-J. Strauss, the former candidate for chancellor nominated by the CDU/CSU bloc). The reactionary circles knew that the 1980 Olympics would clearly agitate in favor of socialism, and not only in sports. They realized that the millions of people throughout the world who would go to Moscow or watch their television screens would see convincing facts proving the vital strength of the new social system. That is why the reactionaries of all countries tried to prevent the holding of the games in Moscow from the very beginning.

Their efforts, however, proved futile: the games were held and their athletic prestige was very great, as reflected in numerous world, Olympic and national records. It was also manifested in the fact that successes were achieved by athletes from developing countries as well. The sports prestige of the Moscow games was so great that even bourgeois commentators and journalists were forced to acknowledge it. Let me add only that the superiority of the socialist social system has been manifested yet once again, this time in sports. The fact that the Soviet athletes were far in the lead in the number of medals won and that athletes from the socialist countries played a decisive role among the representatives of the more than 80 countries which participated in the games proved the durability of socialism and its unquestionable advantages over the capitalist social system.

Naturally, some of the results would have been different had the United States, the FRG and Japan not boycotted the Olympic Games. However, the participation of



these countries would not have changed the main feature. Socialism, I repeat, proved its obvious superiority here. We, the FRG communists, note this fact with satisfaction, for we have struggled and are struggling for the triumph of the new social system in our country as well.

I was particularly impressed by the hospitality of the Muscovites. We visited several Olympic projects, including the Central Stadium imeni V. I. Lenin, the huge sports halls and the sports complex in Krylatskiy. We became aware of the tremendous work which the Muscovites and all the Soviet people had done in building facilities which were the latest word in science and technology, and to make the stay of the athletes and guests of the Moscow Olympic Games pleasant.

We shall never forget our visit to the Olympic Village. Nothing in the history of the Olympic Games compares with what was accomplished there. This is particularly evident in a comparison with the facilities offered the athletes in Lake Placid, in the United States, or in Munich, in the FRG, for example. As a whole, the Munich games were also well organized and many facilities had been constructed. However, here is something typical: to this day the Munich Olympic Village stands empty. Its apartments are so expensive that even reasonably prosperous people cannot afford them. Meanwhile, the Muscovites are already moving into this outstanding section of their city. Here everything is practical and expedient. Something I found of particular interest was that the athletes had the opportunity to attend religious services, whatever their faith. In a word, the Olympic Village created an indelible impression on its 8,000 residents.

The Moscow Olympics were the second such games I have seen. The atmosphere at the Munich games was entirely different. On the eve of the 1980 Olympics, rumors circulated in my country about the extreme security measures taken in Moscow. The press claimed that there would be more militiamen and soldiers than visitors and athletes. Then everyone saw that these were simply fabrications. Naturally, a great deal was done in Moscow to insure the safety of the people. This can only be praised, for everyone still remembers the bitter Munich experience, when the games were almost wrecked by the act of terrorism committed against the Israeli team.

The winner in the Moscow games was the Olympic spirit. This is not a separate category. The Olympic spirit means an encounter of people, of athletes, in peaceful battles. It also includes an element of struggle for peace. We, the FRG communists, have always considered the Olympic concept as representing encounters among representatives of different countries, who test their athletic skills and jointly think of how to achieve the main objectives of mankind: to strengthen peace on our planet. The forces of imperialism are constantly trying to disturb tranquility anywhere they can. Naturally, we know that sports alone cannot insure peace on earth. However, the Olympic games can make a considerable contribution to insuring peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, a rapprochement among nations and the consolidation of peace. They help us better to understand the entire value of peace as it affects man and mankind and to realize the nobility of the fight for peace.

The Olympic Games took place at a time when the international situation had become acute. The imperialists were not indifferent to the defeats they had suffered, in the 1970s above all. Their policy has always been aimed at retaining their military superiority over socialism or trying to regain it. They cannot accept the fact that an ever larger number of countries are choosing the path of progressive social development today. They particularly dislike the fact that, for the first time in the history of the Olympic Games, there was such a large number of athletes from developing countries, for they realized clearly that this is of tremendous importance for the future, for the progressive development of this part of the globe. No, they have not forgotten their major defeats in recent decades: the overthrow of fascism in Portugal, Spain and Greece and the expulsion of the shah from Iran. That is precisely why they did everything possible to spoil the international atmosphere and thus to hinder the struggle of the peoples for social progress. Their declaration that the Olympic Games should not take place in Moscow because a limited military contingent of the Soviet Union had entered Afghan territory was merely the pretext they used.

Had nothing happened in Afghanistan, the imperialists would have found another pretext. All progressive mankind knows that a revolution was undertaken in Afghanistan for the purpose of rescuing the people from medieval living conditions, teaching them to read and write, giving them medical care, expropriating the land from large landowners and giving it to the simple farmers. This was done in order to provide the working people with basic living conditions. The imperialists wanted to destroy the revolutionary achievements and restore the feudal system. Naturally, they were displeased by the fact that the revolutionary forces in the country, supported by the Soviet Union and with its military help, prevented forces on the Pakistani and Chinese territories from suppressing the revolution. This makes it necessary to point out again and again that the true reason for the aggravation of the international situation has nothing to do with the quibblings of imperialist strategists concerning Afghanistan.

The presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan does not threaten the security of the peoples of the world, including, for example, the people of the FRG. Let us emphasize the temporary nature of the presence of the Soviet forces, since, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has repeatedly stated, they will be withdrawn from Afghanistan the moment the counterrevolution in the country comes to an end. The imperialists are trying to suppress the Afghan revolution from the outside. Therefore, the real reasons for the increased complexity of the international circumstances, we repeat, may be found in the fact that the American imperialists, the Carter administration and the other NATO states have not accepted the defeats of the 1970s. They are thirsting for revenge and for military superiority.

The reason for the worsening of international tension should be sought in the long-term NATO armament program which was formulated long before the Afghan events and, in particular, in NATO's decision to deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and above all in our country, the FRG.

Pursuing their aspiration toward military superiority over socialism, the American imperialists are making efforts to establish military bases in the Persian Gulf and the adjacent area. Carter has stated that the imperialists will resort to

military action wherever their "interests" are "affected." The imperialists are continuing their provocations, aimed at Iran as well. All of this confirms their interest in increasing international tension.

However, there are forces in the world which can and are ready to counteract them. Let us emphasize that in such complex situations the Soviet Union has always acted thoughtfully and realistically. Let me point to recent Soviet initiatives, for example. The Soviet Union has called for the holding of talks on medium-range missiles, a reduction in the volume of armed forces in Europe, a reduction in USSR and U. S. troops, and other measures. The Soviet initiatives were approved by most of mankind.

It is always useful to recall that for the past 35 years Europe has been at peace. This is the longest period of peace in the 20th century. This was achieved, above all, thanks to the peaceful policy of the CPSU and the USSR government. Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union, decisions were made in Helsinki which are justifiably regarded as the code for the policy of peaceful coexistence. We, the FRG communists, are confident that the next stage of the talks held in Madrid could and should contribute to the continuation of the process of detente.

The reactionary circles in our country supported the Carter administration policy of aggravating the international situation and of urging on the arms race. Particularly zealous efforts were made in this respect by the forces rallied around F.-J. Strauss and the CDU/CSU. However, the social-liberal governmental coalition headed by Helmut Schmidt also supported the policy of the Carter administration in principle. This coalition called for the deployment of new American medium-range missiles in Europe. The FRG government was the first to agree to their deployment on its territory.

The FRG governmental coalition was also one of the active supporters of the Olympic boycott. Fortunately, the FRG turned out to be practically alone in Europe in this attitude. All its NATO and Common Market partners were represented at the Moscow games. British, French, Italian and all the other nations' athletes participated in the games. The result was that the FRG athletes were left behind, and we, the communists, regretted this greatly. This was a great loss for our sports sector.

In the aftermath of the Olympic games we are doing everything possible to lead the FRG athletes out of their isolation and back into international sports. We communists deem it our duty to promote the Olympic idea further as a symbol and powerful means of insuring peace and disarmament. The policy of peaceful coexistence has proved to be very useful and beneficial to the FRG. For example, hundreds of thousands of jobs in the Federal Republic depend on peaceful trade with the USSR and the other socialist countries. This has led to the development of a rather strange situation, in which the FRG government supported the boycott of the games and the NATO principles of increasing the arms race and followed the instructions of U. S. imperialism and the Carter administration, on the one hand, while, on the other, the largest FRG monopolies were and are striking their most profitable deals with the USSR. They are perfectly aware of the fact that their own existence requires trade with the stable socialist market. Let us recall yet another circumstance which is currently being discussed. The Soviet Union is

ready to supply the FRG and other European countries with large quantities of natural gas in exchange for large-diameter pipe produced by the large metallurgical plants in the Federal Republic, among other things. This would give jobs to thousands of people in the FRG for several years, not to speak of the contribution which would be made to the solution of a such a topical problem energy supply. Such trade economically benefits both workers and capitalists.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is helped by trade between socialist and capitalist countries. That is why we favor increased trade between the FRG and the socialist states. The present economic situation in our country is rather contradictory. We had a brief period of economic upsurge in the course of which unemployment declined and the rate of price increases slowed down. This year, however, according to the economics institutes, the situation in the national economy is becoming ever more critical. Economic growth is slowing down and the same institutes predict that next year it will come to a total halt. According to the same data, the number unemployed will be in the vicinity of one million in the autumn and winter of 1980. Some scientists believe that in the mid-1980s, there will be two million unemployed. This means that the struggle between labor and capital in the FRG will intensify inevitably. That is precisely why some bourgeois circles prefer to see the government in the hands of the Social Democratic Party today rather than the CDU, if only, perhaps because of the fact that the SDP has closer relations with the trade unions and a greater potential for preventing the working class from formulating its own demands. A social confrontation with such a government is considered by the powers that be to be less serious than under a CDU government, which would ignore the trade unions. The assumption of power by the CDU would aggravate the socioeconomic circumstances in the country. That is why the capitalist class in the FRG is interested in supporting the present governmental coalition.

I may also risk the prediction that the number of strikes in the country will increase. When social contradictions become aggravated and the burden of the crisis is further shifted to the working people, with an increase in unemployment and the further rise in inflation (prices are already rising at the rate of six percent annually), the situation in the country will become drastically more acute. Naturally, the trade unions will ask for higher wages to compensate workers and employees for the economic changes occurring in the country. In other words, an intensification of the struggle in the social area should be expected.

There are many other areas of exceptional importance in the domestic political life of the FRG. Today the democratic forces are concerned not only with the already clearly alarming and unexpected worsening of the employment situation and with rising unemployment as such. We are also concerned with the scarcity of training facilities for young workers. We are having difficulties in the schools as well: the level of teachers' unemployment in the FRG is quite high even though there is no surplus of teacher, as confirmed by our overcrowded classrooms. A critical situation prevails in the educational system.

Another problem is the increase in unemployment among higher school graduates. This is not to say that the Federal Republic has an excessive number of university students. The trouble is that insufficient funds are being appropriated for the creation of urgently needed jobs in health care and other areas of social life.

We face urgent problems in the field of democracy as well. The "profession bans" have become known throughout the world. For example, it is not merely a question of depriving a teacher of the right to work in his field for being a member of the German Communist Party or, sometimes, of the Social Democratic Party or a progressive trade union. There have been cases in which even postal or railroad workers have been dismissed for membership in progressive organizations.

Through their power the rich are stubbornly trying to limit the rights earned by the workers. They not only resort to "profession bans" but are encroaching on the right to strike as well. Recently the Federal Constitutional Court handed down a decision according to which the closing down of an enterprise is legal and constitutional in the event of a strike. This, however, conflicts with our fundamental law, which includes an article forbidding the closing down of an enterprise in the event of a strike. Today attacks are being directed at the right of the workers to participate, even though on a limited basis, in the management of enterprises in some categories, a right which was won in the first postwar years.

As a whole, therefore, the situation in the FRG is determined not only by attacks upon social rights or the worsening economic situation of the working people, but the increased struggle waged by the democratic forces as well. The trade unions and the workers are defending the right to participate in management and are opposing the closing down of enterprises whose workers are striking. A broad movement has spread throughout the country against the unconstitutional "profession bans." The struggle is being waged in the areas of democracy and social life. We must point out, however, that the struggle for higher wages has not as yet become as broad as in the past. However, as I already mentioned, its intensification is to be expected.

Let us emphasize that all these internal problems are in a way essentially inseparable from international problems.

Two years ago, at our party congress in Mannheim, we pointed out yet once again that today the struggle for peace and disarmament is a decisive problem in the class confrontation. We shall focus the efforts of the party, together with our allies in the struggle for peace and democracy, on the continuation of the process of peaceful coexistence and the struggle for disarmament in Europe, above all. We place first the struggle against the NATO decision on nuclear missiles. We consider this struggle the key to the further implementation of the policy of peace, for this decision is the main obstacle in the path of European peace and disarmament.

Now, following the Olympic Games, we must take specific steps to oppose the arms race. We shall try to organize a broad mass movement against the NATO decisions. We consider this to be our main task. Nor will the German Communist Party ignore the social struggle. Together with the trade unions, we shall fight for the right of the workers to participate in the management of enterprises and will oppose lockouts. Our party will support the workers in their struggle against the entrepreneurs and the monopolies and for higher wages. Naturally, we shall continue our struggle against restrictions on civil rights in the FRG,

particularly against the "profession bans," for this affects the lives of many people. Young citizens who are unable to work in their field because of their support of progressive ideas find themselves in a tragic situation. Our task is tirelessly to bring to the people the truth about human rights violations. Such violations do not take place in the USSR or the other socialist countries at all, as bourgeois propagandists claim they do. We must continue to prove and show that human rights are being most grossly violated under capitalism, and not only in countries such as Chile or Bolivia, but in the FRG as well.

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## ALONG THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 94-103

[Article by Shafik Jorge Handal, secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador Central Committee]

[Text] The current situation in El Salvador, as in all of Central America, is characterized by a deep socioeconomic and political crisis. This crisis has a number of reasons among which we shall name, to begin with, the breakdown of the so-called policy of dependent industrialization of Central American countries pursued in the 1950s-1960s, a policy consistent, above all, with the interests of foreign monopolies, U. S. monopolies above all.

As a result of such contradictions, a war broke out in July 1969 between El Salvador and Honduras. It led to the collapse of the system of treaties and agreements concluded among the five members of the Central American Common Market and of the system of regional institutions whose purpose was to promote what was known as Central American integration.

Initially, however, particularly in the first half of the 1960s, economic life in El Salvador was in a state of upsurge, thanks to which the reactionary military dictatorship which had taken over the country as early as December 1931 became far more stable. This was the reason for which it allowed itself to play a minor "democratic" game. The electoral law was revised, offering the opposition forces access to the legislative assembly. These were years of electoral clashes and of the founding of democratic parties and various people's organizations.

Changes occurred in the class struggle of Salvadoran society as well. A middle class developed and the intelligentsia strengthened considerably. Capitalist relations affected the agrarian sector of the economy as well. This was inevitably paralleled by the painful process of the proletarianization of the broad peasant masses. Even though at a slower pace, the same process continued in the 1970s.

At the end of the decade the economy found itself on the brink of a total breakdown. According to official forecasts, the 1980 gross production will be more than six percent below the 1979 level. Last year 17 factories closed down; 15 closed down in the first 2 months of this year, with a real danger that yet another 45 may close. The sowing campaign was a virtual failure within the same period. Foreign currency reserves dropped to their lowest level in the country's

history. According to the Central Bank, \$1.5 billion was withdrawn. This was yet another reason for the closing down of factories, for 80 percent of the raw materials they process are imported.

In the 1970s the changes which took place in the national economy and the social structure developed into an ever more acute struggle as a result of economic stagnation. Since a certain opportunity for participating in the elections was still left to the masses, the political struggle developed mainly in this sector. The communist party began to participate in electoral campaigns starting with the 1967 presidential elections, when it was still clandestine. The party actively joined in the electoral struggle, using all possible channels for the politization of the masses and for increasing the effort to create a united front of democratic forces and to focus the struggle on a program for political, economic and social changes. Even though we took part in electoral campaigns over a period of 11 years, we nevertheless always openly stated that we did not expect a great deal from any such elections, and that under the conditions which prevailed in our country it was virtually impossible for anyone to be voted into power.

The National Opposition Alliance was organized in 1971. It included the Communist Party of El Salvador, the Christian Democratic Party and the National Revolutionary Movement. As early as 1972, the alliance won the presidential election. It was then, however, that the view of the Communist Party of El Salvador on the true role of elections in our country was confirmed. The military regime did not recognize the results of the elections but imposed upon the people the next dictator--Col Armando Molina.

Let us note, at this point, that in sociopolitical terms the armed forces in our country are far from an integral organism. Several political currents are represented in it. Under Molina's rule, in particular, a wing developed with the aim of finding a solution to the national crisis through reforms. However, the oligarchy rejected even the lame law on agrarian change formulated by reformist army circles. Along with the reformist current an openly reactionary current operated in the army which sought to reach its objectives exclusively through repressive measures. This group within the armed forces became ever stronger, particularly in the 1970s. Its fascist nature was unquestionable. The links between this segment of the military and the most powerful sectors of local financial capital and, through them, with the multinational monopolies (U. S., West German, and others) are widely known. The latter control the largest banks in the country and, essentially, its entire economy. The representatives of this current openly call for a reorganization of the governmental structure in accordance with their reactionary ideas. The counterrevolutionary fascist coups in the south--in Chile and Uruguay-- and the so-called economic miracle advertised by the Brazilian fascist government during that time contributed to the development of such feelings in the armed forces.

Taking all this into consideration, the National Opposition Alliance and the Communist Party of El Salvador, which was one of its members, actively participated in the elections, thus using the opportunity to engage in extensive explanatory work with the masses, warning them of the threat of fascism, rallying all population strata opposing such a threat within a single front and preparing them for the



subsequent stage of the struggle. This stage was bound to come once the possibilities of the electoral struggle had been exhausted, as indeed was soon to be the case.

Once again the candidate of the National Opposition Alliance, Col Ernesto Claramont, representing the democratic current in the armed forces, won the 1977 presidential elections. However, once again the government annulled the electoral results and appointed Gen Carlos Umberto Romero, the stooge of the ruling party, to the presidency. This marked a sharp turn in the mood of the toiling masses and the entire people, who now decided to resort to armed struggle. They began to set up armed organizations which, although extant since 1970, had until recently been both small and poorly armed.

As the position of the masses changed, so did that of the church. In the course of the 1970s it had become radicalized. However, this process was particularly intensified when Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, subsequently treacherously killed by the fascists, became the archbishop of San Salvador.

A huge political crisis developed. The fascists tried, and are still trying, to strengthen their power through terror, in the course of which murders have become a common phenomenon. However, these methods are no longer yielding the desired results. Quite the contrary, the cohesion of the people's masses and their combat spirit are strengthening with every passing day.

The victory of the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979 provided a powerful incentive for the upsurge of the revolutionary movement and gave new strength to the people's masses in our country. It proved that any cruel regime, even though armed to the teeth, could be overthrown, and that the suppression of a popular movement could trigger a tremendous explosion of discontent. According to the reaction, the "error" in Nicaragua was that the authorities did not undertake timely reforms which would somewhat improve the situation of the masses, and had such reforms been effected in 1978 in that country, the Sandinistas would not have won in 1979.

The White House undertook to organize proper contacts with the Christian Democratic Party and with some circles in the armed forces. The initial hope was that with the Christian Democratic Party, General Romero would set up a coalition government which would give the green light for reform. However, the fascists themselves wrecked the attempts to lead General Romero along this path with the support of the United States. The fascists believed that the mass murders committed between January and October 1979 would block the process of democratization. Suffice it to recall, for example, the attack made in February of last year on the El Despertar Catholic Center, located not far from San Salvador, in the course of which a priest and many of the faithful were killed.

A series of murders took place in May 1979 opposite the portico of the main cathedral in San Salvador and at the Venezuelan Embassy. The fascists had planned this crime to defeat the "democratization" plan drafted by the U. S. Department of State. They were against any deviation from their habitual ruling methods. The purpose of these premeditated crimes was not only to frighten the clergy but to block the participation of the church in the talks between the Christian Democrats and the government.

The other lesson which U. S. imperialism and the country's ruling class learned from the Nicaraguan revolution was that "liberation" had to be quick if an upsurge of the revolutionary movement was to be prevented. No time was left for lengthy discussions. The State Department insisted on having a so-called self-coup d'etat. According to this plan General Romero was to leave the country, naturally with the money he had plundered, and so on. Indeed, he "voluntarily" went into exile. The position of head of government, therefore, became vacant.

Meanwhile, concern developed among the young officers below the rank of lieutenant colonel. They tried to find their own solution to the acute crisis. The example of Nicaragua proved that a situation could develop in which the army would be "taken out of the game." Most officers were in favor of avoiding confrontations with the revolutionary movement. That is why when a "self-coup" was attempted on 12 October 1979 with U. S. support, the young officers carried out their own coup on 15 October regardless of the American plan. However, the leaders of the movement, Colonel Majano above all, did not use the military force at their disposal to suppress the reaction and did not offer their hand to the people's democratic movement.

Nevertheless, the progressive platform drafted by the young officers gained the support of virtually all democratic circles. The progressive forces hoped that an offensive would be mounted against the fascists and that opportunities would develop for political, economic and social changes in the interests of the people. On the other hand, however, the fascist elements became energized. Assassinations in broad daylight, with the victims including heads of the young officers' movement, became more frequent.

With their raids on the El Despertar Catholic Center and the armed attack by demonstrators at the main cathedral and the Venezuelan Embassy, the fascists tried to halt all trends toward democratization. After 15 October they resorted to the same bloody methods, but much more energetically: the number of assassinations rose higher than ever.

At its April 1979 Seventh Congress, the Communist Party of El Salvador reached the conclusion that the solution of the national crisis through reforms was no longer possible. We should bear in mind, above all, that for the past 50 years a military dictatorship had ruled the country, ferociously, and in the last 10 it had taken on the characteristics of open fascist tyranny. Naturally, it was impossible to use this power system to promote democracy. It had to be crushed or radically restructured if it was to serve the tasks of the revolution. The other major obstacle was that the bulk of the Salvadoran ruling class is reactionary. For half a century its members have firmly opposed any kind of progressive initiative.

The main thing is that the growing revolutionary movement (particularly since 1977), supported by the working people of town and country, cannot be satisfied with insignificant reforms which do not take into consideration the demands of the masses which created this movement. The events following the 15 October coup fully confirmed the accuracy of the party's conclusion.

The domestic reaction, the fascist elements in the army, and the U. S. imperialists watched the rapprochement between the young military and the democratic and progressive circles and their attempts to change the ratio of forces in the army with great concern. In December 1979 the reaction was able to strengthen its positions by changing the line followed by the Permanent Defense Council--a collective organ established after the 15 October coup. The right-wing element regained the upper hand in the army. This allowed the military junta, which was counting on that, to launch an offensive against the progressive forces within the government. The hopelessness of the reformism favored by the progressive wing in the army became obvious. This very fact predetermined the withdrawal of the democratic forces from the government and their subsequent affiliation with the revolutionary movement.

Our party supported the government which was formed immediately after the 15 October coup. It tried to make clear the unrealistic and harmful nature of reformist illusions and to assist in achieving a reorganized regrouping of democratic forces. We explained this to our allies with the utmost clarity. The party was the only revolutionary force in the country which could take on this role, for in the 1970s we were the only ones to pursue a policy of alliance with these forces. We stated to our allies that the reformist plan was doomed to failure and that we did not share their hopes. At the same time, however, we were willing to experiment with it while being ready to reject it if necessary. The time for rejecting it had now come.

The United States imperialists tried to rally the counterrevolution on a new basis through an alliance of the Christian Democratic Party and the armed forces. A new junta was formed in January 1980 as a result of these maneuvers. It included two representatives of the military and three civilians. The new junta was quite different from the one which had been set up after the October coup. Only two of the former members were retained. The other three civilian members of the junta were replaced by two representatives of the right wing of the Christian Democratic Party and one neutral. The union between the Christian Democrats and the military did not prove durable. The paradox was that the Christian Democratic Party, which had garnered the largest number of votes in the 1960s and 1970s, had lost so much of its influence that it was unable even to secure the appointment of its people to ministerial and other important governmental positions. The democratic elements in the party refused to accept ministerial positions. Unable to fulfill their promise to put an end to repression in the country, they lost any base for a dialogue with the left-wing forces. Under these circumstances, a number of Christian Democratic Party leaders who held governmental positions began to offer their resignations. Such precisely was the case with most ministers belonging to the Christian Democratic Party and a Christian Democrat representing the party in the junta.

The influence of the Christian Democratic party declined to such an extent that it was unable to nominate mayoral candidates for even the smallest municipalities. This proved that not only most of the party activists but the bulk of the rank and file members had abandoned it.

Today the right-wing reactionary junta is speculating on its fictitious support of reforms. It even passed an agrarian reform law. At the same time, however, it proclaimed a state of emergency which has not been lifted to this day. It was becoming ever more obvious that demagogic views on reforms were no more than a tactical step in the plans of the military and the reactionaries.

It was at that time that the Yankee imperialists defined their main line of behavior for Central America, and in particular, for San Salvador: a military counter-revolution. This line was consistent with the general turn made in U. S. global policy toward cold war, military blackmail, threats of military intervention, the arms race, and other methods. The United States has little faith in the possibility of reform under the existing circumstances. This skepticism is manifested in the fact that it provided neither the technical nor the economic aid needed to realize such a possibility while spending many millions of dollars for military assistance. Nevertheless, it raised a propaganda stir, painting itself as the supporter of "progressive" governments.

By such means the United States is trying to cast a favorable light on its policy in San Salvador and Central America. At the same time, imperialism has mounted a slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, accusing them of human rights violations and trying to represent the international assistance given the Afghan revolution as a violation of the right of nations to self-administration.

The other tactical objective pursued by the United States is to gain the support of the Venezuelan government. Why is this necessary? The United States is fully resolved to prevent the outbreak of any other revolution in Central America, even at the cost of armed intervention carried out either by its own or other forces. The United States is already adopting measures to prevent the development within the Organization of American States of a bloc of countries, as happened during the Nicaraguan revolution. It is precisely for this purpose that Washington is trying to insure the support of Venezuela, which enjoys a certain influence among the members of the Andean Pact, which nations played an important role in the creation of the bloc of countries opposing the intervention in Nicaragua. The benevolent attitude of Venezuela will be maintained, the State Department believes, if the Christian Democratic Party joins the Salvadoran government. However, in order for the leadership of the Christian Democratic Party to gain national and international recognition, reforms are needed or, rather, discussions about reforms. Such is the background of the actions of the United States behind the scenes. It is a question precisely of a tactical maneuver rather than of a reformist way of resolving the national crisis.

As to the attitude toward reforms on the part of the people, of the broad toiling masses, they have viewed them with a great deal of skepticism and mistrust. The tactical move made by the reaction found neither support nor enthusiasm among the masses. What type of enthusiasm could there be when the killings of rural workers increased following the initial steps taken to implement agrarian reform? Misleading the people proved to be difficult and we believe that the Yankee imperialists had not planned on this. They were counting above all on the fact that this tactic would bring them international benefits.

However, the United States has taken part and is participating in the repression, a fact which can be asserted most firmly. It is actively arming and equipping the repressive Salvadoran forces with the latest weapons. It has sent its specialists in antiguerrilla warfare here. Together with the Salvadoran armed forces, these specialists have participated in a variety of punitive operations and have even commanded them. The United States has sent huge amounts of modern weapons, including helicopter gunships, for antiguerrilla warfare. In a word, it had no faith in reform but relied above all on violence. For this reason we--by this I mean the entire revolutionary movement--have described this tactic as a "policy of violence and reform." Violence, by which the reaction hopes to pacify the people, is given priority.

The United States suggested to the Salvadoran ruling classes that they should not fear reforms, for following the suppression of the revolutionary movement, on which they relied, the reforms could be annulled. Nevertheless, most of the upper bourgeoisie did not believe this, thinking it would be dragged into the "communist trap." Views which reveal the blind fear and hatred governing the extreme reactionary struggles are confirmed by statements to the effect that Carter is an agent of Moscow while White, the Yankee ambassador to San Salvador, is a Cuban agent.

It was thus that the policy of "violence and reform" led to the aggravation of contradictions among the ruling classes and to intensified fascist subversive activities.

Meanwhile, the circumstances in the country continue to tense up. At the beginning of May the fascists attempted a coup d'etat. The attempt failed and the members of the conspiracy, headed by Major D'Abbuison, were arrested. The detention of D'Abbuison and the other conspirators by the supporters of Colonel Majano, commander in chief of the country's armed forces, created a split within the armed forces. Some of the military asked for the release of the conspirators.

This was also demanded by the reactionary bourgeois landowning circles, which organized demonstrations in the streets of San Salvador and at the United States Embassy. In order to avoid a clash between the two sectors in the army, which would have inevitably brought about the fall of the cabinet, the United States decided to give the position of commander in chief of the armed forces to Colonel Gutierrez, the second member of the junta and a long-time CIA agent. Majano's influence in the army weakened. However, he was not removed from the cabinet, to avoid objections by his supporters.

Gutierrez immediately began talks with Guatemalan President Gen Lucas Garcia and soon afterwards proclaimed that "reforms in Salvador have come to an end." This statement was backed by actions. The land which had been expropriated in accordance with the agrarian reform law began to be returned to the landowners. It was clear that Gutierrez was thus hoping to pacify the ruling classes. However, he was rather unsuccessful. The fascists had other ideas. They turned these changes to their own advantage and decided that success had to be achieved through the use of the old methods of force and conspiracy.

Let us mention that the reactionary government of Guatemala and its ruling party, the National Liberation Movement, which is in fact a fascist party, actively supported the Salvadoran fascists with weapons and money, granted them asylum on their territory, and did everything possible to encourage their struggle against reforms and for the reorganization of the junta.

The circumstances in the country called for the unification of all revolutionary and democratic forces. Starting with December 1979, major successes were achieved along this path. A platform for the future revolutionary democratic movement was drafted and adopted. It called for a solution to the national crisis through the overthrow of the military dictatorship which held fascist positions, the destruction of the repressive apparatus on which it relied and, in particular, the liquidation of the paramilitary gangs of murderers. It called for the establishment of a new people's democratic system, based on a broad alliance of revolutionary and democratic forces.

Soon after the adoption of this program the forces which supported it set up a revolutionary democratic front. In this way the program became the platform of the Revolutionary Democratic Front which rallied 21 organizations of different ideological and political beliefs. All of them are patriots and supporters of the progressive development of the country. The front includes the Social Democratic Party, which has converted to the position held by the revolutionary organization. Some of the Christian Democratic leaders, including prestigious ones such as Dr Lara Velado, left the party and organized the Social Christian Movement, which joined the front. Several organizations of small employers have joined the front together with democratic military groups, such as the supporters of Col Ernesto Claramont and, something particularly important, workers', peasants' and students' organizations. The Revolutionary Democratic Front is headed by Enrique Alvaro Cordova, a former minister of agriculture and the leader of the Salvadoran Independent Movement of Specialists and Technicians. This movement rallies government employees, some of whom have held ministerial or other high positions in the reformist and other cabinets. These people have left their governmental positions because of their democratic convictions.

Of late the process of unification of the revolutionary movement has reached a new level. All revolutionary organizations have reached the same opinion regarding the general line to be followed in international politics: armed struggle combined with political struggle. The decision was made to strengthen the coordination of activities and to increase them ever further. This course is backed by the prestige of parties such as the Communist Party of El Salvador, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, the Armed Forces of National Resistance and the Revolutionary Party of El Salvador, better known by the name of its military wing, the People's Revolutionary Army. Currently these organizations have mounted a military and political offensive of revolutionary forces under unified military and political leadership and have undertaken activities in the international arena.

Despite the strict restrictions imposed on the press in San Salvador, the news agencies are reporting news of the armed actions of the people's forces on a daily basis. In order to mislead world public opinion the government is trying to depict the victims of the terror it has spread throughout the country as the casualties of clashes with guerrilla forces.

The real picture, however, is different. The reactionary junta and the U. S. military advisers--specialists in anti-insurrection warfare--are waging war against the peaceful population, using the tactics of encirclement and destruction. They block off individual parts of the country or urban districts and kill everyone indiscriminately. Rural areas are bombed with napalm. Helicopter gunships are destroying the homes of peasants and killing people. Official propaganda represents all this as clashes with guerrillas and the number of casualties is underestimated. In reality, it is not a question of guerrillas or members of revolutionary organizations. Naturally, they too suffer losses but their casualties are low. Thousands of peasant families in El Salvador have become the victims of such encirclements. There is no family without a casualty. Driven, together with their children, from one end of the country to the other, they seek shelter in churches, schools, or trade union premises. However, the pursuers catch up with them there as well.

U. S. imperialism is preparing to intervene in our country and is urging the Honduran and Guatemalan armies to do so. This aspiration is shared by the frenzied Central American reactionaries as well. However, a revolutionary movement is spreading in Guatemala while organizations of the broad toiling masses in town and country are operating in Honduras, and the Honduran army itself includes democratic and progressive forces who are unwilling to be executioners and policemen serving the Salvadoran reaction and imperialism. That is why the United States will find it difficult to use either country to serve its interests. In case of extreme need, the United States is training its own Marines for invasion. The Salvadoran revolutionary movement is taking all these threats into consideration and is preparing the masses for long-term opposition to the aggressors, including a struggle against the U. S. Marines. Let us recall that this struggle has a long tradition in Central America. The legendary General Sandino himself started the heroic movement of resistance to U. S. intervention in the mountains of Nicaragua at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, supported by the peoples of Central, and in fact all of Latin America. Many Salvadorans fought in Sandino's detachments. Let us also recall that the first Salvadoran to join Sandino was Augustin Sarabundo Marti, one of the founders of our communist party.

As it happened, the U. S. Marines were unable to defeat Sandino militarily and were forced to leave Nicaragua. It is true that what the United States was unable to achieve militarily it achieved through political machinations, which, as we know, involved the participation of Somoza, who subsequently became the blood-stained dictator of Nicaragua and who betrayed and murdered Sandino. The Sandinist movement proved that the people can win. Furthermore, the international circumstances today are more favorable than those of the 1920s and 1930s. Today the revolutionary movement in El Salvador is far stronger than before. It has sunk deep roots among the masses and can count on the armed support of the entire people. A revolution is in the making in El Salvador which will be difficult to suppress, even with the help of foreign intervention.

Although the militarists and the most reactionary circles in the United States have chosen the course of foreign invasion, we are doing everything possible to prevent it. We consider that there are in today's world moral, political and

material forces capable of restraining the imperialists. We take this fact into consideration in our activities by ever more closely linking the political and armed struggle within the country with the political struggle in the international arena. It is necessary above all to expose the criminal policy of the United States in Central America and to expose to the entire world the hypocritical views of imperialism on human rights, nonintervention, and so on.

An extensive campaign must be pursued in support of the Salvadoran refugees, who have become the victims of imperialism and its cruel policies. The voice of the world's public opinion must be heard from the rostrum of the United Nations so that matters will not end with declarations, specific measures being taken instead such as, for example, the establishment of six refugee camps, as suggested by the Roman Catholic Church in San Salvador. In our view, this would not only help the refugees but would tie the hands of the United States. The time has come to raise the slogan "Down with assassinations and down with genocide in El Salvador!" and to identify those responsible for this genocide. We believe that the democratic forces in the world are capable of preventing armed foreign aggression. This would enable the Salvadoran people themselves to find a solution to the profound national crisis into which imperialist domination and the bourgeois landowning oligarchy have plunged the country.

We must clearly prove that a war is being waged in El Salvador or, rather, two types of war: one which is unjust, reactionary and criminal, unleashed by imperialism and by the Salvadoran and Central American reaction against the Salvadoran people. It is not being waged against left-wing extremists and terrorists, as the bourgeois propaganda claims. It is a real war of terrorism being waged against the entire nation, against the overwhelming majority of the people. Its objective is not only to suppress the people of El Salvador but also to restore the reactionary dictatorship in Nicaragua and turn back the liberation process in Central America and the Caribbean. The second war is a just war, a revolutionary war, a war being waged by a nation which wants to be free of oppression and to put an end to the killing of democratic and innocent people, to establish its own system and independently control its state.

The revolutionary movement in El Salvador will win out. It will win through the force of arms, for objectively there is no other way. Bearing the experience of Nicaragua in mind, we can speak of a combination of different forms of revolutionary struggle: by guerrillas, with the help of regular forces, through armed uprisings and by peaceful actions, through political and economic strikes and battles at the barricades, through guerrilla ambushes and large-scale military operations. This will require the creation of different types of armed forces, ranging from self-defense forces and militia subunits and guerrilla detachments to a regular army capable of fighting on the strategic level. All this is taking place in our country. Last October the revolutionary forces organized a single insurrectionary army which was named the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. This is yet another major step taken in the struggle waged by the Salvadorans for their freedom. The blows which the insurrectionist army is dealing the enemy are becoming ever more tangible. We are convinced that the revolution in El Salvador will win out. It will triumph despite the counteractions of the gentlemen from the Pentagon and the U. S. National Security Council and despite the furious opposition of the reaction in Central America.



## WE ARE SURE OF OUR VICTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 104-105

[Article by Sam Nujoma, president of the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO). Statement delivered at the press conference in Moscow, courtesy of APN]

[Text] The situation in Namibia is particularly critical. The regime in Pretoria and its Western imperialist patrons are engaged in underhanded maneuvers aimed at continued plundering of the national wealth of our country. The people of Namibia, however, do not intend to tolerate this situation and are expanding their struggle against racist oppression. Of late military units of fighters for freedom have struck hard blows at the racist army. In particular, our forces are mounting successful operations in the northern, northwestern and central parts of Namibia. Operations are being extended into the southern part of the country from the bridgeheads occupied. The initiative remains ours despite the additional forces brought in from the Union of South Africa by air, land and sea. Currently some 70,000 South African soldiers and police are already deployed in Namibia, a country which numbers only slightly over one million people! Let me point out that to a certain extent, we have been able to paralyze economic life by blowing up railroad bridges and destroying strategic transport facilities linking Namibia with South Africa. Nor are we interrupting our attacks on racist military targets.

The enemy is suffering significant losses in manpower and equipment and, something particularly worth emphasizing, we are causing him tremendous moral harm. The South African racists are being shamed by all honest people on earth. In answer to the development of guerrilla warfare, the South African racists are making punitive raids against the civilian population of the liberated areas of Namibia and the territories of neighboring African countries, Angola and Zambia in particular. The racists are using tanks, heavy artillery, aviation and other very modern types of ordnance against SWAPO detachments. Landing troops are being used as well.

What is the objective of the enemy's counteroffensive? The purpose is to deflect the new wave of the national liberation movement in Southern Africa. The racists are trying to destabilize the developing Angolan economy in order to force the government and people there to abandon their support of the just struggle waged by the people of Southern Africa, Namibia above all.

The racists have imposed Draconian repressive legislation throughout Namibian territory, according to which any resident of the country may be detained,

arrested, sent to jail or even executed without trial or investigation, not to mention the fate of SWAPO activists whose murder and disappearance without a trace have become commonplace phenomena in Namibian territory.

In order to undermine the growing prestige and influence enjoyed by SWAPO among the people, the racists are resorting to base and treacherous means. Dressed in the uniforms of the troops of the SWAPO national liberation army, acting usually at night, they attack peaceful settlements, burn them down and kill their population. However, such provocations and atrocities are not yielding the results desired by the racists. Throughout Namibia SWAPO enjoys the extensive support of the absolute majority of the population. The people consider it their defender and liberator. Our army, as I have already pointed out, has cleared extensive areas of enemy forces, particularly in the northern part of the country. Here schools, hospitals and people's power organs are being set up. A new life has already begun in these areas. Even though our compatriots are short of food, clothing and many objects of prime necessity, they feel themselves to be free. This makes them happy.

We are not alone. In the international arena we note the increasing aid and support of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, the Organization of African Unity, the nonaligned movement, and various international solidarity organizations in Western Europe and America.

The material aid and political and diplomatic support we are receiving from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are of tremendous importance. We have high regard for the foreign policy of the Soviet state, one of whose cornerstones is to help the peoples fighting all forms of colonialism, racism, apartheid and fascism. It is well-known that in the United Nations and at all other international encounters, Soviet representatives have always raised their voice in protest and support of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Ever since Lenin founded the Soviet state, the Soviet people have invariably remained the loyal defenders of all those exploited and oppressed.

The strategy for the further struggle against the occupation forces was formulated at the last SWAPO Central Committee plenum. We consider that the armed struggle against the South African fascist regime is the only effective means of achieving Namibian independence. This struggle must be energized. At the same time, we are undertaking political and diplomatic actions with a view to insuring the international isolation of the South African regime and reaching a political solution. The plenum's materials mention yet once again the fact that the Western countries are continuing to provide all-round support to the South African racists in their occupation of Namibia. We shall continue to appeal to the international community and the United Nations with a view to forcing these countries to obey the United Nations embargo on the delivery of weapons to the Union of South Africa.

The Union of South Africa is considered by imperialism as a Western bastion in the confrontation with the national liberation movement in Africa. However, the Western politicians and even the thick-skulled racists in Pretoria understand that it would hardly be possible to rule Namibia for long using the old colonial means. For this reason the racists are intensively implementing the neocolonialist plan for the gradual organization in Namibia of a puppet administration, with a view to

proclaiming the fictitious independence of the country and preventing the holding of democratic and free elections there. Thus the racists hope to prevent SWAPO from assuming power. Our struggle is continuing, however, and we are confident of our victory.

5003

CSO: 1802

## MAJOR AND ACCESSIBLE ENERGY RESERVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 106-107

[Letter to the editors by P. Levitin, thermopower engineer, Leningrad]

[Text] The November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum emphasized that at whatever pace we develop the power industry, the conservation of heat and energy will remain the most important national task and that the plans must include greater assignments on the extensive application of energy-conserving technology. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of our party and economic organizations to an exceptionally simple and very effective means for upgrading the economical utilization of one of the basic types of fuel--natural gas--which will account for 27 percent of the production of all types of fuel in the country in 1980.

This method involves the use of the excess pressure which develops in the course of the use of natural gas. We know that the transportation of natural gas involves major energy outlays on the part of gas compressing stations which raise the pressure in the pipelines. At the gas distribution stations in consumer centers, the gas pressure is reduced several hundred percent down to a level which allows further direct delivery to the consumer. In the course of this operation, the whole of the excess gas pressure energy is totally lost. However, if the so-called pressure regulators currently in use at the gas distribution stations were replaced with gas-fueled turbines (or turbo-expanders) connected to an electric power generator, all of the energy of the surplus natural gas pressure could be used for the production of electric power. This would enable us to compensate partially for the gas piping outlays and to reduce transportation costs. The gas itself, going through the turbine, would be piped to the consumer entirely loss-free and at the necessary pressure.

Major underground natural gas storage areas are being installed in many parts of the country. The use of such areas also involves considerable losses of energy needed for filling the underground areas with gas at high pressure. As the gas is piped out of the storage area its pressure is reduced as it is at gas distribution stations. In this case as well, the surplus gas pressure energy is totally lost. The installation of gas-fueled turbines for the lowering of the natural gas pressure would enable us to recover a considerable part of the energy used in filling the underground storage areas.

The utilization of surplus natural gas pressure can be organized at gas distribution stations for major consumers as well, such as electric power plants and industrial enterprises, metallurgical plants in particular. Long practical experience acquired in the use of turbo-expanders abroad has proved that the use of

surplus natural gas pressure at electric power plants is particularly effective, for this raises their overall efficiency level. The use of gas-fueled turbines at industrial enterprises as well has been quite effective.

Over 20 years of experience in the use of two such domestically produced turbines at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant, developing an overall power of 20,000 kilowatts, offers convincing proof of this fact. The cost of the electric power generated by these turbines is less than one-third that of the electric power obtained through regular channels. The required specific capital investment amounted to under one-half that required for the building of thermoelectric power plants. Outlays for the installation of the two gas-fueled turbines were recovered in less than two years.

Over one-quarter of the gas extracted is used by the country's electric power plants. Computations based on available experience in the operation of gas-fueled turbines prove that the use of surplus natural gas pressure by electric power plants would enable us to produce no less than three billion kilowatt hours of electric power and thus save hundreds of thousands of tons of conventional fuel.

Unfortunately, however, we must note that despite the high effectiveness of using excess natural gas pressure in gas-fueled turbines, these have hardly become widespread in our country. A paradoxical situation has developed: the necessary theoretical and experimental work on the utilization of excess natural gas pressure has been done by Soviet scientists. In particular, the country has had long experience in the production and exploitation of gas-fueled turbines and in the use of excess blast furnace gas at metallurgical plants. Currently such systems are being exported to a number of capitalist countries. Meanwhile, in our own national economy, and even at the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, which was the initiator of the development and use of turbo-expanders, matters have not gone beyond the experimental stage. The main reason for this situation, in our view, is the slowness with which the forces of inertia are being surmounted in economic thinking and in management practice, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev mentioned at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum.

The volumes of natural gas extraction and consumption in the country are rising steadily and so are the related outlays. That is why it appears necessary to organize the extensive industrial utilization of surplus natural gas pressure in large consumption centers without delay. We believe that the Ministry of Gas Industry and the USSR State Gas Control Administration, which is specifically responsible for controlling the thrifty and thus effective utilization of fuel gas, could make a major contribution to the solution of this problem.

Insuring the efficient utilization of fuel-energy resources is the primary obligation of all units of the economic mechanism, without exception. As we know, in its March 1978 decree "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Kemerovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee on the Conservation of Fuel and Energy Resources at Oblast Enterprises and Construction Projects," the CPSU Central Committee "made it incumbent upon heads of ministries, departments, associations and enterprises to lead the struggle for the thrifty and rational utilization of everything available to the economy of our country and of one of its important components—fuel-energy

resources." In September 1980 the CC CPSU considered the experience of the collectives of enterprises in the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgical and chemical industries on the utilization of secondary fuel-energy resources. In accordance with the decree which was passed, USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics must formulate measures insuring the extensive utilization of this important reserve for the conservation of fuel in all economic sectors in 1981-1985. This task must be carried out.

5003

CSO: 1802

## IMPERFECT PARTNERSHIP

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 107-110

[Letter to the editors by V. Koshelev, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] Agricultural production specialization and concentration is one of the decisive prerequisites for further progress in agriculture. "All of us must become imbued with the profound conviction," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, "that through agricultural production specialization and concentration, based on interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration, and through the use of the advantages of the socialist system, our agriculture can greatly accelerate its development and meet the growing needs of the country for food and industrial raw materials far more completely."

Currently about 10,000 interfarm enterprises and organizations are in operation in our country. With every passing year they are producing ever greater amounts of various agricultural commodities such as meat, milk, eggs, grain, vegetables, fruits, and rough and fresh forage. As a rule, the indicators of the increased volume of output and effectiveness of the new economic formations are higher than those of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

However, the results achieved in the work of interfarm enterprises and organizations could have been far better. Not all of them are as yet working at full capacity. In some cases their economic activities result in losses estimated in the tens of thousands of millions of rubles per year. The level of profitability, a major economic indicator, has declined for the interfarm enterprises of some republics. The dynamics of capital returns has been unsatisfactory as well. It has declined in recent years at the interfarm enterprises from 43 to 37 kopecks per ruble of productive agricultural capital on an average.

This situation is due to a number of reasons. Let us mention first of all the poor organization of economic work in many farms and, secondly, unsettled cost-effectiveness relations among them. This tangibly affects the moral and material incentives of labor collectives to improve work effectiveness and quality. The extensive economic study of outlays and results is a most necessary prerequisite for any successful economic activity. The observance of this requirement becomes even more necessary when it is a question of interfarm enterprises and organizations involving the joint efforts of many labor collectives, which frequently operate under unequal natural-weather and economic conditions and on different effectiveness levels. The collectives of many juridically autonomous farms, often

under the jurisdiction of different sectors and departments, are involved in interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration. All of this increases the special importance of operative summing up of the work results of each of the numerous economic production units and the objective comparison of such results, making the proper distribution of the net income among them and the determination of the earnings of the workers in accordance with the volume and quality of their output and level of production outlays possible.

In our view, not the least of the hindrances to such work on the farms is the imperfections in the existing system of intra-cost accounting. We must point out that in 1976 the USSR Ministry of Agriculture approved the Basic Regulations on Intra-Cost Accounting in Kolkhozes, Sovkhozes and Other Agricultural Enterprises, which met practical requirements more adequately. However, the new method too proved to be beset by shortcomings. It does not make it possible to take the quality of output and the level of production outlays in the wages fully and objectively into consideration or to insure the firm combination of the interests of the individual worker, the labor collective and society at large in the course of the enhancement of production effectiveness. The subunit indicators are estimates and do not coincide with bookkeeping data. The farm economist issues a cost effectiveness assignment and a ceiling for outlays to each subunit, supervises the fulfillment of the plan and sums up the results of the work. However, his final figures are frequently not taken as mandatory. As a rule, the managers of such units and farm specialists are not actively involved in cost effectiveness work. In many farms the economists themselves are paying less attention to cost effectiveness. All of this lowers the level of its influence on production economics.

The study of the annual production activity results shows that some partners in interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial enterprises find themselves in debt, while others, especially interfarm enterprises, earn unjustifiably high profits.

For example, the Voronovo Mechanized Animal Husbandry Complex in the Moscow area, which purchases calves from several dozen farms, earns approximately eight million rubles per year. Its level of profitability is in excess of 70 percent. However, the millions of rubles earned affect the economy of the farms and the wages of the complex workers hardly at all. Under such circumstances the agricultural enterprises are not particularly interested in further lowering the production outlays designed to increase the volume and improve the quality of output. Thus, in a number of RSFSR oblasts and in several other republics, interfarm enterprises engaged in cattle feeding frequently lose millions of rubles from the sale of underweight steers to the state. This in turn lowers the share paid to the farms participating in the cooperative.

Occasionally kolkhozes and sovkhozes are unwilling to join interfarm enterprises and organizations because of disagreement with the existing procedures for the distribution of profits, and doubt about the possibility of defending their interests juridically and economically.

The "General Regulation on the Interfarm Enterprise (Organization) in Agriculture," passed by the USSR Council of Ministers stipulates that the profits earned



by interfarm enterprise belong in full to the shareholders. The same document also stipulates that the interfarm enterprise (organization) is guided in its activities by the current legislation of the USSR and the union republic, the current General Regulation and the bylaws of the interfarm enterprise (organization) itself.

Thus far, however, no such bylaws have been drafted. Apparently it was assumed that they would be adopted by each oblast, kray or republic independently. However, we found no bylaws in the interfarm enterprises which we had occasion to study. The regulation on the Mtsenskiy Interfarm Complex, adopted at a meeting of representatives of the oblast Orelskotoprom Association in May 1977, is indicative of the type of economic relations existing among cooperated partners. It stipulates that the balance sheet profit is distributed among the shareholding farms following the approval of the annual report of the Orelskotoprom Association in accordance with its instructions and model contract. A number of oblast associations distribute profits only after their subordinate interfarm enterprises have approved their annual reports. This enables the latter, in the case of losses resulting from their own unsatisfactory work, to cover them at the expense of the other shareholders--the kolkhozes and sovkhoses operating profitably. The interfarm enterprises have voted other benefits for themselves as well, enabling them to increase withholdings from profits to their benefit and bypassing the general meetings of shareholding farms. In delivering their output to the interfarm enterprise, the shareholding farms are sometimes unable even to cover production costs.

The economic inequality among the partners holds down the development and the improvement of cost effectiveness relations within the limits of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration. It lowers the material interest of their members in increasing output and improving its effectiveness.

It is no secret that even within a single farm, the production profitability achieved by individual cost-effectiveness subunits and the production costs for identical commodities occasionally show substantial differences in level. Even greater disparities in the levels of such indicators can be noted within interfarm organizations. It is obvious that enterprises with high built-in costs (fodder production, breeding farms, truck gardening in enclosed premises), all other conditions being equal, will have smaller profit increases than enterprises with low production costs. The problem of how to equalize the conditions under which the members of a cooperative do their farming therefore arises.

This problem can be resolved in two ways. The planning of production activities can be based on the level of profitability achieved by the enterprise prior to its affiliation with the association, while the surplus profits earned by the individual cost effectiveness collectives is redistributed among subunits showing low production profitability. There is another way as well: with the help of the pricing mechanism and using state purchase prices of finished goods and accountability production prices among intermediary production units, each enterprise within the collective of the enterprise (association) operating on a cost effectiveness basis is assigned an identical starting level of production profitability. A similar experiment has been carried out by a number of republics, the Lithuanian SSR in particular, with substantial positive results.

In our view, it would be expedient to build cost-effectiveness relations in all enterprises within an interfarm cooperative and within agroindustrial integration on the basis of a unified method. A proper method for determining the basic indicators of production activities of enterprises within an interfarm association would increase their economic interest in the further intensification of cooperation and production integration.

Long practical experience has convincingly proved the effectiveness of organizing the production process on the basis of the piece-rate wage system, which objectively encourages the cost effectiveness collectives to increase their high quality output and comprehensively save on outlays. A major advantage of this system is its simplicity and the easily traceable connection between the results of production activities and the level of wages: outlays are subtracted from the overall value of the factually created output, including wages and withholdings for general farm needs, to the extent defined by the plan, and the resulting amount is distributed among the members of the labor collective as additional payment. In the non-work-order form of production organization, which represents a further development of the piece rate system, the material incentive procedure is somewhat different: only material outlays and withholdings for general farm needs are subtracted from the overall value of the goods produced, and the differential is the wage fund. Therefore the amount is entirely determined by the bulk of the goods sold, their quality and the level of outlays.

We believe that cost effectiveness, based on the piece rate system of labor organization and wages, could be used as a basis for economic relations among all participants in interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration without exception: kolkhozes, sovkhoses, fodder-mixing plants, procurement offices, meat combines, butter and cheese-making plants, agricultural equipment associations, motor vehicle fleets and construction administrations.

The available experience has confirmed that the system of planning and economic incentives for production activities, based on the principles of cost accounting with a piece-rate wage system, can be mastered by the members of labor collectives quite easily within a period of 2 to 3 years. Naturally, this does not eliminate the problem of the economic training of farm managers and specialists. After mastering the non-work-order form of labor organization and wages, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other enterprises will be able skillfully to compute the accountability prices of goods produced through cooperation and integration and to distribute the resulting profits properly, on the basis of the factual contribution made by the individual members of the association to the end results of production activities and to more effective farming.

The conversion of all enterprises and organizations which are members of interfarm cooperatives or are within the system of agroindustrial integration to a cost-effectiveness system based on production organization with a piece-rate wage system is a major and important project. Its success largely depends on continued summation of the experience acquired, improvement in the methodology and practice of centralized planning of agriculture production and price setting, and better organization of material and technical supplies, capital construction and cadre training.

The purpose of interfarm and agroindustrial enterprises is to provide their partners with higher income and promote their incentive to achieve a considerable further increase in production effectiveness and work quality. "We do not need all types of associations," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, "but associations which truly raise to a new level the socialist socialization of production and labor, which are based on the latest achievements in science, equipment and technology, which insure the highest possible productivity and which yield a maximum amount of inexpensive goods." Only under such circumstances could interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration yield the desired economic and social results and contribute to the successful solution of the problems posed for agriculture by the party.

5003

CSO: 1802

## ON THE LEVEL OF VUZ TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 110-114

[Letter to the editors by B. Metelitsa, candidate of technical sciences and docent at the Kostroma Technological Institute]

[Text] In our technological institute in Kostroma, just as in all VUZs throughout the country, obviously, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Development of the Higher School and on Upgrading the Quality of Specialists' Training" is a permanent item on the agendas of party meetings, rectorate sessions, and faculty and chair councils. It cannot be a matter of indifference to even a single member of the staff. A fruitful discussion on the elaboration and implementation of the necessary measures is underway and new ways are being sought for the further improvement of the activities of the institute as a whole, its separate subdivisions, and individual teachers. The fact that all professors, instructors, and associates are interested in this is a reliable guarantee that the training-educational and scientific-methodical work of the institute will be radically improved in accordance with the tasks stemming from the decree. Its implementation should not be reduced to the level of a "seasonal" campaign, even though such might be quite effective.

This is a programmatic document which defines the strategy for the development of the higher school on a long-term basis and indicates the tactics for the efforts to be made by each higher educational institution. Its proper implementation requires the combination of the creative initiative of VUZ collectives and centralized decisions on a number of higher school problems.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is preparing a revision of school plans and curriculums. The proper documents are being drafted. It would be best if they reflected problems whose solution does not depend on the VUZs alone.

In the entire complex of problems related to improving higher education, upgrading the quality of the training and education is of prime significance at the present stage. The solution to this problem depends largely on the training-pedagogical cadres, their general culture, scientific erudition, social and political maturity, dedication to their work and, naturally, their professionalism. With every passing year their work is becoming ever more complex: the requirements facing specialists are rising, the volume of specialized knowledge is growing at a faster pace and the hours in the classroom are becoming more "packed." However, the teacher must also be an educator and, therefore, a sociologist and a psychologist.

Today the importance of the conceptual, the ideological-educational trend in lectures on any subject is clear to all. The task is to be able organically to blend this trend with the subject under study in such a way that the conviction about the significance of the questions raised shown by the teacher will become the conviction of the students. In molding the young mind, not only the volume of knowledge mastered is important, for so is something which is imparted as if "between the lines"--the education and intelligence of the educator contained in each one of his words. The personality of the instructor is a factor which sometimes plays a decisive role in the molding of the future specialist. We know that the higher the standard and the scientific prestige of the instructor, the greater his influence on the students is. It is an unwritten law that this sometimes begins even before the first lecture and still continues many years later.

Conversely, the formal performer of obligations, the pedantic, cold and indifferent teacher, all "buttoned up," will not arouse the students' interest in his subject and will not strike the spark of talent in any heart. Education has no tolerance for time servers.

The real teacher-educator has a sharp feeling for good and justice, a "parental concern" (as Prishvin has said), and is patient in his complex relations with his students.

The goodness of an educator should not be confused with being good-natured, undemanding of the students, or an unprincipled and tolerant attitude toward their weaknesses, laziness, evasions, and so on. Nor should a teacher frighten students with his pedagogical strictness, exigency, or callous, stern rigidity. In the final account, either of the two extremes is a manifestation of indifference to one's students. Most frequently an external "highly moral" purposefulness conceals an immoral nature.

The ethical pivot of any profession (this applies doubly in education) is the love of the person for his work. Even the slightest possible manifestation is sensitively noted by the students. They become inspired by a good attitude.

Something else: I recall a statement by an outstanding Soviet therapist: one could be a poor writer, a poor painter, or a talentless actor, but being a poor physician would be a crime.... Precisely the same can be said of the teacher.

Unfortunately, we must note that thus far we have no fully planned, efficient and strict system for the training and selection of scientific-pedagogical cadres for higher educational institutions, a system which would exclude the possibility that individuals who lack the necessary moral and professional qualities join our faculties. Today virtually anyone with a higher educational diploma, not to speak of a candidate or doctor of sciences diploma, may be allowed to become a VUZ teacher. Such diplomas, however, are in the best of cases merely proofs of educational standard and scientific merit, but do not in any way characterize the pedagogical qualities of the teacher. That is why the selection of people for postgraduate studies, where reserve of teaching cadres is created, must be very thorough from this viewpoint as well. Thus far this has remained an uncontrolled element.

The system of hiring educators through competitive examinations deserves our strongest approval. Such competitive examinations clearly prove the democratic nature of the Soviet higher school and the interest of the socialist state in choosing the worthiest people with a view to steadily upgrading the quality of VUZ staffs. Practical experience has indicated, however, that the present system of competitive examinations requires improvement. Competitive examinations are announced in the local press only; VUZs no longer exchange bulletins on vacancies; there are neither union nor republic level specialized printed organs covering such matters. Generally speaking, highly skilled personnel in VUZs, scientific research institutes, design bureaus or industrial enterprises receive no information on the need for educational cadres. This could explain the existing disproportion in the cadre structure of the VUZs in the Far East, Siberia and the central parts of the country, and those in the peripheral areas and the capital. Competitive examinations for vacancies are published in the oblast press, while as a rule the oblast has only one pedagogical or agricultural or aviation institute. This is an instance of formalism. Most competitive examinations have become intra-VUZ competitions. The result is that a position as instructor in theoretical mechanics (or even as the head of such a chair!) may be given to a person who has defended a dissertation on fuels and lubricants. Let us assume that under certain circumstances, in the course of time, he may become a skilled specialist in the subject. However, this would take years while in the meantime the training of the students will suffer. Among other things, the range of the scientific research interests of such a teacher is outside the field of his pedagogical activities. It is further possible that another VUZ may be looking for a specialist in fuels and lubricants.

For the sake of fairness let us say that the desire of the VUZs to deal with a person who is perhaps not the best but is one of their own is frequently related to the fear of making an error in the appointment of an outsider. The professional and specific qualities of the instructor chosen or his pedagogical standards are difficult to determine on the basis of the submission of competition documents. I recall a case in which a good scientific worker was appointed to a teaching position on the basis of a competitive application. However, he suffered from a serious speech defect. It would seem expedient to go back to the previous system of open model lectures or other types of preliminary tests for applicants.

Finally, in the interests of the cause, we should enhance the role and responsibility of the chairs in filling vacancies. Today all problems related to teachers' appointments are resolved essentially by the competition commissions and the VUZ or department councils.

Therefore, in order to be a teacher one must master the educator's profession rather than merely one's subject. A VUZ joke has it that pedagogy is a science which has been mastered equally poorly by all the teachers. The time has come to remove the aspect of truthfulness from this joke.

Naturally, the quality of cadres is not everything. The entire higher education system must be improved further. This also was mentioned in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree to which we referred. Furthermore, the gap between the volume of scientific knowledge acquired and the information shared in the

course of the training process, as well as the gap between this information and the volume of knowledge mastered by the students, is widening. A comprehensive search is underway for progressive training methods. For if the party is directing the VUZs toward the training of creative individuals, the traditionally descriptive nature of the presentation of the material and the one-sided system of "informing" the student are insufficient. The student must be taught how to search for and find new knowledge independently, to analyze and to assess it critically, and to formulate his own ideas knowledgeably. Practical experience indicates that unless a student has acquired such habits at the institute, and unless he has learned how to work independently and to display initiative, he will be no more than a craftsman with a rapidly stultifying mind in his subsequent production work.

The main aspect of education involves awakening the lively interest of the students. A strict lecturer may force the students to listen to his lectures. This, however, does not mean that the students will listen to what he has to say. Uninteresting classes rapidly become tiring. Their efficiency becomes insignificant. Conversely, the more eagerly the student listens, the more curious his mind becomes, the more firmly and profoundly he masters the lecture. All of us listen well when the mind becomes actively involved in what we are hearing. Leonardo da Vinci himself said that "Just as the absorption of food without pleasure becomes boring nutrition, the practice of science without passion clutters the mind, which becomes unable to master what it absorbs." If a student must be dragged along almost by force and is not inspired to move by himself and to become more inspired, no creative scientific achievement can be expected. It is precisely this which requires pedagogical skill, so that the student will become interested in his subject, will master the information, will begin to marvel and will learn how to think so that the official "you must" is converted into the student's "I want to."

For some reason rhetoric, i.e., the theory and method of the art of speech, seems to have been forgotten in the training of teaching cadres. Yet mastery of speech, of verbal expression, is the first sign of pedagogical skill. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the rhythm of a lecture, his expressiveness, dynamics and the passion of his words. We know that intonation itself in the presentation of a lecture provides its share of information. This makes the complexity of masterful lecturing understandable.

Mastery of the foundations of education, psychology, logic and philosophy is not the private preserve of the teacher. It must become a matter of concern for VUZs and the educational system as a whole. Without them and without their skillful use in the training process proper teaching would be as impossible as without the necessary knowledge of the subject.

We should pay attention to yet another important aspect of the general problem. During the student years there is intensive development of the intellect, the mind, speed of reactions, attention span, and so on. However, even the existing intellectual potential of the students is very poorly utilized because of the inadequacy of curriculums and imperfections in the training process. Many students suffer from a lack of standards for doing mental work and in particular elementary psychohygienic skills, since essentially no one is teaching them these

subjects. This raises the fatigue level which is frequently due to the inability to work, excessive smoking, inability to concentrate when necessary, and neglect of physical energy and training, more than to an excessive work load.

The more extensive use of the achievements of psychology in pedagogical practice would be expedient. For example, reading speed and memorization capacity can be considerably increased through special methods, not to mention the fact that the latest means and methods used in the scientific organization of labor should be applied more decisively in the training process.

The well-trained mind is immeasurably more capable than a mind which has been simply stuffed with knowledge. In the age of the scientific and technical revolution, the mastery of effective methods of acquiring knowledge is needed not only by the student but by any specialist. Therefore, upgrading the intellectual quality of our cadres on a national scale takes on major social significance.

In this connection we should pay attention to the nature of the activities of VUZ qualification upgrading departments (FPK). Their efforts are focused mainly on expanding and increasing knowledge in one or another subject. Let us frankly state that teachers who are accustomed to reading up on specialized subjects (this is mandatory!) frequently leave the department for the advancement of skills dissatisfied, without the feeling that they have acquired a substantial amount of new knowledge. There is nothing astounding in this, for the network of periodicals and other mass and special information media available in our country is quite extensive and accessible to the specialists. In my view, today's FPK must shift the center of gravity in their work to training-methodical work on problems in improving the training and education of the students. The FPK curriculums must properly reflect the numerous problems in VUZ pedagogy, psychology, logic, knowledge of bibliography, scientific and technical information, foundations of oratorical skills, psychophysiology and mental hygiene, and control over the knowledge-mastering process. With good programs and a proper selection of reading matter, any VUZ could organize the study of such problems for the benefit of the young teachers.

Finally, let us briefly mention the scientific organization of the training process in the VUZs. It involves a wide variety of problems. Unfortunately, there is the impression, judging from numerous articles in the press, that there is only the appearance of activity, accompanied by sound effects, rather than specific steps leading to the solution of these problems. The measures (described as "scientific organization of labor") which are proposed and implemented frequently are only formal.

Let me cite a single example: the matter of the optimum length of a classroom hour. Of late, a number of VUZs have converted to the extensive use of so-called "double class hours" or, in other words, the length of a lecture, a seminar or laboratory practice has been extended to 80 minutes without a break. Obviously, such a solution would make sense in individual cases only. Used on a regular basis, it is most frequently harmful. For many years the length of the academic hour in the VUZs was 45 to 50 minutes. Simple computations indicate that with "double hours," the overall duration of classroom work representing 5 years of



training (18-week semesters) is shortened by almost a full semester as compared with the 45-minute hour and by almost two semesters as compared with the 50-minute hour. Under circumstances in which the volume of necessary knowledge is growing, such "savings" in classroom time could hardly be considered justifiable.

What is the efficiency of the 80-minute hour? This is approximately the duration of a modern motion picture. The audience becomes interested in the plot and the performance of the actors, who are specialists in triggering the interest and holding the attention of the audience. However, no one usually watches more than one motion picture a day. For those who attend the theater for purposes of relaxation, a performance takes no more than 3 hours, and intermissions are mandatory between each act, the length of which is only 50 to 60 minutes. Each phrase, intonation, or gesture of the actor has been thoroughly planned and refined by the scenario writer and the director. Theaters and motion pictures have comfortable seats. Ventilation is mandatory and the perception of events occurring on the stage (or the screen) does not require any particular intellectual effort on the part of the audience.

The situation of the teacher and his students is far more complex. The 80-minute lecture resembles a "theatrical performance" by a single actor. However, the lecturer must also write the scenario and direct and, to a certain extent, act as the set designer and the costumer. However, no one has taught him all this and he is hardly ever a master of all these "skills." His isolated efforts are not equally good in all respects. The subject he presents demands the focused attention of the audience and involves a great deal of mental stress. Naturally, the comfort of a theater is not found in crowded classrooms. Here classes take up 6 to 8 hours daily.... No special experiment need be conducted to be able to question such an "innovation." This is merely one of the aspects of the problem of classroom training, but one which requires a specific and scientifically substantiated answer from specialists, followed by the application of the corresponding clearly regulated norms.

For many years a 10 minute exercise interruption at work has been practiced at 11 am. It may be useful to introduce such an exercise (or a similar one) in the course of the training process. Perhaps in breaks between lectures and seminars classical music could be played, soothing our feelings and triggering an emotional upsurge and, with it, an additional influx of strength... The VUZs need a system which would energize the students to a maximum in the course of the training process.

One can express as many wishes as one wants. Many of my colleagues are obviously able to do this more successfully than I. However, I would like to emphasize the need for an efficient approach to an important problem with an answer based both on scientific achievements and pedagogical experience.

The CC CPSU decree "On Work At the Moscow Higher Technical School imeni N. E. Bauman and the Saratov State University imeni N. G. Chernyshevskiy on Upgrading the Ideological-Theoretical Level of Teaching Social Sciences" played an important role in VUZ life. Like the other programmatic documents of our party, this has led to certain successes in developing the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory and

in ideological and educational work with the students. The content of the humanities has been improved and more closely linked with current CPSU political, organizational and economic activities. It would be untrue, however, to claim that we have come close to an ideal condition. Not all of the features of the decree are being implemented on an equally satisfactory basis. Thus, in my view, the automatic lengthening of the philosophy course and others, while, in fact, retaining their previous volume, should be considered unjustified. It has weakened the interest shown in some subjects by the students who, as we know, are already overloaded with current assignments. It has reduced the overall level of the material they have mastered, weakened their discipline, and led to other undesirable consequences.

Also it is hard to understand why students attending evening classes are given a substantially fewer number of lectures and seminars on social subjects than are daytime students. Such students find it more difficult to study and their possibility of communicating with the teachers is substantially more limited.

Sometimes within a full semester there may be no more than four lectures and four seminars on philosophy.

When some such seminars or lectures coincide with holidays the situation becomes even worse. Within such a short time one can barely get an idea of basic concepts in haste, without acquiring a proper mastery of the real elements of methodological culture which every specialist needs. We cannot hope that this shortcoming could be compensated by the teaching of other subjects, for the level of the philosophical thinking of teachers of specialized courses is rarely on the necessary level, not to mention the fact that they find it difficult to exceed the limits of their special subject. In a word, some thought should be given to this matter.

Formal decisions without the required preliminary scientific-methodical work are particularly unacceptable in such matters.

Like all working people in our homeland as they complete the five-year plan, the VUZ workers are turning their thoughts to the forthcoming 26th CPSU Congress. The increased role of the higher school in the areas of socioeconomic and scientific progress is obvious, and the further advancement of its training and educational work is consistent with objective historical requirements.

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CSO: 1802

## ALONG THE MAIN DIRECTIONS IN THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM

Moscow **KOMMUNIST** in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 115-122

[Review of the book by A. P. Kirilenko, "Politika Sozidaniya i Mira" [A Policy of Construction and Peace]. Selected speeches and articles. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 759 pages]

[Text] The land of the soviets is completing the 10th Five-Year Plan and soon, in 1981, the year of the 26th party congress, it will undertake the first year of the next, the 11th Five-Year Plan. The party members and all Soviet people are preparing to welcome their party congress with new labor accomplishments which will offer the most convincing and clear proof of the correctness of the economic strategy formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses--a strategy aimed at insuring a profound turn in the economy toward the solution of a variety of problems related to upgrading the people's well-being. Today preparations for the 26th party congress are determining the entire mood of our country's sociopolitical life. Inspired by the decisions of the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, the party members and all working people are launching new patriotic initiatives, finding unused reserves, and thoroughly analyzing various aspects of their work.

Loyal to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist science whose ideas and concepts are currently being implemented ever more extensively in the practice of new social relations, the party and its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo are leading the country along a course of peace and communist construction. The tremendous creative activity required in the formulation of this course, the effort invested in its implementation and the heroic struggle waged by the people's masses for the implementation of the party plans are profoundly and completely described in the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and in the works of other heads of our party and Soviet state. Many aspects of these activities are covered in the new book by Comrade A. P. Kirilenko, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU secretary.

The author concentrates on the period during which our homeland entered the stage of developed socialism and when the activities of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people had been pursued under the guiding influence of the decisions of the October 1964 Central Committee Plenum and the 23d, 24th and 25th party congresses. The author's addresses vividly illustrate the fact that the contemporary political course of our party, consistent with the conditions of a developed socialist society and the ratio of forces in the international arena, which have changed in favor of peace and socialism, has insured the steadfast progress of the Soviet

economy, considerable improvement in the prosperity and cultural standard of the working people, the further strengthening of the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the people, improvement in socialist democracy and the strengthening of the international positions and prestige of the USSR and its influence on the course of world events.

On the basis of tremendous historical experience, the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries have proved the power and inexhaustible nature of the creative opportunities of the socialist system. The establishment of socialism and its further development are depicted in the book as an innovative, live and dynamic process in the course of which, certain major and complex problems must be resolved for the first time in history. The historical fate of pioneers is to face unknown difficulties and surprises, to be in a state of constant readiness to act and struggle, and to be able to assess their activities accurately and impartially. Our achievements are tremendous, A. P. Kirilenko points out. This, however, does not mean that "we live in a society without problems, difficulties or shortcomings... Some of these are the result of our own unfinished work. Others reflect the objective complexities existing in the development of the country" (p 639). The main thing, however, is that real socialism, which is already established on three continents today, is consistent with the vital interests of the working people, of the people's masses. It is steadfastly marching toward the heights of the new communist civilization.

The developed socialist society became the outstanding landmark along this path, created through the toil and heroic efforts of all generations of Soviet people and inspired by the communist party. This meant that the new system had hammered out its own reliable foundation for its further advancement. Today, under our very eyes and with our participation, the joint effort of the labor collective of the entire nation is raising socialist social relations to an even higher level of maturity.

In guiding the creation of the new society, the Leninist party has steadfastly followed the behest of its founder and leader: "The all-round enhancement of the country's production forces must become the main, the fundamental feature..." (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 433).

It is entirely natural that it should be precisely problems in economics and the development of Soviet industry which occupy a focal position in the works of A. P. Kirilenko. "The solution of all the problems which Soviet society sets for itself --whether enhancement of the people's prosperity or the consolidation of the peace, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress or the exertion of influence on the world revolutionary process, which is achieved above all through the power of personal example--depends greatly on our successes in economic construction," the author notes (p 276).

Now, when the most intensive period of work on the new 11th Five-Year Plan has arrived, the experience in the creative search which has been pursued by the party for many years in the area of the advancement of the socialist economic system and in the basic solutions of main economic problems, which retain their full significance today, is of particular interest.

In this respect, the book by A. P. Kirilenko provides extremely rich data. It convincingly proves how adamantly our party is striving to achieve the planned and consistent improvement of quality production indicators. This applies above all to labor productivity, the technical level and quality of output, and the use of machines, equipment, raw materials and materials. "Economic growth must be based to an ever greater extent on intensive factors, which must determine to an ever fuller extent the content and results of the work of each enterprise, association or sector, and the national economy as a whole." This statement, made in the report submitted at the ceremonious session held on the occasion of the 56th anniversary of the Great October Revolution (p 280), remain topical. "In the 1980s," as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, "we must complete the conversion of the economy to the paths of intensive development. Labor productivity and quality must be enhanced sharply." The present stage offers no other path for the development of the economy and the growth of the people's prosperity.

Readers are shown the specific steps to the solution of the basic problem of intensification. In our time, the age of the scientific and technical revolution, the principal means of upgrading public production effectiveness is the vast and extensive use of the latest scientific and technical achievements, the author particularly emphasizes (see p 280). The successes achieved in this area should not obscure the fact that the main target is still to be reached. In his addresses on vital problems in machine-tool building, the development of the power industry, metal production and conservation related to the commissioning of enterprises and many other aspects, the author steadily addresses himself to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress as a task organically linked with the growth of the scientific and technical potential of our homeland and the strengthening of its economic and defense might.

The more our economy expands and the stronger it becomes, the greater the importance of improving the utilization of its total productive capital. At the beginning of 1980 the value of the country's productive capital was in excess of one trillion rubles. In view of such tremendous figures, each percentage of improvement in the utilization of capacities, each additional kopeck earned per ruble of invested funds yields society millions of rubles in additional output and profits. Conversely, any worsening leads to tremendous damage, disproportions and shortages. Suffice it to say that the loss of one minute of working time on the national scale is equivalent to the loss of the results of one working day for approximately 200,000 workers (see p 684). Consequently, improving the utilization of operating facilities and accelerating the mastery of newly completed capacities comprise one of the most important tasks.

In this connection the author draws the attention of the party organizations to cases still to be found in which some economic managers insist on the construction of similar new enterprises rather than seeing to it that installed facilities operate at full capacity. "We could cite instructive examples in our country," the author writes, "which show that as a result of joint work organized by contracting and customer ministries, and with the active help of local party and soviet organs, major production capacities and most complex installations have not only been completed ahead of time but have been successfully mastered as well. For the country at large, however, the existing and, in particular newly installed

capacities are frequently used less than satisfactorily. There have been cases in which tremendous effort and resources invested in the construction of new enterprises have failed to yield the proper returns over long periods of time for one reason or another. In some ministries the volume of unproduced goods exceeds the planned completion of new capacities as a result of the unsatisfactory use of operating enterprises. This is nothing short of an unacceptable waste of state funds" (pp 670-671).

The party is also working adamantly on the solution of a main problem--further management and planning improvements, which it regards as a mandatory prerequisite for upgrading production effectiveness. 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, approved in July 1979, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum earmark the basic directions for the solution of this problem and sum up the best and most progressive experience acquired in the management area over a long period of time. Today a great deal depends on the extent to which the systematically and consistently developed system of measures is applied at all national economic levels. That is why the author repeatedly raises the question of the need for cadres to master management on the basis of profound creative study of Marxist-Leninist economic science, contemporary management theory and practice, scientific organization of labor and production, new planning and economic incentive methods, and the use of economic-mathematical methods and modern computers.

To learn to manage means not only to master a certain volume of knowledge but to develop within oneself the courage and resolve to abandon yesterday's obsolete methods and means of management. Unfortunately, we still come across cases such as "the loss on the part of some managers of a feeling of responsibility for the work, unjustified revision of state assignments and whitewashing work results with a view to obtaining illegal benefits and bonuses" (p 617). We must see to it, the author notes, that the spirit of innovation and the scientific nature of planned measures are embodied in the practice of economic management. We must not allow it to be lost in the course of "coordinations," "correlations" or "adjustments" (see p 631).

The author discusses problems in the further improvement of planning, strengthening state planning discipline, and upgrading the role and responsibility of ministries and departments in the area of balancing plans and their strict implementation. "The plan is the law," he stresses. "We cannot, we have no right, to approach it with any other yardstick" (Ibid.).

The problems in the further development of the initiative of the masses and strengthening labor discipline are also reflected in the book. The party considers this a truly inexhaustible source for the further development of the national economy and for improving all aspects of life in the country.

Shortly after the Soviet state was founded, V. I. Lenin said that "We cannot accurately even conceive at the present time of the rich forces hidden within the toiling mass...the forces which are within it and which could be developed with a socialist social system" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 153).

Today we have a good idea of what kind of forces these are: our reality is marked by the nationwide scope of socialist competition and by numerous outstanding labor initiatives which, as is the case with the movement with the slogan "26 Shock Weeks for the 26th CPSU Congress!", for example, have led dozens of millions of Soviet people into courageous work which expresses their most profound interest in the further blossoming of the fatherland and the implementation of the party's plans and policies.

The initiative of the masses has always imposed great obligations on party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and enterprise managers. To develop competition means to create all the necessary conditions for the implementation of socialist pledges and counterplans, to improve moral and material incentives and link them more closely with labor results. The party committees must keep track of all participants in the competition--whether collectives or individual workers --as well as leading, "average" and lagging working people. Legitimate pride in the achievement of the best should not obscure the fact that a considerable share of their efforts, the author points out, goes to cover or offset the weak work of the stragglers, large numbers of whom unfortunately remain (see p 279). Not everyone as yet realizes that however much our socialist society may give man, the source of what he has, could be and is, is the Soviet person himself alone, his labor, and his factual contribution to the development of the economy and of all social affairs. That is precisely why the living conditions of each family and the prosperity and development of the country depend entirely on the extent to which the Soviet people closely combine their extensive civic rights with their obligations, and how they fulfill one of their most important duties--honest and conscientious work for the good of society.

Our successes could have been even more impressive had all reserves, including the implementation by every person of his labor duty, been fully utilized. Organization, responsibility and conscious discipline are the most important prerequisites for this. That is why we turn again and again to Lenin's appeal for tireless work precisely on the development of discipline and self-discipline, strengthening organization everywhere and at all times, and promoting order and efficiency. Naturally, it is the party members above all who must set the example of a responsible attitude toward duty to society. This is mandated by their party conscience and high status as members of the Leninist party. The labor collectives must create an atmosphere of intolerance of those who scorn the interests of the common cause and commit antisocial actions.

As he considers the tremendous work done by the party and the people to resolve the basic problems along the main direction in the building of communism--economics--extensively and fully, the author shows the tremendous international significance of our achievements. "Not only do they provide substantive new arguments which prove ever more extensively the advantages of the ascending communist civilization as compared to the obsolete capitalist exploitation system, for our successes and the growth of the economic power of the country are also a reliable base for the implementation of the Leninist foreign policy of the party and the Soviet state" (p 430). This means that all Soviet working people, regardless of the work they perform, are contributing to strengthening the international positions of our country and to increasing its influence on global developments.

The thought that the CPSU and the Soviet state are pursuing their foreign policy in constant cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and the communist and workers parties and in contact with all progressive and peace-loving forces runs throughout the author's addresses to congresses of fraternal parties and meetings with working people and leaders of many foreign countries. The most important result of such joint actions are seen in the further changes in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.

The most important recent foreign political tasks confirm again and again the systematically peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. This is outstanding proof of the leading significance to the fate of mankind of the international activities of the CPSU and the tirelessness and purposefulness with which our party, its Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally are fighting for the cause of universal peace.

Decades of experience have taught us that strengthening unity within the world socialist comity is a guarantee of the successful implementation of the peaceful hopes of mankind and the expectations of the working people. Our party considers this a mandatory prerequisite for the successful progress of the fraternal countries in the course of the all-round development of the new society and the foundation for further changes in the ratio of social forces in the world arena in favor of socialism and peace. The CPSU is aspiring to make our political, economic and defense cooperation as effective as possible in strengthening the international positions of the entire comity, its security and the interests of global peace. The fraternal alliance among socialist countries offers all peoples on earth an example of new international relations whose components, as the author notes, are full equality and respect for sovereignty, voluntary cohesion and close interaction in the world arena, mutually profitable cooperation and reciprocal aid, embodied in bilateral relations between fraternal countries and the activities of their collective organizations, such as CEMA and the Warsaw Pact (see p 661).

The foreign policy of the socialist countries meets the expectations of all nations. The peoples of the earth can see for themselves today that the socialist comity, representing real socialism, is a creative system of tremendous importance and the most important factor in the development of civilization and of strengthening universal peace. Within a very short time the peoples who have chosen the path of socialism have achieved unparalleled progress. Each one of the fraternal socialist countries has been literally transformed and its material and spiritual forces have increased. Naturally, no one should claim that this progressive movement is taking place entirely smoothly, without difficulties or complex problems. However, the creative forces of the people's masses, led by the communist parties, are surmounting all obstacles. That is why blanket attempts to criticize real socialism, to undermine the unity within the socialist comity and to pit one fraternal country against another, whatever their origin or their sources, are reactionary. The fraternal parties and the working people in the socialist countries are carrying the banner of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

The history of recent decades has taught the world a great deal. In particular, it has proved that violation of the principles of socialism and internationalism



severely hurts the people, turns naturally into chauvinism and expansionism and increases international tension. The Chinese hegemonists have fully confirmed this fact. "Today," the author notes, "only those who are unwilling to look the truth in the eye can ignore the insurmountable fact that the Chinese leaders, who proclaim the inevitability of war, stop at nothing. They are ready to plunge into armed adventures fraught with threats to peace the world over for the sake of implementating their expansionistic and hegemonistic objectives. By their actions, the Beijing leaders have proved that they are working against the entire great cause of social progress for mankind and peace and security for the peoples" (p 605).

All of this makes the principled orientation of the Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and of the fraternal socialist countries even more important and significant. This policy, which stems from the very nature of the new system, is a policy of peace and fraternity among nations and of equal cooperation among them. "We shall continue to follow the course of peace and construction," A. P. Kirilenko writes, "for we are firmly convinced that this is the only proper course, the only proper policy" (p 690).

The author convincingly proves that the realistic nature of the party's and all our other plans is most profoundly consistent with the interests of the people. The party has no interests other than those of the people and its main concern is to promote the well-being and happiness of the toiling masses. The boundless loyalty of the CPSU to the cause of the working class and the revolutionary consistency and class principle-mindedness of its policy are the most important prerequisites for strengthening the unity of the Soviet people, rallying united around the Leninist party. The party is leading the Soviet people along the path of the October Revolution and the people have infinite trust in their party.

The author extensively analyzes the party's activities for the further strengthening of its ranks, the improvement of socialist democracy and the entire political system of society, and the energizing of the mass organizations of the working people. He repeatedly turns to the work of the soviets, trade unions and Komsomol in discussing the broadening of their rights and increased influence on the development of the economy, the upsurge of the people's prosperity, the solution of problems in population services and the preservation of public order and the norms of socialist community life. In this connection priority is given to the style and methods of the party's guidance of these organizations and to the efforts of the CPSU aimed at enhancing their role and activeness. The author pays prime attention to the party's cadre policy as well. He notes that the steady expansion in the scale of economic management, the profound qualitative changes in production, the increased complexity of economic relations and the scientific and technical revolution pose ever stricter requirements for leading economic cadres (see p 740).

Publicity, criticism and selfcriticism and involvement of the broadest possible masses in production management effectively contribute to the upbringing of cadres and the affirmation of a Leninist work style. These are reliable means of insuring principle-mindedness in accomplishing the results of the activities of any worker and a profound analysis of his strong and weak sides, accomplishments and

shortcomings. The final word in the proper use of these instruments falls to the party organizations and committees and all party members.

The author emphasizes the further enhancement of the role of party committees as political management organs. He particularly singles out their tasks in ideological and political-educational work, the success of which largely determines the solution of any socioeconomic problem.

Educational work in the labor collective--the basic cell of the socialist society -- in which the major political and economic concepts are translated into the language of practice is of tremendous significance. The USSR Constitution has considerably broadened the rights of labor collectives in resolving governmental and public problems and in planning production and social development. It is important for such rights to be exercised fully and for the labor and political activeness of the working people to be developed steadily. This means that every member of the collective must clearly realize his role in production and social life and the importance of his individual work and contribution to the prosperity of the homeland. "The party organizations," the author writes, "must tirelessly promote high idea-mindedness on the part of the working people, a communist attitude toward labor, profound interest in the affairs of their brigade, shop or enterprise, a statesmanlike approach and a feeling of responsibility for the results of their own work and that of others. ...An honest and conscientious attitude toward labor must become the normal behavior of every Soviet person" (pp 632, 633).

In this respect a great deal depends on the party members, their life stance and behavior. It is precisely the actions and labor accomplishments of party members which build up the extremely high prestige which the CPSU deservedly enjoys among the people. Every day and every hour it asserts its role as the political leader and organizer, promptly defining ripe problems in social development, indicating the ways and means of resolving them and mobilizing the masses for the achievement of new successes. It is invariably guided by Marxism-Leninism, creatively developing it on the basis of a scientific study of reality and the sum total of internal and international factors. The party has totally blended with the people. This serves as a guarantee of new universal-historical accomplishments.

A. P. Kirilenko's book covers a broad range of problems and reflects the comprehensive activities of the communist party and Soviet state. As he depicts the grandiose scope of CPSU economic strategy and the substantial results of its implementation, and as he analyzes unresolved problems and reasons for unfinished work, the author offers the reader a truly vast panoramic view of economic construction. New cities and plants are coming to life through the thought and effort of our heroic people and the achievements of science and the forces of nature are being placed in the service of the people. The accomplishments he discusses eloquently demonstrate the party's aspiration to insure the further comprehensive blossoming of Soviet society and the steady progress of the Soviet people toward communism.

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**COURSE -- BUILDING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM**

**Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 80 pp 122-126**

[Review by P. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, of the book by Janos Kadar, "Izbrannyye Stat'i i Rechi (Fevral' 1976 g.--Iyun' 1979 g.)" [Selected Articles and Speeches (February 1976-June 1979)]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 342 pages]

[Text] The Soviet people are showing a sincere and friendly interest in the successes of the fraternal peoples, including the people of Hungary, who are building a new society. The recently published collection of selected articles and speeches by Comrade Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee, comprehensively covers topical problems in the domestic and foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic and describes the comprehensive activities of the MSZMP in guiding the building of developed socialism and its active participation in the struggle to consolidate peace and insure unity among the members of the world socialist system and the international communist and workers movements.

Creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, the MSZMP and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Janos Kadar, are developing theoretical and resolving practical problems in domestic development and strengthening Hungary's international position.

After World War II, choosing the path of profound democratic changes and the building of socialism, the Hungarian people successfully resolved the problems of the transitional period. They eliminated the exploitation of man by man and established a socialist way of life in their country. The materials in the collection present the readers with a broad idea of the dynamic development of Hungarian society and its material and spiritual upsurge.

These successes did not come by themselves. As we know, the path to socialism in Hungary was complicated by errors, on which counterrevolutionary elements and hostile foreign forces capitalized in 1956. In his articles and speeches, the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee goes back to these events to show the lessons which the party derived from the past by waging a struggle on two fronts-- against dogmatism and revisionism--and to show that the building of socialism, whatever its historical stage, is a complex and many-tiered process which demands tremendous effort of the ruling party for the timely and proper solution of the problems which arise. Recalling the time when new opportunities were presented to the Hungarian people, who thanks to the victory of the Soviet

Union were freed from fascism, Comrade Janos Kadar says: "At bedtime we thought (and I, as an old communist, also imagined) that the moment we saw the sun of freedom rise everything would be simple. A Soviet republic had already existed in Hungary in 1919, so that by rolling up our sleeves, and issuing the proper orders, we could build socialism as it should be built. It became clear, however, that the building of socialism was no simple matter, and that it was a slower and more difficult process, involving greater difficulties than we initially thought; furthermore, errors were made which led to the familiar consequences" (p 233).

In discussing the nature of the errors which created suitable conditions for the counterrevolutionary mutiny, the author notes that in 1956 the situation related to the fate of socialism in Hungary was critical. However, he emphasizes, "We surmounted it, and once again chose the right road toward the future. This was not simple, but we gained a great deal of experience, learned many lessons and are now following the right road (ibid.).

It is precisely through the analysis of the experience acquired by the Hungarian people in 35 years of building a new life, as well as that acquired by the peoples of the other socialist countries that Comrade Janos Kadar proves that socialism is not without contradictions or static. "It is sometimes said that not even gains of socialism lead to a perfect solution to all problems. This is indeed so. However, socialism is not some kind of a stone pillar which has been carved for eternity. Socialism is a living organism. It changes, it is in a state of constant motion, it develops. It is a society which becomes ever better thanks to our work, effort and concern" (p 242).

The main purpose and content of many of the articles and speeches published in the collection is precisely to insure the more successful solution of contemporary problems based on past experience. Following the implementation of the basic tasks in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, at the beginning of the 1960s, having laid the foundations of a socialist society, the Hungarian People's Republic undertook its comprehensive improvement. The 11th MSZMP Congress held in the spring of 1975 approved the party's new program declaration, which earmarked the main tasks in building a developed socialist society in the next 15 to 20 years. It emphasized that by following this path the Hungarian people would come substantially closer to their final objective--the creation of a classless communist society. In accordance with the new requirements, the congress strengthened and developed the general political line of the party, the cornerstone of its politics and the most essential element in practical work.

Having postulated a program for building a developed socialist society in the country, the MSZMP set itself the task of explaining the new objectives to the people and making the program the cause not only of the working class but the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the youth, and all toiling strata as well. The creative solution to this problem of linking the party with the people through the leading role of the party is described in a number of articles. Our own experience, Comrade Janos Kadar writes, convinced us of the importance of achieving a proper understanding of the leading role of the party. This meant a rejection of the automatic view that everything should be resolved by the party directly and that its leading role is secure only if the party directly takes on the implementation

of practical assignments. We also rejected considerations according to which the party's leading role should be limited exclusively to the realm of ideological guiding activities. Having derived the proper lessons from the past, the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee writes, "Our party is implementing its leading role with initiative, defining the main directions of constructive work, convincing the nonparty working people in the country of its accuracy, mobilizing the masses for the solution of problems and checking on this implementation. The party organs make decisions which are mandatory only for the party and its members. The party members working in state and economic areas and in the mass organizations are responsible to the party for the implementation of decisions. Our party does not consider its leading role a privilege but a service to the people. It deems it its duty to formulate tasks promptly, guided by the interests of the entire people, in which work the communists must set an example in the solution of such problems" (p 89).

Comrade Janos Kadar repeatedly returns to the idea that the honor of the party and the respect shown by the people's masses for the party are not values established once and for all, since the party must defend its honor and earn the respect of the people on a daily basis. "One of the methods by which the party defends its honor is to avoid saying or doing anything of which it could subsequently be ashamed. We must formulate the type of decisions which will not 3 or 5 years later, prevent us from looking the people straight in the eye. We owe this to the active and honest party fighters who support its policy wholeheartedly as well as to our allies who are working with us for the upsurge of the nation and to achieve our objectives in the transformation of society. It is good when the people can see and feel that the party keeps its word" (p 260).

Large sections in the book deal with the political life of Hungarian society, giving a comprehensive description of some of its key aspects, such as the practical implementation of its leading role by the MSZMP and the assumption of its leading position in the country by the working class insuring the close alliance among all toiling classes and social strata in socialist Hungary, relations between state and church, work with the youth and others.

The materials in the collection show what tremendous attention which the MSZMP is paying to the steady strengthening of relations with the working class, with the masses. To the party, Comrade Janos Kadar stresses, this is not a tactical slogan but an essential problem of prime importance.

The MSZMP considers the strong alliance between the working class and the peasantry the most important prerequisites for the political unity of society. The socialist reorganization of agriculture, carried out under the party's guidance, contributed to a decisive extent to the development of this alliance and to bringing the working people of town and country closer to one another in terms of organization, working conditions, professional knowledge and living standards.

The policy of the MSZMP toward the intelligentsia also plays an important role in insuring political unity within Hungarian society and its support of the cause of building socialism.

A healthy political atmosphere has developed in Hungary. Close relations have been established between the party and the masses. The unity of the entire people in the struggle for peace and socialism has strengthened. The majority of the Hungarian people agree with the party's policy and the building of a developed socialist society has become a truly national program.

The Hungarian communists consider the task of upgrading economic management effectiveness and work quality the focal point in building developed socialism, with a view to insuring the fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people, creating even more favorable conditions for the development of the individual and establishing a socialist way of life among the broad population masses. Closely linking the achievement of this fundamental objective with factual conditions and the current economic situation and possibilities in Hungary, Comrade Janos Kadar describes the ripe needs for a more systematic accounting of the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution.

A profound analysis of topical national economic problems leads the author to the conclusion that the key problem in the further economic progress required in Hungary to insure the steady growth of the prosperity of the working people and to achieve a higher level of social equality and justice is a type of reorganization of the production structure which will insure a substantial increase in labor productivity and the mass production of goods consistent with international quality and cost criteria. Such a reorganization, the author emphasizes, will become a reality not only when internal resources are used more effectively than at present, but when they are greatly increased through active participation in socialist economic integration as well.

In discussing the great dynamism of Hungarian society, Comrade Janos Kadar repeatedly draws attention to the fact that one must realistically assess all achievements and cannot suppress the contradictions which occasionally greatly complicate the progress made by the republic and which must be resolved as the only prerequisite for such progress. "We do not by any means want to idealize our work or the situation in our country. We realize that socialism means a society in a state of development in the course of which the features of the new system are becoming ever stronger but in which nonsocialist phenomena exist and sometimes even increase. We also take into consideration the fact that the building of socialism is a long-term task. Its implementation does not follow the beaten path. That is why development is sometimes accompanied by inevitable delays, changes, and difficulties due to subjective errors" (p 289). It is precisely thanks to the successful elimination of such difficulties that the building of socialism is accelerated.

The rich content of the collection provides the reader with a view of contemporary Hungary as a socialist society which fully embodies the national reality and, at the same time, makes extensive use of the experience of fraternal parties and countries, always taking into consideration the general laws governing the building of socialism. "The MSZMP," Comrade Janos Kadar has said, "has always considered it mandatory to take into consideration the general laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism, the historical experience of its own working class of people, the conditions in our country and national characteristics in its theoretical and practical work. We are trying to learn from the fraternal parties and consider the experience of the CPSU founded by V. I. Lenin particularly important" (pp 295-296).

The 12th MSZMP Congress held in March 1980 summed up the result of Hungary's socio-political and socioeconomic development in the second half of the 1970s and defined the objectives for the forthcoming five-year plan. The congress confirmed the correctness of the general party course leading the country to the building of developed socialism, emphasized the significance of the results achieved in the course of the implementation of this course from the time of the adoption of the program declaration of the MSZMP 5 years previously, analyzed the difficulties which became apparent in the country's economic development and defined the methods for their elimination. The 12th MSZMP Congress convincingly proved the firmness of the political unity of the people and the stability of the internal situation in the Hungarian People's Republic and the effectiveness of the steps it is taking, together with the other members of the socialist comity, for the unification of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

The collection deals extensively with problems in Hungarian foreign policy. In characterizing the theoretical platform and practical activities of the MSZMP in the international arena, Comrade Janos Kadar most clearly defines the objectives toward which Hungary is struggling, which side it supports, and who its friends and its adversaries are. "Our party," he emphasizes, "ascribes great importance to operating in terms of clear and precise concepts in international activities as well, so that everyone can clearly see our position among the other nations and who it is we support. Never at any meeting have we concealed this. While engaging in talks with our capitalist partners, we describe our positions properly and tell them that the Hungarian People's Republic is a member of the socialist comity and of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA and will consistently and firmly adhere to them as long as these organizations exist. On this basis we proclaim the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, support the development of fruitful and mutually profitable relations, including contacts among individuals and tourism, and promote such development" (p 237).

Comrade Janos Kadar extends and develops the foundations of the essential importance which the MSZMP ascribes to relations with the Soviet Union and the CPSU. "Hungarian-Soviet relations," he states, "are based on solid foundations: we are linked by the common ideas of Marxism-Leninism, communism, proletarian internationalism and identical basic interests" (p 23). In characterizing relations among our parties, countries and peoples, he emphasizes that Hungarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation express the will of millions of working people and that such international relations of a new type embody the organic combination of national interests with international brotherhood. The first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee notes that "...While preserving, strengthening and intensifying Hungarian-Soviet friendship and developing our all-round cooperation, we are most suitably and properly defending our own Hungarian national interests. This is the most important guarantee of the preservation of our sovereignty and national independence and protection against possible imperialist intervention. That is why Hungarian-Soviet friendship must be accepted with the greatest feeling of responsibility and no single untrue word must be voiced in this connection" (pp 207-208).

In many of his public addresses and articles, Comrade Janos Kadar turns to problems in strengthening unity and cohesion within the world socialist system and

its international communist and workers movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Under present-day circumstances, he writes, the Hungarian communists regard as the basic characteristics of proletarian internationalism the coordination of national with international interests, the striving toward unity, friendly reciprocal aid, comradesly cooperation and the formulation of collective positions and methods of action on key political problems on the basis of autonomy, equality and voluntary cooperation among fraternal parties (see p 87). These characteristics also include the ability of the party to listen to the views of others, the equitable acceptance of critical remarks addressed to it and a creative approach to such remarks. "I believe," the author points out, "that each one of us realizes that the MSZMP is not the only source of Marxist-Leninist wisdom. With a feeling of conviction and purposefulness, we are trying to pursue the truly Marxist-Leninist general line and, in this respect, our criteria also include the views of the fraternal parties about our policy. The opinions of the fraternal parties give us strength and confidence" (p 203).

In discussing one aspect of the development of the world communist and workers movements or another, the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee invariably emphasizes that the Hungarian communists deem it their duty to defend the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism on all major problems in this movement. "The MSZMP," he writes, "favors the development of contacts, exchange of views, and bilateral and multilateral consultations, and if necessary, comradesly discussions. Even while objecting, on the basis of our own historical experience, to some positions held by one fraternal party or another or while criticizing its individual steps and expressing our views on problems pertaining to the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist democracy or pluralism, we still support the struggle of these fraternal parties and wish them success in adopting the path of socialist development. In our view, we are able to discuss such problems today only thanks to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the transformation of socialism into a world system. Therefore, we support the strengthening of internationalism and the unity between the socialist countries and the international communist movement" (p 212).

This collection of selected articles and speeches by Comrade Janos Kadar is yet another vivid confirmation of the critical-practical and creative work style which has developed within the MSZMP and a confirmation of its principled Marxist-Leninist approach to all problems demanding a solution. In reflecting the experience in the building of socialism in Hungary and the achievements and difficulties along this path, and in depicting the active efforts of the MSZMP in the international arena, the new book comprehensively reveals the leading role which the country's communists are playing in creating a developed socialist society, as well as their loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

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## CRITIQUE OF BOURGEOIS HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY

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[Review by Academician I. Mints of the book by Yu. N. Afanas'yev, "Istorizm Protiv Eklektiki" [Historicism Against Eclecticism]. The French "Annales" school of history in contemporary bourgeois historiography. Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 277 pages]

[Text] Of late considerably increased interest has been displayed in methodological problems in the social sciences. The substantiation of the methods for gaining social knowledge has become the focal point of a sharp ideological struggle which has spread to the realm of historical methodology as well. It is natural, therefore, for Soviet scientists, along with the development of specific historical problems, to address themselves ever more frequently to the study of the methodological foundations of the various historiographic schools and trends. It is the value of such studies that determines the scientific and politically topical nature of the book by Yu. N. Afanas'yev recently published.

In his famous article written long before the Great October Socialist Revolution, "The Historical Fate of Karl Marx' Doctrine," V. I. Lenin indicated the existence of three ages in the course of which Marxism developed, gathered strength and won out as theory throughout the world: 1) from the 1848 Revolution to the Paris Commune (1871); 2) from the Paris Commune to the Russian Revolution (1905); 3) from the Russian Revolution on. Lenin concluded his study of the destiny of Marxism with the prophetic prediction that "After the appearance of Marxism, each of these three great epochs in universal history brought it new proofs and triumphs. However, a future historical age will bring to Marxism ever greater triumphs as the doctrine of the proletariat" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 4).

Lenin's prediction was convincingly, fully, and comprehensively confirmed and is being further confirmed with every step: Marxism-Leninism is advancing victoriously around the world, proving its accuracy and significance as a guiding compass for millions of builders of socialism and all the working people in the world. The time when the opponents of the great proletarian doctrine considered it outside the realm of scientific progress and when scientific pigmies claimed that Marxism was no more than a "Messianic" doctrine, i.e., the belief of a handful of fanatics in the salutary mission of the proletariat, is long past. Today the ideologues of dying imperialism are mobilizing all their declining forces against the inevitably triumphant movement. Furthermore, its opponents are frequently forced to "adapt" or "accomodate" to it in order to fight it and in an effort to distort it. Lenin

foresaw this possibility as well when he wrote that "The dialectics of history is such that the theoretical victory of Marxism is forcing its enemies to dress like Marxists" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 23, p 3).

The past history and the current position of "Annales," the French historical school, as the book under review indicates, are quite characteristic from the viewpoint of the evolution of the attitude toward Marxism in one of the trends followed in bourgeois historiography.

This school, which was founded as early as 1929 in connection with the journal ANNALES D'HISTOIRE ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE, founded by Marc Block and Lucien Fevre, professors at the University of Strasbourg, has over the past 50 years become not only nationally but globally known. It has had a noticeable influence in particular on the methodological foundations of all Western social sciences. At the same time, the ideas developed by "Annales," and, particularly, by today's supporters of this school, are being integrated extensively in the latest bourgeois ideology in its most flexible and dynamic forms.

Naturally, consideration of this school or, as it is sometimes called, of the "Annales" phenomenon, has long been and continues to be like a focus of the scholars' attention. Soon after World War II this school became the subject of fierce debate and discussion even within bourgeois science itself. Some saw in it almost a threat to the very existence of "Western civilization," due to the alleged "slide toward the Marxist way of thinking" seen in the methodology of this school. In their words, it ideologically disarmed the West "in the face of the Soviet menace." Others, conversely, still praise the "Annales" historians as "revolutionaries in historical thinking" and as the creators of an "ideal method," a kind of disciplinary matrix usable in all the historical sciences, and as "innovators" who, without rejecting Marxism-Leninism, have been able to "borrow" its best features from it and then to "go beyond" it.

The historiographic trend represented by "Annales" is quite controversial in many respects. It originated with members of the left-wing of bourgeois historiography. They were talented scientists who made a substantial contribution to the study of history. The most outstanding among them was Marc Block, who died heroically in the struggle against fascism in 1944.

F. Brodel, one of the leading contemporary French historians and a student and follower of Block and Fevre, has addressed himself to the study of the history of mankind, covering vast geographic areas (the Mediterranean, for example) and vast time segments of 300-400 years ("long-term" history). However, this methodological approach, new to bourgeois historical science, contained the embryo of the main fault in the entire historical-philosophical concept of "Annales:" along with the bathwater--the prejudice of traditional-positivistic historiography in favor of "individual" events represented by kings, emperors and warriors--it threw out "the baby"--the history of social conflict and revolutions, as allegedly "superficial" or "individual" events having no major impact on the course of the historical process.

The attitude of the "Annales" historians toward Marxism has been inconsistent. F. Brodel, for example, has stated that "Marx' genius and the secret of the power of

his thinking lie in the fact that he was the first to build factual social models based on long-term historical periods."

Meanwhile, the history of "Annales" is one of adamant and systematic attempts and persistent efforts on the part of a rather large group of bourgeois scientists to develop their own "global" concept of the past and to represent it as an "all-embracing" structure and an alternative to the Marxist theory of historical development acceptable to Western social scientists. What have the results been? How has it been possible, within the framework of the bourgeois historical thought and science of the 20th century, for such an unusual trend as the "Annales" school to exist and move into its most creative period? When and why did the sociopolitical metamorphosis of this historiographic trend occur, and how did it affect its scientific potential?

The author does not avoid these complex problems. He provides gnosiological proof of the ties between the "Annales" and the greatest natural scientific achievements at the turn of the century, its rejection of the Neo-Kantian solution to the problem of scientific-historical knowledge, its loyalty to the best rationalistic traditions of French philosophy and the specific Marxist influence to which it was subjected. On the sociopolitical level, as the author proves, a major role was played by the typically French power of the leftist and democratic movements, and the fact that the leading scientists who supported the "classical" "Annales" ideas rejected the anticommunist system of bourgeois thinking, blocked open attacks on Marxism and were uninvolved in anti-Sovietism.

At the same time, the author most clearly shows what separated the theoretical-methodological foundations of "Annales" from Marxism, drastically narrowing its cognitive possibilities even in the school's best period and among its leading representatives (the pluralistic approach to historical interpretations, the inability to resolve the problem of causal and genetic analysis in history and the neglect, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, of the problems in class struggle, the history of revolutions, political history, and so on). It is natural that, following the inevitable logic of things, its ideas ran into the channel of bourgeois ideology opposing Marxism. Let us note the weighty and quite accurate conclusion the author reaches: "...If we consider the foundations on which non-Marxist and anti-Marxist historiographic trends are achieving consolidation today and the "fresh flow" of ideas which will enable all of them to update the methodological foundations of bourgeois social sciences with a view to insuring their more successful confrontation of Marxism-Leninism, it will become obvious that here "Annales" played a role which was not by any standard unimportant (p 78).

The study of the contemporary "Annales" movement (1970s) is covered in a separate chapter. As a whole, as the author has shown, this was a period when obvious signs of decline were seen in the scientific development of the school and when some of its leading historians (F. Furet, E. Le Roy Ladurie, and M. Ferreault) pursued the path of open confrontation with Marxism and turned to anticommunism. On a parallel basis, as the author points out, direct integration occurred within the ideological-political system of the Fifth French Republic. The study of these processes as described by the author is interesting, meaningful, accurate and critically aimed at the anti-Marxist elaborations of some leaders of the current "Annales" group.

Of particular interest in this study is the fact that Yu. N. Afanas'yev describes the inner logic of this evolution and the dialectics of revision and continuity between the "classical" and current "Annales" concepts: the accumulation of negative aspects in the ideas of F. Brodel was accepted and absolutized by the new generation. The final result has been a qualitative change such that the current leaders of this school have little in common with the "classical" "Annales" thinkers of its best period. The author traces continuity and identifies the period of the break. The critical analysis provided of the work on the latest methodological reorganization of French bourgeois historiography reflects a living process occurring before our very eyes, hence the difficulty in the analysis (and the cause of some of its shortcomings), but also the great interest of the work.

The author has not been equally successful in presenting all aspects of the solution of the problem. The French "Annales" school is depicted as the "laboratory" of contemporary bourgeois Western sociology. Naturally, its influence on world bourgeois historiography is unquestionable. Equally unquestionable, however, is the fact that it comes under the influence and is adopting the ideas and theories of other bourgeois schools and trends prevailing in Western European and in particular in North American schools. Its influence is seen in the adoption of American sociological theories, particularly by the latest "Annales" generation, and of quantitative and other methods of historical research. Unfortunately, this aspect of the matter has not been extensively covered. It would be desirable in any further work on this topic for the author to describe the correlation between the concept of "global" history developed by F. Brodel and the theories of the global process of social development put forth by W. Rostow, J. Galbraith, D. Bell, R. Raon, and others.

As a whole, despite some shortcomings, this serious study is a major theoretical-methodological and practical-political contribution to intensifying the criticism of the latest bourgeois historical methodology by Soviet historians. It is important to note that French Marxist historical science has already responded to the work of Yu. N. Afanas'yev through the positive references made by Prof Albert Soboul of the Sorbonne, a noted modern Marxist historian and director of the Institute of the History of the French Revolution, who has pointed out that "We must be grateful to Yu. Afanas'yev for this important work...which allow me to emphasize has no counterpart in French historical science."

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