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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

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USSR REPORT
TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 18, December 1980

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

CONTENTS

Thought and Deeds of Millions of People Devoted to the Leninist Party Congress.....	1
At the CPSU Central Committee.....	11
At the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers.....	12
Improvement of Working People's Well-Being as the Focus of Attention (M. Solomentsev).....	15
Proportionality in Economic Growth and Efficiency (V. Kirichenko).....	31
Pressing Industrial Power Generation Requirements (P. Lomako).....	42
Question of Great Importance (M. Gvardeytsev).....	53
Bolshevism's First Printed Organ (V. Novikov).....	67
Socialist Agriculture: Socioeconomic Problems in Intensification (P. Ignatovskiy).....	81
With Faith in the People of France and the Socialist Future (V. Semenov).....	94
Militant Myth of a Doomed System (Z. Mirskiy).....	101

1980: Survey of International Life (V. Nekrasov).....	115
Powerful Potential of the Country.....	132
Sources of Communist Civilization (L. Il'ichev).....	145
At the Junction with Practice (B. Firsov).....	150
Study of the Past in Close Relation to the Present (M. Mikhaylov, V. Popov and F. Firsov).....	153
'On Mathematics and the Quality of the Teaching of Mathematics'.....	165
Indicator of Articles and Materials Published in KOMMUNIST in 1980.....	171

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THOUGHT AND DEEDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE DEVOTED TO THE LENINIST PARTY CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 3-11

[Text] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is advancing toward its next 26th congress confidently, closely united with the people, enjoying its full trust and support and armed with a clear program of action in the fields of domestic and foreign policy.

A nationwide discussion of the draft CPSU Central Committee plan prepared for the congress entitled "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Through 1990" has spread throughout the country. The plan is being studied and discussed with tremendous interest by labor collectives, schools, military units, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the press, the radio and television and the citizens at home.

Guided by the CPSU program and the decisions of the 24th and 25th congresses, the party has drafted a document of tremendous theoretical and practical significance. The Central Committee draft plan to be submitted to the 26th congress profoundly sums up the practice in the building of communism in the USSR and takes into consideration the experience of the other socialist countries. It embodies the party's strategy and tactics on the most important problems in economic and social development as applicable to the specific conditions of the 1980s.

This historical document immediately became the focus of the attention of the world public. In the context of the contemporary international situation, which has been aggravated yet once again through the fault of the most aggressive imperialist circles, the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" convincingly demonstrated to all the peoples on earth the invariably peaceful course of the land of the soviets and the indivisibility of the concepts of "peace" and "socialism." All the real friends of peace, democracy and social progress justifiably see in it the further concretizing and intensification of the concepts of developed socialism and a contribution to the international treasury of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In circumstances marked by a grave ideological confrontation between the two systems, the new programmatic document of the CC CPSU deals a tangible blow to the strategists of anticommunist propaganda. The refined lies of our class adversaries concerning real socialism, and the speculative fictions of its "improvers" on the left and the right are countered by the truth, concentrated in the draft plan, about the unquestionable achievements and unresolved problems of the mature socialist society, which is developing on its own foundations and whose creation has been legislatively codified in the USSR Constitution.

The Soviet people have reached a high level of progress in building the new society. This created a tremendous economic and scientific and technical potential. Today, the USSR produces national income in 5 days equal to the annual total in 1928--on the eve of the first five-year plan. Today the Soviet Union accounts for 20 percent of the world's industrial output. It occupies a leading world position in the production of steel, petroleum (including gas condensate), iron and manganese ore, coke, chemical fertilizers, cement, diesel and electric locomotives and some other commodities.

The Soviet people cannot fail to be pleased by the fact that during the 10th Five-Year Plan a major new step was taken in the development of the national economy and in the solution of major and important social problems. The materials of the discussion which is now beginning, which have been extensively covered in the central, local and plant press and on radio and television programs, has led to the development of a typical exchange of information and figures covering the section of the draft Central Committee plan providing a study of the results of the five-year plan now ending. These materials supplement and color the picture of the past with new facts and figures and the testimony of the direct participants in the events. They describe the impressive advances in heavy industry, outstanding discoveries and inventions of Soviet scientists, large crops harvested in kolkhoz fields, the ever greater industrialization of our villages, the new cities in the tayga, brought to life by the construction workers, and the unique projects implemented within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for the Socialist Economic Integration of CEMA-member Countries. At the same time, this is also the living story of the confidently improving developed socialism of our contemporary citizen, whose collective portrait is being painted in the course of the discussion.

The participants in the debate are also engaged in an impartial discussion of the difficulties which our national economy encountered and which were openly and frankly described to the people by the CC CPSU in summing up the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Achievements in economic development and in the solution of social problems could have been more substantial had the advantages of the planned economy been utilized more fully, had production reserves been drawn upon more energetically and had the struggle with shortcomings been waged more adamantly. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, not all sectors and enterprises were able to fulfill their plans. Metal and fuel waste and losses were reduced slowly and secondary resources were insufficiently used. The old disease of wasting capital investments and delaying construction time and the commissioning of production projects was not entirely cured. Agriculture did not use its allocated resources with sufficient effectiveness. We were unable to eliminate hindrances to the work of railroad transportation. There have been errors in insuring some food and industrial commodities, housing and consumer services for the population.

The draft CC CPSU plan lists the reasons for such shortcomings and difficulties. For example, the solution of individual economic and social problems was complicated by the exhaustion of many of the old, some of them large, metal ore deposits, the shifting of the main centers of the extracting industry to the east and the north, and the 1977, 1979 and 1980 weather conditions which were unfavorable to agriculture. However, the fact that the planning and management mechanism, economic

management methods and the levels of labor and performing discipline fell behind contemporary requirements had an adverse influence as well. This hindered the conversion of the national economy to intensive development and delayed the increase in the effectiveness of public production and the growth of labor productivity.

The party and the people are looking at the future with justified optimism. Its source is to be found in the unquestionable progress achieved in all national economic fields and realms of material and spiritual life. It is based, as is clearly demonstrated by the discussion of the CC CPSU draft, on the even greater unity and cohesion of our society, strengthened Soviet statehood and developed socialist democracy. The materials of the discussion provide extensive proof that in the period following the 25th congress the leading, guiding and organizing role of the CPSU in the constructive activities of the people has increased. The Soviet Union is entering the new decade in expanded and strengthened cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries. It is systematically implementing the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and the freedom and independence of the peoples. It is promoting detente and exerting an ever growing influence on the course of global developments.

The 1980s offer the party and the people new horizons for the building of communism, the ever fuller utilization of the possibilities and advantages of developed socialism and a considerable increase of its material and spiritual wealth and industrial, scientific and technical and cultural potential.

The 11th Five-Year Plan, which will embody the continuity of the course of the country's socioeconomic development and the strategic formulations of the party for the 1980s in accordance with the specific features of the forthcoming 5-year period, will constitute an important stage in the implementation of the long-term tasks.

The main task of the new five-year plan is to insure a further increase in the prosperity of the Soviet people on the basis of stable progress in the national economy, accelerated scientific and technical advance and the conversion of the economy to an intensive track, more efficient utilization of the country's production potential, comprehensive conservation of all types of resources and improved quality in the work.

The scientific study of the condition and the factual possibilities of the socialist economy enabled the party to formulate for the next five-year plan the task of making a sharper turn in the entire national economy toward resolving the problems in achieving an upsurge in the people's prosperity. "We believe that this is the most party-minded approach," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in addressing the October CC CPSU Plenum, "when concern for the good of the people becomes the cornerstone of the work. From the strictly economic viewpoint as well it is better to start on the basis of what can insure the achievement of the final objective."

The party also takes as its basis the fact that upgrading the prosperity of the working people is an adamant requirement for our economic development and a powerful incentive for the ever growing labor and social activeness of the masses.

The draft "Basic Directions," describing the five-year program for social development and for upgrading the people's prosperity, is extensive and specific. It calls for raising real per capita income by 16-18 percent. The average wage of workers and employees will be increased by 13-16 percent and by the end of the five-year plan, the average level will be 190-195 rubles per month. The income of the kolkhoz members from the public farms will be up by 20-22 percent. Public consumption funds will be increased by 20 percent.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan, the housing conditions of the Soviet people will be improved steadily. Housing will become more comfortable. Residential areas totaling 530-540 million square meters will be completed. Trade and public catering and consumer and transport services will be developed further.

In emphasizing the topical political, social and economic nature of the task of achieving a considerable upsurge in the people's prosperity in the immediate future, the party does not in the least reduce the solution of this problem to a quantitative increase in material goods alone. While taking energetic steps to saturate the market with comestible and industrial goods, it deems it exceptionally important to influence the shaping of the population's reasonable needs and esthetic tastes actively. Naturally, this has nothing in common with the preaching of asceticism.

Work is the only means of multiplying the national wealth. Society can distribute only that which has been produced. The greater the labor results, the greater the power of the socialist homeland and the fuller the satisfaction of personal and social needs, and the higher the living standard of the Soviet people will be.

The measures related to the growth of the people's prosperity are linked in the social development program with a set of measures aimed at achieving profound changes in the most important realm of the Soviet people's activity--work for the good of society. To an ever greater extent, socialism is converting such work into a source of satisfaction of the increased needs of the people and their harmonious development. A great deal must be accomplished during the forthcoming five-year plan to improve and facilitate labor conditions, to upgrade labor productivity and to increase its creative nature, considerably reducing manual, underskilled and heavy physical work.

In the next few years, a system of interrelated measures must be implemented to strengthen the material foundation of the family as the most important cell in the socialist society, to facilitate women's household chores and to create more favorable conditions so that they can combine motherhood with active participation in labor and social activities and to improve society's support of children and the disabled. Under the new five-year plan, the educational and cultural standards of the population will be further raised. Medical services and the organization of recreation for the Soviet people will be improved, along with an entire set of environmental protection measures. The development of socialist culture and arts will be accompanied by the enhancement of their role in communist education. Therefore, it is a question of the purposeful advancement of the socialist way of life and the further intensification and development of socialist democracy and the entire system of social relations.

The steady forward advance of the socialist economy under contemporary conditions is possible only on the basis of profound and consistent intensification of public production and increased effectiveness and quality of all work. This is inseparably linked with considerable acceleration of scientific and technical progress in all economic sectors without exception, far more rational utilization of the country's entire production potential and comprehensive conservation of all resources at its disposal. Today the possibilities for extensive economic growth have virtually been exhausted. In order to improve the prosperity of the people systematically, we must expend double and triple the amount of energy in implementing the party's course of upgrading effectiveness and quality. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, there is no alternative to this course, which must be steadfastly implemented under the 11th Five-Year Plan. The problems related to this most important economic as well as political task, the search for ways in which to intensify public production and its various sectors, the study of all possible means of upgrading economic effectiveness, and the efforts to accelerate scientific and technical progress must always remain the focal point of the nationwide discussion.

Today the party gives priority among the economic problems whose successful solution will determine the increased living standard of the Soviet people to improving food supplies. The draft CC CPSU plan defines the tasks facing the country's agroindustrial complex. A specially formulated program which will insure the interrelated development and coordination of the work in agriculture, its service sectors and all national economic units engaged in the procurement, storage, transportation and processing of agricultural production, the food industry and trade in food products must become an organic component of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The food program calls for the dynamic development and increased effectiveness of all agricultural sectors, an increase in amounts, improved quality of output and a continuation of the course of all-round production intensification.

The further increase in the prosperity of the Soviet people, the progress achieved by the economy itself, strengthened monetary circulation and increased effectiveness of incentives for highly productive toil also depend greatly on a rapid increase in the production of consumer goods. In this case the party works from the knowledge that partial improvements and half-measures will not correct the situation which has developed in group "B" industrial sectors. Major changes must be made which will enable us to accelerate the pace and volume of the output of consumer goods substantially and, at the same time, to improve their quality drastically and broaden their variety considerably.

During the next five-year plan, the production of consumer goods must be accomplished at a faster pace. It will be stepped up by 27-29 percent (a 26-28 percent increase in productive capital is planned). The industrial sectors have been issued specific assignments for increasing the production of consumer and domestic goods. Sectors, enterprises and shops producing consumer goods must be equipped with progressive instruments and technologies. They must be supplied more fully with high quality raw and other materials. The participants in the nationwide discussion could be of great help in this matter.

The systematic orientation of public production toward the achievement of high end results requires the extensive updating of base industrial sectors--power industry, metallurgy, machine building, chemistry and transportation. This will enable them to become the pivots for the country's further economic and social progress.

The discussion of the draft "Basic Directions" indicates the timeliness of the qualitative changes which will be made in industrial production sectors. Profound changes must be made in the production infrastructure sectors, whose comprehensive development will enable us to utilize the tremendous volume of material resources at the disposal of society more completely and efficiently, and to achieve truly tremendous savings of raw and other materials, to reduce losses of finished products considerably, to accelerate the reproduction process and to upgrade the effectiveness and work quality of the entire transportation system.

The improvement of the quality indicators of our economy greatly depends on the extent to which the policy of capital investments is rationally implemented. The long periods of time needed for the construction of projects, the increased volume of unfinished construction, the scattering of forces among numerous and frequently relatively unimportant construction projects, and delayed completion and mastering of production capacities lead to tremendous unproductive outlays of labor and means and to work breakdowns in one economic sector or another.

The economic management organs and the multimillion-strong army of construction workers are faced with the most responsible task of radically improving construction output and upgrading capital investment effectiveness. Unquestionably, many specific suggestions will be made in the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft "Basic Directions" which will enable us to resolve the complex problems confronting capital construction successfully.

Improvements in the territorial organization of the national economy offer tremendous possibilities for further intensification and upgrading the effectiveness of the Soviet economy, particularly when we take into consideration the size of the country's territory. The attention of the participants in the discussion will be drawn to the expanded program of measures contained in the draft CC CPSU plan and designed to improve the location of production forces on the basis of further specialization and intensification of the proportional development of the economies of union republics and economic rayons within the framework of the single national economic complex. A number of complex problems requiring comprehensive consideration also arise in connection with the increased economic potential of the eastern areas, which will continue to grow in the 11th Five-Year Plan, and the further development of territorial-production complexes, particularly in the newly developed areas.

The CPSU Central Committee is confronting Soviet scientists with major and complex tasks. In the natural sciences and technology, they must focus their efforts on the most important problems in the basic and applied sciences. The solution of these problems will broaden our knowledge of the world around us and create new sources for the growth of the production forces. The Central Committee draft also presents a specific program for research in the social sciences. Its successful implementation will require the further intensification of scientific research,

with improved returns, and the concentration of scientific research on the solution of major problems placed on the agenda by practice in the building of communism.

Unquestionably, raising the entire management system to a qualitatively new level is the main link in the series of tasks facing us. The first task will be to help in linking the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution with the tremendous advantages of mature socialism and thus to accelerate its all-round progress.

Above all, it is a question of upgrading the role of planning as the central unit in the management of the socialist economy and enhancing the significance of the five-year plan, which is the main instrument for the implementation of the party's economic policy, and the social direction of the plans. We must insure their comprehensive and balanced nature for all indicators. In turn, the indicators must reflect and stimulate production growth and effectiveness, increased labor productivity, economy in working time and the saving of material resources far more completely than in the past.

The set of measures formulated for the improvement of the economic mechanism, to be applied during the 11th Five-Year Plan, includes a broad range of steps to streamline the organizational structure of management. As the CC CPSU document emphasizes, this work must help us to surmount departmental disorganization and insure the proper combination of sectorial with territorial management, and to improve the coordinated activities of central, sectorial and local organs in the interests of an effective solution to the central problems in national economic development.

It is only by improving the standard of economic management on all economic levels and by multiplying and effectively utilizing the people's resources that the country's tasks can be successfully implemented. That is why the participants in the discussion are so greatly interested in how in practice to implement a strict regimen of conservation and thrift in all of our economic sectors, how to insure the fuller consideration of the time factor and what measures to adopt in order to increase the struggle against negligence and waste and make it more effective.

The draft Central Committee plan for the all-round development and strengthening of cost accounting on the basis of the five-year plan assignments and the long-term economic norms, extensive improvement in the norming of all production resources, extensive application of effective forms of encouraging highly productive and high quality work by labor collectives, intensifying the role of financial-credit levers, improving price setting, strengthening state discipline and upgrading the quality and operativeness of accounting and statistics is designed for the practical solution of these problems.

The program developed for improving the economic mechanism and the style and method of economic management, as presented in the draft CC CPSU plan prepared for the 26th congress, represents the further development of the Leninist science of management and, above all, its initial basic principle: democratic centralism.

The document indicates the need to wage an adamant struggle against encroachments on the rights of associations and enterprises and the imposition of petty supervision and bureaucratic administration on their managers and specialists. The working people in the national economy and all Soviet people welcomed with full approval that part of the project which calls for upgrading the role of the labor collectives in management and planning, resolving problems in improving the skills and working and living conditions of workers and employees, strengthening discipline and promoting a communist attitude toward labor.

Education is most closely linked with maintaining strict socialist order in production and observing the norms of the socialist way of life. The working people themselves are profoundly interested in this. That is precisely the reason for their keen interest in the question of establishing effective control over labor and consumption measures and creating an atmosphere of intolerance of arrogance, haughty scorn of other people's opinions, slovenliness and self-seeking, string-pulling, bribery, and callous attitudes toward the needs and demands of the masses, which are alien to socialism, and attempts, using every possible means, even padding data and deceiving the state, in order to whitewash the results of economic activities.

To improve the style and methods of economic management means to rely on science and progressive experience, to promote efficiency and socialist initiative, party-mindedness, a statesman-like approach to the work, ability to take the moral and educational consequences of decisions fully into consideration in the cadres, and to promote unity between word and action always and in everything.

In our day the Leninist slogan of conducting practical and efficient organizational work and the leader's demand that we promote "to responsible positions as managers of the people's work, as administrative managers" "true organizers, people with a sober mind and practical cunning, people who combine loyalty to socialism with the ability silently (and despite confusion and noise) to organize the strong and joint work of a large number of people within the framework of a Soviet organization" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, pp 159, 193-194), assume a concrete new meaning reflecting the current concerns of the first country of victorious socialism in the world.

By relying on the broadest possible initiative of the masses and through painstaking organizational and educational work, thorough checking on the implementation of decisions and upgrading personal responsibility for their substantiation and for the results of activities at all levels of economic management and in all economic sectors we will inevitably be enabled to overcome the force of inertia entirely in economic thinking and economic management practice, and raising them, as the party demands, to a new and higher level.

"...One must speak bluntly," Lenin taught. "This is both interesting and important not only from the viewpoint of theoretical truth but from the practical approach. One cannot learn how to resolve one's problems through new methods today if yesterday's experience has failed to open our eyes to the error of the old methods" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 205). The discussion of the draft "Basic Directions" within each collective, in the press, and by the entire mass information and propaganda system must have the same frank, efficient, self-critical and constructive character.

The source of the people's initiative, which creates new undertakings, progressive means and methods for labor and production organization, daring scientific and technical solutions, excellent models of thrifty economic management and strict observance of planned, labor and production discipline, is inexhaustible. The discussion by the whole people of the CC CPSU document, from beginning to the end, must be used as a unionwide rostrum for the discussion of progressive experience in economic construction, a school for the communist upbringing of the working people, a powerful catalytic agent for the labor activeness of the masses and a nationwide review of the reserves for production growth which can be found in each sector, labor collective and work place, and the field for the nationwide battle against negligence and waste.

All our mass information media today are subordinating their work to this task. It is very important not to ignore or fail to answer a single substantiated critical remark or practical suggestion. Here party, soviet and trade union organizations, ministries, departments and all organs of economic management take on a great responsibility. They must implement ideas and observations which make it possible to improve the situation without delay. They must resolve problems related to the satisfaction of the needs and demands of the working people without red tape. Party members and party organizations must decisively eliminate all manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape.

The nationwide discussion of the draft "Basic Directions" is gathering strength. Lenin's behest to the effect that "One must march forth, one must look ahead, one must bring to the congress the reworked practical experience of economic construction, revealed through the joint efforts of all party members, attentively and jointly" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 40, p 142) is becoming ever more topical.

According to an old and firm tradition, ever new detachments of the working people are mounting a pre-congress guard. The broadest possible scope taken on by socialist competition under the patriotic slogan "Shock completion of the five-year plan and a worthy welcome to the 26th CPSU Congress!" will unquestionably make it possible for our national economy, at the very beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan, to achieve the pace necessary for our further progress. The party organizations, the CC CPSU points out, must mobilize the working people for the strict implementation of planned assignments in each production collective and from the very first days of the new five-year plan. The advance of enhanced effectiveness must become the intimate project of all the working people.

The soviets of people's deputies play a responsible role in the implementation of the party's plans. They must intensify their influence on the development of public production. They must pay greater attention to increasing the production of goods for the population and to the development of public education, health care, housing and cultural construction, trade, consumer services and public catering.

The trade unions, whose role as schools of administration and economic management, as schools of communism, increases in the mature socialist stage, must make their worthy contribution to the fulfillment of the five-year plan. Their duty is to involve the working people more extensively in the management of production

affairs, to develop in them a feeling of ownership and to upgrade the effectiveness of socialist competition, including counterplans. They must always be concerned with the working, living and leisure conditions for the Soviet people. They must strictly enforce the observance of labor legislation and collective labor contracts.

New feats and accomplishments during the forthcoming five-year plan await the party's loyal assistant--the Leninist Komsomol, all of Soviet youth. At plants, construction projects and fields, in science and culture, in education and health care and in all sectors of communist construction, the Komsomol must lead the young people in the struggle for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of planned assignments. It must develop in them a feeling of love for the socialist homeland and an international class self-awareness, an aspiration to master the achievements of science, technology and culture and to apply everything that is new and progressive in production work.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has picturesquely described the socialist five-year plans as outstanding chapters in a single great book describing the heroic toil of our people in the name of socialism and communism. Each of them bears the unique features of its time and each of them remains forever engraved in the people's memory. Following the 10th Five-Year Plan, the 11th Five-Year Plan will become a new chapter in the heroic chronicle of the building of communism. Undoubtedly, the 1980s will be a period of strengthening and development for real socialism and new progress in the struggle waged by the Soviet people and all progressive mankind for the triumph of the ideals of constructive toil and peace.

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CSO: 1802

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 p 12

[Text] On the Results of the Meeting of Leading Officials of the Warsaw Pact Member Countries Held in Moscow on 5 December 1980

The results of the meeting of leading officials of the Warsaw Pact member countries and the activities of the delegation of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, at the meeting are hereby approved.

5003

CSO: 1802

**AT THE CC CPSU POLITBURO, USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM AND USSR COUNCIL
OF MINISTERS**

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 12-14

**[Text] On the Results of the Visit of L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee
General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, to India**

After reviewing the results of the official friendly visit paid by L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, to the republic of India between 8 and 11 December 1980, the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers entirely and fully approved the activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the development and strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India. They expressed their profound satisfaction with the results achieved in the course of the talks held with I. Gandhi and other Indian leaders.

This visit, which took place in an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual understanding, has become an important historical landmark on the path toward the further strengthening of the friendship between the Soviet Union and India, firmly based on the Soviet-Indian Peace, Friendship and Cooperation Treaty. The visit gave new content to the traditional friendly relations between the USSR and India. It made a substantial contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

As L. I. Brezhnev justifiably pointed out in his speech at the meeting in Delhi, "By developing relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and India today, we are accomplishing something good not only for today's generation of our peoples but for future generations as well, for the peaceful future of mankind."

The documents signed in the course of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India, the joint Soviet-Indian declaration above all, opened up new horizons for the development of Soviet-Indian relations to the benefit of of the peoples of both countries. The ideas and stipulations contained in the declaration were welcomed with approval by the Soviet Union, India and other countries.

Soviet-Indian relations are an outstanding example of the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different socio-economic systems. Such relations are developing in the interests of the peoples of both countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect and strict observance of the sovereignty and noninterference in reciprocal domestic affairs, and they are not directed against third countries.

In the course of the talks, the considerable progress achieved in economic, trade and scientific and technical and cultural cooperation between the USSR and India was noted. Such progress is developing on a planned long-term basis and is making a substantial contribution to the solution of the economic problems facing both countries. The agreements concluded in the course of the visit will give new impetus to the development of even closer economic cooperation between them.

In the course of L.I. Brezhnev's visit to India, the Leninist foreign policy of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the East and support of their efforts in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism and for national independence and freedom was once again totally confirmed.

The Soviet Union and India expressed their firm conviction that the most important task facing mankind is the strengthening of peace and the prevention of a new world war. Noting the increased complexity of the situation in the world—the fault of imperialist circles—and the development of new hotbeds of tension, they expressed their support of the preservation and intensification of detente and making this process irreversible and universal.

L. I. Brezhnev and I. Gandhi confirmed that the Soviet Union and India approach the most important international problems on the basis of common or similar positions. They proclaimed the need to rebuff the attempts of the enemies of peace to undermine the detente process, to impose upon the peoples a new round in the arms race, to destroy, for their own advantage, the military balance which has developed in the world, and to multiply the hotbeds of military conflicts.

In the course of the talks, both sides expressed their conviction that ending the arms race, the nuclear arms race above all, is of primary importance. They expressed their resolve to do everything within their power to insure that such objectives are achieved. They asserted the prime significance of the joint practical application of the principles of peaceful coexistence, based on the fact that unresolved problems in Asia, as elsewhere in the world, can and must be settled exclusively through peaceful means.

In his speeches in India, L. I. Brezhnev analyzed the characteristics of the current world situation and clarified the Soviet position on key problems in international life. The new and important suggestions he formulated on the means of insuring peace and security in the area of the Persian Gulf on the basis of agreements among the countries in that area, the Soviet Union, the United States, the other Western countries, China, Japan and all the countries interested in this matter, were welcomed with interest and approval by the peoples of many countries. These proposals formulated by the Soviet Union point to a sensible, just and realistic method of insuring a durable peace in one of the most explosive areas on earth.

Regular political contacts and mutual friendly visits by the heads of the two countries have become an inseparable and important part of relations between the Soviet Union and India. The Soviet-Indian summit meetings and contacts are particularly important. They make it possible to sum up results and earmark new levels for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and India and to increase reciprocal understanding and cooperation.

The CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers, which gave high marks to the results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India, believe that the meeting in Delhi made a major contribution to the struggle for securing universal peace.

The leading party and soviet organs express their sincere gratitude to the government and people of India for the warm and hearty welcome they gave Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in India.

The Soviet people, who unanimously support the Leninist foreign policy of peace pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet government, welcomed the results of the Delhi talks with profound approval. The achievements and success of this policy inspire the Soviet people to new accomplishments in the building of communism.

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IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING AT THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION

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[Article by M. Solomentsev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] It is with profound attention and great interest that the RSFSR's working people and all Soviet people are studying the CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th party congress "The Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period Through 1990." The scientifically substantiated program for further work by the Communist Party and the entire Soviet people in the coming years which is set forth in the draft and which is based on the rich experience of all our country's prior development is striking for the scale and profundity of the projected transformations in material production, the social sphere, science and culture, which affect every aspect of the Soviet way of life.

The CPSU's directions regarding its future socioeconomic aims and the main task of the 11th 5-Year Plan are meeting with unanimous support and approval from the Soviet people. In the eighties the party will consistently continue the implementation of its economic strategy, whose supreme goal is the steady boosting of the people's material and cultural living standards and the creation of better conditions for all-round development and the individual. The CPSU Central Committee draft defines increased efficiency in all social production, increased labor productivity and increased social and labor activeness on the part of Soviet people as the most important means of achieving this aim. These guidelines, which outline the main task of the 5-year plan, express the continuity and consistency of the party's political course.

The building of communism is the result of the conscious creative work of the millions-strong masses. That Leninist proposition is assuming still greater significance nowadays, when the Soviet people are resolving increasingly complex and crucial tasks of building a new society. Shock, creative labor by every working person, production collective, rayon and city, by every union republic multiplies the common successes in implementing the party's majestic plans. The peoples of all the fraternal republics are today defining their place in this nationwide creative work.

The role of local soviets and their executive organs is increasing more and more in the solution of the diverse questions connected with satisfying Soviet people's

requirements. As is well known, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, the rights of local organs of power have been expanded in the sphere of planning the production of consumer goods in enterprises located on their territory, irrespective of the jurisdiction under which the enterprises fall, and of developing and improving housing and municipal services, consumer service, trade and environmental conservation--that is, the important spheres of production and services to the population which determine and regulate Soviet people's everyday life and satisfy their demands increasingly fully.

With each 5-year plan and every passing year, the RSFSR has increasingly broad potential for increasing consumer goods production and improving the working people's well-being. During the 10th 5-Year Plan industrial production in the republic increased 23 percent, agricultural production 5 percent, railroad transport freight turnover 6 percent, motor transport freight turnover 40 percent and river transport 10 percent. A great amount of construction work has been carried out. Almost R360 billions' worth of fixed capital will have been commissioned over the 5 years. Labor productivity has improved. During the 5-year plan it has accounted for more than 80 percent of the increase in industrial output.

As in the country as a whole, an extensive program of social development and improved living standards for the people has been implemented on the basis of the growth in production in the RSFSR. The average monthly wage of workers and employees increased 16 percent over this period and this year has totaled R178. Real per capita income has increased 18 percent. Housing construction has developed on a large scale. During the 5-year plan about 300 million square meters of apartment space have been commissioned and almost 30 million people have improved their housing conditions. A great deal has been done to protect working people's health and further develop education and culture, without which the full life of a developed socialist society is inconceivable.

The CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th party congress summons us on to new heights in developing the whole diverse complex of sectors connected with improving the population's living standards and demands that each element in that complex work precisely and in accordance with working people's increasing requirements. I would like to use the pages of the journal to describe work in solving certain questions of the development of this great complex.

1.

Improving the Soviet people's living standards involves solving a whole series of interconnected problems. Particularly significant among these is the improvement of the population's diet. In its turn, the level of food supplies is determined by the development of agriculture and the sectors of industry connected with it. In this connection the party has set the task of elaborating and implementing a food program which will make provision for ensuring the proportional and balanced development of the sectors of the agrarian-industrial complex, a considerable strengthening of its material and technical base, improved economic relations between sectors, the organization of precise cooperation between them in increasing agricultural output, and improved storage, transportation, processing and conveyance of produce to the consumer.

Republic organs have started work on preparing this program. Its foundation is the development of agricultural production. In the last few years considerable work has been done in the republic's agriculture. Average annual grain production increased by 10.9 million tons during the 10th 5-Year Plan, that of sugar beets by 4.6 million tons, of meat by 406,000 tons, of milk by 1.5 million tons and of eggs by 6.7 billion. The growth of other output was also ensured.

There has been a corresponding increase in purchases of all the main agricultural products. During the current 5-year plan the RSFSR's kolkhozes and sovkhoses have each year sold an average of 2.6 billion poods of grain--13 percent more than in the previous 5-year plan. The increase in the production and procurements of agricultural produce has had a positive impact on the population's diet and its structure. These shifts are especially clear if you trace them over a long period. Thus in 1965 through 1979 per capita consumption of meat and meat products increased from 42 to 62 kilograms, that of fish and fish products from 15 to 21 kilograms, of milk and dairy products from 271 to 336 kilograms, of eggs from 141 to 273, and of vegetables and cucurbits from 70 to 93 kilograms.

As we can see, there has been an increase, and a considerable one. But it is still not enough, especially in terms of livestock products, of which there is still a shortage--primarily affecting meat and milk.

One of the main reasons for this is the deficiency of fodder supplies, the failure to fulfill the plans for fodder production and procurement and the low quality of fodder. In mentioning this we are of course not turning a blind eye to the other serious shortcomings in the work of many kolkhozes and sovkhoses to develop stock raising and in the leadership of those farms by certain agricultural and local soviet organs. The republic government, oblispolkoms and krayispolkoms, autonomous republic councils of ministers and ministries and departments are working to create a firm fodder base and surmount the existing shortcomings.

But, of course, the extremely material fact that the weather conditions have been exceptionally complex for the republic's agriculture over the last 10 years cannot be left out of account either. You only have to recall 1972, 1975, 1979 and the year now ending, 1980, which brought grim trials for rural working people. And the other years were not especially good. And it is well known that one year with a poor harvest can set stock raising back 3 or 4 years.

However, this did not happen. Thanks to the selfless labor of agricultural workers, the active participation by the urban population in carrying out agricultural operations and the great and varied assistance from the party Central Committee and the Soviet state, it was possible to mitigate considerably the cruel blows struck by the elements.

The task of considerably increasing meat and milk production is being brought to the fore in the coming 5-year plan. This task is not an easy one. Special attention is being paid to the utilization of reserves such as increasing the average daily milk yields and weight gains in livestock and reducing fattening times, implementing production specialization and concentration, making fuller use of the capacities of large complexes for the production of beef, pork and poultry meat, further developing meat stock raising and improving herd reproduction.

Success in developing stock raising and improved efficiency in this sector of agriculture depend primarily on the creation of a firm fodder base. There are still many farms in the republic on which fodder supplies are only 70-80 percent of requirements. Of course, with that kind of fodder shortage livestock productivity cannot be high. So the strengthening of the fodder base is an everyday concern of kolkhos and sovkhos workers and economic and soviet organs in the RSFSR. Zonal conferences have been held in the republic at which measures to increase fodder production for stock raising in all economic regions have been discussed in detail and approved. The measures include considerably increasing the production of coarse, succulent and concentrated fodder and ensuring that fodder is better balanced in terms of protein and other nutrients. In a number of places where there is a shortage of supplements for the production of full-value mixed feed, wider use should be made of local resources: grass, conifer and bone meal and dairy and food industry waste. Of course, fodder expenditure must also be more strictly monitored.

The central task in agriculture the resolution of which largely determines the creation of a guaranteed fodder base for stock raising is the increase of grain production. "Grain has always been the most important product, the measure of all values," wrote Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his book "Virgin Lands." We already produce enough grain when it comes to food purposes and other needs, including laying in seed. But there is still not enough for stock raising. Calculations show--and the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum noted this--that in order to fully settle accounts with the state when it comes to grain purchases and to satisfy all the needs of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, especially stock raising's need for fodder, 20-22 quintals of grain per hectare must be consistently obtained every year in the RSFSR. By way of comparison, I would point out that this year the yield was 14 quintals and in 1978, the best year, it was 17.7 quintals per hectare.

According to scientists' recommendations and the experience of leading agricultural production workers, to reach this high level it is necessary to ensure the speediest introduction and precise observance of a scientifically substantiated arable farming system formulated for each zone, rayon and, where necessary, farm; the assimilation of the correct crop rotation; the use of progressive techniques for cultivating grain and other crops; the modern organization of selection and seed production and the creation and extensive use of the most modern strains and hybrids; the efficient use of organic and mineral fertilizers; the strict, good-quality fulfillment of agrotechnical methods; the reliable protection of plants against pests, disease and weeds; and an increase in the role and responsibility of specialists.

It is also important to ensure that the structure of the grain actually produced matches the national economy's needs in the best possible way and that there is an increase in the proportion of pulse and also hulled crops, especially buckwheat, millet and certain others for which demand is still not being satisfied.

A detailed analysis of the whole complex of problems connected with ensuring the guaranteed and stable increase of grain production and also of ways of achieving this aim was made at the RSFSR Council of Ministers session in November 1980, in

which party and Soviet personnel and leading scientists took part. The task now is to implement the decisions adopted.

A reliable fodder base is an essential condition for developing all sectors of stock raising, introducing industrial techniques and carrying out production specialization. The proportion of output produced in specialized enterprises and associations for the raising and fattening of cattle and pigs has increased markedly in the republic. A great deal of work has been done to develop poultry farming, and this has made it possible to significantly improve the supply of the population with eggs and poultry meat. A harmonious RSPSR Ptitseprom [Poultry Industry Science and Production Association] system has been created which now ensures the delivery of 67 percent of the Republic's total poultry industry output with high economic indicators. In this connection I would like to note the purposeful activity of certain local Soviet and agricultural organs, particularly in Sverdlovskaya Oblast, where egg production has increased significantly in recent years. While per capita production in 1970 was 134 eggs, in 1979 it was 303. The oblast is completely self-sufficient in this product. Much has been done to increase egg production in Khabarovskiy Kray and in Arkhangel'skaya, Tomskaya and other oblasts.

The main thing now is to focus efforts on improving the qualitative indicators of all stock raising sectors, increasing livestock and poultry productivity and making rational use of fodder and to bring about a situation in which every kray, every autonomous oblast and every oblast is increasingly completely self-sufficient in livestock products in the near future. All the Republic's agricultural working people are working on solving this task.

Potatoes, vegetables and fruit are an important part of the human diet. Most oblasts, krays and autonomous republics, their soviet and economic organs and leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhozes are doing a great deal to provide more fully for the population's needs in this area. No exception are the regions of the extreme north and east, where this work entails considerable difficulties. Take, for example, Sakhalinskaya and Kamchatskaya Oblasts which, in harsh climatic conditions, have basically solved the problem of providing the population with locally grown potatoes.

It has to be said that the Republic's agriculture currently has great potential for increasing output of these products. Irrigated land areas are increasing and more and more mineral fertilizers and equipment are being made available. But such oblasts as Pskovskaya, Kostromskaya, Ivanovskaya and some others are still not doing enough in the vegetable growing line. Even in bumper years some oblasts ask central organs for supplies of vegetables and potatoes, although they have favorable conditions for growing them locally.

We know how important it is to develop vegetable growing on sheltered ground. In recent years this important sphere of plant growing has become fairly widespread. This is eloquently illustrated by the following figures. In 1965 production of vegetables under glass was around 100,000 tons, whereas in 1980 this figure reached 570,000 tons--increasing 5.7 times in 15 years! In many cities year-round trade in fresh vegetables has become the norm.

But not everywhere is sufficient attention paid to this important area of agricultural production. In Tomskaya, Omskaya, Sverdlovskaya and Leningradskaya Oblasts 8-11 kg of vegetables per city dweller are produced in hothouse; the figure for Tambovskaya Oblast is only 1.1, Orlovskaya Oblast--1.8 and Kurskaya Oblast--3.4 kg. In these and other oblasts construction of new and modernization of existing hothouse combines is slow, plastic-sheeting hothouses are being erected and the funds set aside for them are not being fully assimilated. Soviet and agricultural organs must draw the necessary conclusions from this.

Losses of agricultural products must be reduced all along the line from field to consumer, full and comprehensive processing of agricultural raw materials must be ensured, and an increase in output of the final product is needed.

Personal plots farmed by kolkhoz members, workers and employees are an important source of increased food production. The CPSU Central Committee saw fit to implement additional measures ensuring improved conditions for farming plots. They enhance the commitment and responsibility of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises and consumer cooperative organizations for the fuller utilization of the potential of people's plots in terms of increasing production and sale of arable and livestock products.

The republic, particularly the Chuvashskaya ASSR, has accumulated experience of raising and fattening young cattle on personal plots and selling to the state on the basis of contracts between kolkhozes and the population. Unfortunately, in recent years a number of places have seen a drop in production on plots. For example, production of meat by the population in Orlovskaya and Kalininskaya Oblasts has fallen in the last 14 years by 27 percent, and milk production has almost halved in Primorskiy, Khabarovskiy and Krasnodarskiy Krays and Ivanovskaya and Kostromskaya Oblasts.

Soviet and agricultural organs must ensure that any rural inhabitants participate as actively as possible in arable and livestock production. All measures must be taken to fully provide for the needs of personal plot farmers in terms of young cattle, hogs and poultry, and assistance must be given to people through the provision of pasture and meadow land and fodder and the organization of the sale of surplus produce.

In this connection the role of consumer cooperatives is significantly increased. They must constantly increase purchases of agricultural products from the population, especially people in remote areas. At the moment RSFSR Potreboyuz organizations are buying too little meat and fruit and too few vegetables from the population and are failing to ensure fulfillment of the plan for procurements of wild vegetables and berries, honey and other items. There should be more initiative and enterprise in the solution of these questions. It is not for the population to find where it should send part of its truck garden and orchard harvest; consumer cooperative organizations should go to them.

The kolkhoz market is a very important channel for passing on surplus agricultural produce to the consumer. The following figures will confirm this conclusion. In the 10th 5-Year Plan the urban population received through kolkhoz markets an

extra 500,000 tons of meat, 2.5 million tons of potatoes, 1.9 million tons of vegetables and 1.3 million tons of fruit. A considerable amount, as you can see.

Kolkhoz markets are well organized in Volgogradskaya, Saratovskaya, Kuybyshevskaya, Rostovskaya, Kurganskaya, Omskaya and Tambovskaya Oblasts and in Krasnodarskiy, Krasnoyarskiy and Khabarovskiy Krays.

Deliveries of products to these markets are increasing. Trade service bureaus have been organized to sell agricultural products, and markets have set up public councils. At the same time, insufficient attention is paid to kolkhoz markets in Vologodskaya, Novgorodskaya, Tulsкая and Irkutskaya Oblasts, and this situation should be rectified.

Fuller use should also be made of opportunities for increasing output of meat and other products on enterprises' and organizations' subsidiary plots. In recent years local soviet and economic workers and leaders of many union and republic ministries and industrial enterprises have done a considerable amount of work to increase production of meat and other produce on subsidiary plots.

The Ministry of the Coal Industry has on RSFSR territory 57 sovkhoses and subsidiary farms covering an area of 400,000 ha. The ministry's farms have 67,000 head of cattle, including 25,000 cows, more than 50,000 hogs, 25,000 deer and 945,000 birds. In 4 years of the 10 5-Year Plan the sovkhoses and subsidiary farms surrendered to worker supply enterprises 65,000 tons of meat (live weight), 265,000 tons of milk, 385 million eggs, 161,000 tons of potatoes and 249,000 tons of vegetables, including 51,000 tons of grown under glass. This is a considerable addition to state resources.

The RSFSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry has subsidiary farms at 235 enterprises, and at 130 of these fodder centers have been created for the production of pork using food waste. Cattle are fattened at 16 enterprises and 100 enterprises operate fish farms, while 40 have farms for growing fresh vegetables under glass. The subsidiary farm of the Pervomayskiy glass plant in Smolenskaya Oblast is working well. Some 300 head of cattle and 250 pigs are kept there. Over 1,000 workers at the plant and members of their families are fully supplied with milk and to a considerable extent with meat through its production at the farm.

The Leningrad V. I. Lenin optical instrument association has a subsidiary farm producing meat, eggs, milk, potatoes and vegetables. This makes it possible to organize public catering well and makes it possible to supply workers and employees with semifinished products through the firm's store. Every year, in addition to stocks earmarked for the association's public catering system, its auxiliary farm produces 33 percent more milk and 25 percent more meat.

The subsidiary farm organized at the Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine helps greatly in supplying workers and employees with foodstuffs. It supplies 100 percent of the potatoes, 44 percent of the milk and 38 percent of the meat sold by the public catering enterprises.

The increase in inland waters fish farming output is a great help in resolving the food problem. Over 80 percent of the fish caught in rivers, lakes and reservoirs

and raised in pond, lake and warm-water farms is sold to the population fresh or chilled.

The material and technical base of commercial fish farming has been virtually created from new over the 8th, 9th and 10th 5-Year Plans. About R800 million have been invested in the development of fisheries and waters covering 48,000 ha have been commissioned, which is 66 percent of the stock available by the end of 1980. Some 50,000 tons of marketable pond fish are now being reared as against 12,000 tons in 1965, which is 4.2 times more.

At the beginning of the Eighth 5-Year Plan a new sector of commercial fish farming-- lake fish farming--was born. Over 152,000 ha are being worked in commercial farms created in lakes. Productivity has increased five to six times in lakes included in these farms.

Since the middle of the Ninth 5-Year Plan a completely new avenue in commercial fish farming has been developed--the production of fish using waste water from thermal power stations.

The advantages of this industrial fish farming method are obvious: while 1-1.2 tons of fish a year are obtained from pond farms, in warm-water farms 90-100 kg are obtained from just 1 square meter. This is almost a one thousandfold increase in intensiveness in the use of the fish farming area! The Republic Ministry of Fish Industry and local soviet organs should develop warm-water fish farms at accelerated rates.

The management and the trade union committee of the Belovskaya GRES in Kemerovskaya Oblast have displayed good initiative. Last year they rapidly constructed a warm-water fish farm with an area of 1,200 square meters which has made it possible to supply the workers with fresh fish through the public catering network.

The draft basic directions for economic and social development provide for further increasing fish production on pond, nursery, lake and other fish farms and their output must be increased 80-100 percent over the 5-year plan. In the RSFSR commercial fish production on pond and lake farms should increase 90 percent in the 11th 5-Year Plan, which includes a 170-percent increase using water from thermal power stations. The republic's fisheries should play an important part in supplying the population with high-quality food products.

11.

At the CPSU Central Committee October (1980) Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev once again emphasized the paramount economic and political significance of rapidly developing Group "B" sectors. He pointed out, in particular, that the enhancement of the people's well-being demands real progress in the production of consumer goods--progress affecting both the quantity and the quality and range of these goods. This is also important for developing the economy, stepping up labor incentives and strengthening money circulation. The October plenum decisions and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions have been reflected in the CPSU Central Committee's draft for the 26th party congress. There has been a considerable increase in consumer goods production in the republic in accordance with these

decisions. By the end of the 10th 5-Year Plan consumer goods production will have increased 17 percent compared with 1975. The range of many very important types of output in increased public demand has been appreciably updated and extended, and their quality has been improved.

Production of cultural-domestic and household goods has increased 40 percent. In the republic today there are 92 television sets, 93 radios and radio-phonographs, 90 refrigerators, 77 washing machines and 530 clocks and watches of all kinds for every 100 families.

However, the growth in monetary income and the increase in the population's requirements are substantially outstripping consumer goods production. There is still a shortage of many cultural-domestic and household goods. The demand for some particular kinds of textiles, clothing and footwear is not being met in full. So higher growth in consumer goods production is planned in the 11th than in the 10th 5-Year Plan. According to preliminary estimates, it is to increase more than 20 percent. There will be appreciable increases in the production of many other very important consumer goods, and their range will be extended. All this will make it possible to meet public demand more fully.

These are not easy targets. In order to cope with them ministries, departments and local ispolkoms must work hard. It must be borne in mind here that Group "B" sectors are encountering certain difficulties in their developments which must be actively surmounted right now. These include the incomplete startup of newly commissioned capacities owing to manpower shortage and high cadre turnover at certain enterprises. There are instances of equipment standing idle and of interruptions in deliveries of raw materials and supplies. The guilty parties here are the corresponding republic ministries and departments, which do not display proper persistence in eliminating shortcomings which are noted, as well as union ministries which fail to insure the delivery of the necessary quantity of machinery, equipment, raw materials, dyes and chemical materials.

With a view to improving the work of these sectors and creating stable cadres the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the all-union Komsomol Central Committee formulated measures to improve labor organization and to establish young people being sent to enterprises of the RSFSR Ministries of the Textile Industry and Light Industry in their jobs. Enterprise, ministry and department leaders and local ispolkoms are obliged to fulfill these decisions, to create the necessary working and living conditions for young workers and specialists and to provide all enterprises in these sectors with cadres in the very near future.

The mechanization and automation of technological processes and the reduction of manual labor are of great significance for the accelerated development of consumer goods production. In considering this problem we must take account of the fact that machine building for the light and food industry is still not capable of fully providing enterprises with the necessary equipment. This does not mean that this situation must be tolerated. A persistent search must be conducted for ways to reduce manual labor and increase productivity. Production of certain types of equipment and mechanization facilities can be organized at repair enterprises and in shops in sectors of the republic's industry.

Experience shows that good results are achieved where proper attention is devoted to this question. The Dedovsk Industrial Textiles Production Association serves as an example. All the work--from the design to the manufacture of mechanization facilities--is carried out there using its own resources. The transportation of raw materials, semifinished goods and finished products has been fully mechanized in the association. Conditions have been created there for multiple machine-minding as the result of skilled engineering production backup and high mechanization of manual labor. The spinners' equipment-minding zones are now 27 percent and the weavers' zones are 86 percent above the standard norms, and in high labor productivity sections the zones exceed the norms by 150 percent. The association is working steadily and fulfilling the production plan for all technical and economic indicators with a 5-7-percent reduction in the number of workers over the 10th 5-Year Plan. In November it completed the 5-Year Plan target for production volume growth ahead of schedule. Similar work is being done at the Drezna cotton spinning and weaving factory, the Kupava fine cloth factory, the Orekhovskiy combine and others.

At the same time production mechanization questions are tackled poorly at a number of enterprises, so that the proportion of manual labor there is high. They include the Pavlovo Pokrovskaya spinning and weaving factory, the Yegoryevsk cotton combine and many enterprises of the republic's china and earthenware industry. In this connection ministries and departments must tackle labor mechanization more actively at all enterprises.

A great deal must be done to improve the use of equipment in light industry and the textile industry. Whereas in Moscow and Leningrad the shift coefficient is close to three, in certain oblasts and krais it is considerably below even the sector average. This applies, above all, to the Barnaul cotton combine, the Chita worsted and cloth combine and the Ussuri sewn goods factory in Primorskiy Kray. It is the duty of the RSFSR State Committee for Labor, ministries and local ispolkoms to help these and other enterprises to get a full complement of cadres as quickly as possible, to increase the shift coefficient and efficiency and to try to increase labor productivity.

Much work has to be done to accelerate the startup of newly commissioned production capacities. It must be said that there are many enterprises in the textile industry and light industry which have started them up on schedule and are utilizing them efficiently.

These enterprises include the Balashov raincoat fabric combine in Saratovskaya Oblast, the worsted-spinning factory of the Bryansk worsted production association, the Ishimbay knitwear factory in the Bashkirskaya ASSR and the Azov sewn goods factory in Rostovskaya Oblast.

The Kursk leather plant, commissioned in 1978, started up production capacities in 10.5 months instead of the standard 21 months. The plant fulfills all technical and economic indicators. Last year 6 million square decimeters of box calf leather goods were produced over and above the plan, 1,400 tons of rawhide were saved, and a profit of more than R2 million was made. The plant is working successfully this

year too! The production volume has increased 30 percent, and approximately 70 percent of all output is produced with the state seal of quality. The ahead-of-schedule startup of capacities was the result of timely cadre training, the introduction of progressive forms of production and labor organization and the comprehensive resolution of social and consumer questions.

However, the experience of progressive collectives is still being disseminated poorly. Production capacities are being started up slowly at the Blagoveshchensk cotton-spinning factory, the Kererovo silk textiles combine and the Tyumen, Chita and Leninsk-Kuznetskiy worsted and cloth combines. At the Bikin knitwear factory, commissioned back in 1975, the level of capacity start-up stands at only 47 percent, and at the Asrakhan knitwear combine, whose last stage was commissioned in 1976, it is only 01 percent. As a result, there is a considerable shortfall in supplies of output to the consumer.

The socialist state invests vast funds in the construction of new enterprises. In order to start up production capacities more quickly, enterprises should be constructed comprehensively, creating along with industrial installations all the necessary social facilities--housing and children's, medical, trade and other establishments.

Nowadays production efficiency depends to a large extent on the resolution of social questions. Ministries, departments and local Soviet and economic organs must devote most earnest attention to improving workers' working and living conditions, molding stable cadres and developing the public services sphere. Yet plans for commissioning social, cultural and domestic facilities for workers in Group "B" sectors are being underfulfilled. Thus, Construction Ministry organizations have been building a 280-place children's combine for the Mukhtolovo sewn goods factory in Gorkovskaya Oblast since 1976. A similar combine for the Bogorodsk sewn goods and haberdashery association has been under construction for a long time. Subdivisions of the Ministries of Industrial Construction and Construction of Heavy Industry enterprises and of other departments also permit serious laggardness in the construction of housing and cultural and consumer projects. It is time the leaders of construction organizations and ministries realized that the speediest commissioning of such construction projects will make it possible to reduce cadre turnover, enhance production and labor discipline and secure a substantial increase in consumer goods production.

The modernization and retooling of enterprises is of great significance. This path makes it possible sharply to improve efficiency and product quality. The experience of progressive collectives attests to the tremendous advantages of modernizing plants and factories. Thanks to this, for example, over the past 10 years Ivanovo textile workers have increased the production volume by almost R800 million. Setting up new factories to produce a similar quantity of products would require one-third more capital.

The rational use of raw material resources is an important reserve for further increasing consumer goods production. Let us take a question such as reducing the use of natural raw materials for technical purposes. At present a considerable amount of fabric manufactured from natural fiber is used for industrial consumption, and also as packing and even as cleaning material. In the 11th 5-Year

Plan measures are to be taken to replace natural with chemical fiber as far as possible. This, in the opinion of specialists, will permit a substantial increase in the production of cotton textiles for the population.

There should also be a sharp improvement in the use of production waste and local raw materials. In those oblasts where local ispolkoms treat this matter with proper attention and persistence, the question of the shortage of many goods, particularly "trifles," has been resolved. A great deal is being done in this respect in Ulyanovskaya, Volgogradskaya, Saratovskaya and other oblasts.

At the same time, certain autonomous republics, krais and oblasts are constantly asking republican organizations to bring such goods in from the outside, although opportunities exist for producing them on the spot. At the request of trade organizations Omskaya Oblast, for example, which possesses adequate timber resources, brings in from outside ironing boards, laundry tongs, wooden spoons, pestles, rolling pins, handles and kitchen mallets year after year, and over considerable distances. Things are no better in certain other oblasts. This happens chiefly because local industry administrations display little initiative as regards ascertaining, recording, distributing and utilizing local raw material resources, and local ispolkoms tolerate this.

It should also be pointed out that far from all economic leaders take a totally responsible attitude to fulfilling the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures to Further Increase Production of the Simplest Household and Consumer Goods." In particular, certain enterprises of the republic's local and fuel industries lag behind the targets set them. RSFSR Potreboyuz enterprises devote insufficient attention to the production of goods using local raw materials. Yet waste and local raw materials are a reliable help in increasing commodity resources. Approximately 2,000 different products are now made from production waste in local industry, but their volume is only 7 percent of all output sold. This is clearly insufficient. We can rely on the positive experience of Kuybyshevskaya, Chelyabinskaya and other oblasts in the matter of increasing consumer goods production. There such products make up approximately 20 percent of all consumer goods.

An increase in consumer goods production can also be achieved by expanding their production by subsidiary enterprises of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and interfarm organizations. The volume of production at the aforesaid enterprises in the RSFSR as a whole increased almost 22 percent during the first 4 years of the 10th 5-Year Plan alone, including an increase of approximately 25 percent on kolkhozes. The RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture, autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms must actively continue this work.

A very important role in goods production belongs to enterprises of heavy industry ministries, which account for more than 80 percent of the production of cultural consumer and household goods. Addressing the leaders of a number of heavy and defense industry sectors, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev urged them to regard consumer goods production as an important state and party task.

Many enterprises in the aforesaid sector set an example in this respect. Over the 5-year plan consumer goods production will have more than tripled in the electronics industry and doubled in tractor and agricultural machine building and the machine tool and tool building industry.

At the same time it is appropriate to point out that certain ministries not only have taken no appreciable step forward but have not even coped with the 5-year targets for consumer goods production. They include the Ministries of Timber and Wood Processing Industry, Chemical Industry, Ferrous Metallurgy, Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, Heavy and Transport Machine Building and certain others. During January-October 1980 alone enterprises of the Ministries of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, Chemical Industry, Radio Industry and Communications Equipment Industry located on RSFSR territory had a shortfall against the plan totaling more than 880 million in the production of cultural consumer and household goods.

Certain union ministries failed to meet the consumer goods production targets set in the 23 December 1976 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution. Thus, of the 44 types of product provided for in that resolution, the targets for 17 types were not fulfilled in 1980. Because of this the republic's population did not receive tens of thousands of motorcycles, bicycles, motor scooters, tape recorders and radio sets and millions of rubles' worth of enameled steel plates and dishes, synthetic detergents and other commodities.

The proportion of cultural-consumer and household goods in the total volume of industrial output at many heavy industry enterprises does not exceed 1-2 percent. Certain enterprises do not produce them at all. And these include large enterprises, such as, for example, the Automotive Industry Ministry's Kama truck plant, Orsk tractor trailer plant and Chita vehicle assembly plant and the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy's West Siberian metallurgical plant. Heavy industry enterprises frequently confine themselves just to manufacturing the simplest articles and do not seek to start up production of complex consumer equipment more in line with their actual potential.

At the same time in certain oblasts, krais and autonomous republics the necessary demands are not made on enterprise leaders for this work. Here local soviet organs do not make full use of the rights granted to them by our party and the Soviet state. Not everywhere are long-term plans compiled for the development of consumer goods production or design and technical services created to develop and put into production new types of such articles. Yet heavy industry enterprises have great scientific and technical potential, and we have a right to expect a weightier contribution from them to consumer goods production.

The most serious attention must be devoted to improving the quality of consumer goods. This is perhaps the main question now. And much is being done in the republic to resolve it. A comprehensive quality control system has been introduced and is in operation at 58 percent of light industry enterprises and 20 percent of textile industry enterprises. In the first 4 years of the 5-year plan now ending, the output of products bearing the state seal of quality increased nearly sixfold in light industry and fourfold in the textile industry. At a number of enterprises

one article in every two or three is in the top quality category. Design houses and artistic design and product development laboratories have been created in sectors of the light and textile industries.

However, we cannot close our eyes to the serious shortcomings in work to improve the quality of the consumer goods produced. Trade is continuing to receive on a significant scale goods which are not up to the requirements of standards and technical conditions. Ministries and departments and local ispolkoms are called upon to keep constantly in mind questions of improving the quality of output produced and to deal strictly with those who do not fulfill these demands.

All is not well as regards planning of consumer goods production at enterprises, particularly with respect to product mix. Only shortcomings in planning and management can explain instances of "erasing" from enterprises' plans goods which are inconvenient for them but which are in extensive demand among the population. As a result the volume of output increases in cost terms, but remains at the same level or even falls in physical terms. Thus, although in the first 4 years of the 5-year plan the RSFSR Ministry of Local Industry increased the output of enamelware in terms of retail prices, the number of articles fell 17 percent. Another example: Wallpaper production in the republic increased 20 percent in retail prices over the same period, but in physical terms even less is produced now than in 1976. That is how a trade shortage is created.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers is adopting measures to eliminate these shortcomings and making increasing demands on ministries and departments responsible for ensuring plans for consumer goods production and the all-round improvement of their quality. At the same time in order to successfully resolve this problem it is expedient to step up the influence of economic levers and incentives.

Trade is of great significance in satisfying Soviet people's everyday requirements. In the current 5-year plan its material and technical base has been strengthened considerably. Major department stores, trade centers, self-service stores, catering establishments and fruit and vegetable centers have been commissioned.

In 1980 the retail trade turnover plan will be overfulfilled by R1.3 billion. The increase over the 5-year plan period will total approximately R30 billion. Whereas in 1975 per capita sales of goods were R912, in 1980 they will be R1,109--an 18 percent increase. The structure of trade turnover has improved.

At the same time trading enterprises' work is still not fully in accordance with growing demands. In certain stores and catering establishments service to the population is at a low standard. There are interruptions in trade in particular goods although they are available at warehouses and bases, and people often spend time waiting in lines because of shortcomings in trade organization.

Trade organizations are not sufficiently exacting toward industrial enterprises as regards the fulfillment of plans for the delivery of the agreed range of goods of the appropriate quality, they introduce experience in the comprehensive system of ensuring steady trade only slowly, and they are bad at coordinating deployment of

production of the simplest articles and joint study of demand in conjunction with industrial enterprises. It is necessary to step up work on revealing commodity resources, improve the standard and quality of service and constantly ensure that all goods available at bases and warehouses reach the consumers in good time.

In the 10th 5-Year Plan public catering has been further developed in the RSFSR. Trade turnover has increased 15 percent compared with 1975, and the output of home-produced products has increased 23 percent. More than \$700 millions' worth of above-plan products have been sold to the population. At present more than 63 million inhabitants of the republic use the services of public catering.

In recent years great attention has been devoted to organizing catering for workers and employees. At enterprises in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the chemical, construction materials, petrochemicals and automotive industries and a number of other sectors the number of places in canteens is close to the norm.

However, certain enterprises and ministries, above all in instrument making, the radio industry, the communications facilities industry and housing municipal services, are not applying all the necessary measures to improve the organization of catering for workers and employees. The provision of canteen places in these ministries is as a whole 40-65 percent, while the 10th 5-Year Plan targets for developing the public catering network have been fulfilled.

The canteen network in educational institutions has developed at preferential rates. Much has been done to organize public catering in general educational schools, higher and secondary specialized educational institutions and vocational and technical schools. Here most students have the opportunity to obtain hot food.

In the 11th 5-Year Plan it is necessary to increase significantly the number of canteens, cafes, restaurants, and snackbars and make fuller use of available potential to this end, including the 5-percent allocation from capital investments appropriated for housing construction, state bank loans and other sources.

High responsibility for increasing the production, extending the range and improving the quality of consumer goods and developing the service sphere rests with ispolkoms. The USSR Constitution grants them considerable rights in this sphere. But these rights also presuppose considerable responsibility.

Considerable results are in fact being achieved where local soviets and their planning organs pay constant attention to the output of consumer goods.

Thus in Leningrad the production of consumer items has been organized at nearly 300 enterprises and the schedule of these items exceeds 25,000 brands. Work to expand their range and increase quality is taking shape on the basis of the comprehensive plan for the city's social and economic development, which includes a special section on this subject. In this respect positive experience has been accumulated in Primorskiy Kray, where the volume of production of consumer items increased by 39 percent in the 10th 5-Year Plan, and in Tyumenskaya Oblast, the Dagestanskaya, Severo-Osetinskaya and Udmurtskaya Autonomous Republics and the Komi ASSR, which increased their output by 25-33 percent.

Meanwhile, a number of oblasts, krais and ASSRs are not fulfilling the plans for the production of consumer goods. Among those are Kaluzhskaya Oblast and the Tatarskaya, Mariyskaya and Yakutskaya Autonomous Republics. This situation cannot be accepted.

Under the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on improving the economic machinery, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms and gorispolkoms are entrusted with drawing up and confirming the summary 5-year and annual plans for the output of consumer goods as well as with monitoring their fulfillment. This resolution opens a broad field of activity before ispolkoms and their planning commissions and advances the requirement for them to participate actively in the search for new reserves and perform this work in close contact with the appropriate USSR and RSFSR ministries and departments.

A conference held at the RSFSR Council of Ministers of USSR and republic ministry and department leaders, local party, Soviet and economic organ chiefs and also individual association and enterprise leaders was devoted to increasing the production of consumer items in the light of the CPSU Central Committee October (1980) Plenum decisions and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions. The implementation of the proposals and recommendations expressed will make it possible to eliminate shortcomings in that matter, expand the output of consumer goods and improve their quality. At present the RSFSR Gosplan, together with ministries, departments and local ispolkoms, is formulating a program for further increasing consumer goods production in the 11th 5-Year Plan and for improving their quality.

Socialist competition has always been and will continue to be a powerful lever for the successful implementation of party decisions. For the year ahead and the whole 11th 5-Year Plan the republic's labor collectives are adopting stepped-up pledges which take into account reserves for the further growth of consumer goods production. The fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges will be a weighty contribution to the fitting greeting to the 26th CPSU Congress and will make it possible to implement successfully our party's grand designs.

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PROPORTIONALITY IN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EFFICIENCY

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[Text] In the eighties, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the CPSU Central Committee October (1980) plenum, it is necessary to complete the transfer of the economy onto a footing of intensive development and to sharply improve the productivity and quality of labor. Among all the diverse factors (economic, technical, structural, organizational and administrative) promoting the resolution of this important task, one general economic precondition for the implementation of this process in a developed, complex economy should be singled out: that of constantly maintaining proportionality in the reciprocal exchange of activity between its components and insuring balance in economic growth.

1.

First, the relationship between the concepts of "efficiency" and "balance." Both are conditions of dynamic economic growth and objective interconnections exist between them. One of them, which is rightly stressed in the practice of planning and economic management, amounts to the fact that reliable balance in plans can be achieved when there is the fullest possible utilization of resources and factors for production. But balance in plans is not an end in itself, but a means of efficient economic development and consequently of steadily increasing prosperity. That is why the dependence of social production efficiency on the degree of proportionality and the level of balance is very significant--in both theoretical and practical terms.

Production efficiency itself depends on the correct quantitative correlation of production factors and their distribution by sectors and spheres of the national economy. Moreover this relationship is of primary importance and is the starting point for securing dynamic economic growth. Indeed, if for the sake of theoretical analysis the qualitative characteristics of production factors are presumed to be unchanging at a particular moment, the first prerequisite for their efficient utilization is correct proportionality, conditioned by the given technological, economic and social conditions of reproduction. The starting point for the potentially more efficient utilization of production factors under socialism as compared with capitalism is precisely the objective potential for consciously establishing and maintaining in a planned way the proportional distribution of resources in the interests of steady production growth and increasing prosperity for

the people. This is one of the most important economic functions of planning in the economic machinery of the new, socialist type.

Here guaranteeing balance plus an active policy of shaping proportions in the national economy in accordance with the requirements and potential of scientific and technical progress and the changing structure of social requirements serve as the fundamental precondition for increasing production efficiency.

In the most elementary form the dependence of efficiency on proportionality can be shown on the basis of the example of the necessary correlation between fixed capital and labor resources, or the necessary correlation between the number of workers with different levels of skills. If the numerical strength of the work force is greater than the size of the capital determining the number of jobs, then we have to deal with underutilization of one of the primary production factors and with inefficient production. If the number of highly skilled specialists is not in line with the necessary number of medium skilled workers, this can mean that the first group of workers is used insufficiently rationally, since they are forced to devote part of their time to activity for which their high skills are unnecessary. At the same time, creating the necessary correspondence between different production factors even without substantially changing their qualitative nature leads to their fuller utilization and forms the basis for improving production efficiency in general.

Economic experience shows that tension in the economy and the emergence of disproportions stimulate the application of nonrational methods to achieve balance. They may offer a temporary way out of the situation, but essentially they run counter to the tasks of increasing efficiency and they ultimately hinder the intensification of production. Thus a shortage of labor resources leads to the involvement in social production of manpower which is insufficiently skilled or is an increase in expenditure from the wages fund on increasing the number of employees, but expenditure on additional incentives for the most skilled workers are correspondingly reduced. The lack of correspondence between the scale of capital construction and material and technical potential is overcome in effect by means of prolonging times taken to construct projects and increasing the lag between spending resources and obtaining useful results from them. In just the same way the result of a shortage of labor resources for renewing existing production apparatus is that the length of service of fixed capital is extended, and this leads to the artificial retention in production capacities of obsolete or obsolescent types of machinery and technology and a fall in production efficiency. Failure to supply the necessary range of goods and services to meet the real demand from the population often leads to a socially unjustified increase in consumption of a proportion of costly products and reduces the efficacy of measures to increase income as a means of stimulating efficiency and work quality, and so forth. And conversely, the removal of tension in meeting requirements and the attainment of an economically justified relationship between various types of resources opens the way to better, more efficient utilization of these resources.

A concrete analysis of the last 5-year plan and previous 5-year plans shows that there exists in the USSR's national economy a significant tension--in a number of cases, increasing tension--in the coordination of available resources with requirements. This is manifested in the shortage of manpower (particularly

skilled), the lack of correspondence between the construction work front and the volume of capital investment allocated, the shortage of certain types of raw material, construction materials and fuel, the lack of correspondence between the level of development of production and that of such elements of the infrastructure as railroad transport and the system for storing material valuables, the lack of alignment between export potential and existing demand for imports of resources and the outstripping increase in the population's financial income in relation to the increase in goods and paid services. The article will go on to examine some of these features. But first it should be stressed that tension, imbalance phenomena in economic development and the associated shortfall in production resources are not, as a rule, absolute: All types of resources are increasing and have reached colossal scales in absolute terms.

However, frequently there is not enough of these resources to implement all the programs being carried out simultaneously--programs which are not always sufficiently well coordinated. In existing conditions imbalance is the main reason for the insufficiently efficient utilization of production factors and has a negative effect on economic growth rates. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "Despite undoubted, major successes in economic building and the huge growth in the scale of the economy, for a long time we have been unable to rid ourselves of the bottlenecks which prevent us from moving forward even more rapidly and dynamically...."

From this viewpoint it is obvious that economic balance and the removal of the tension and tendency to shortages caused by the disproportion between the scale of economic tasks and programs being implemented simultaneously and the limited availability of material, labor and financial resources at any one time is a most important general economic precondition for the transition to the intensive path of development and the acceleration of technical progress. It is necessary to constantly measure (balance) requirements against resources, not allowing dispersal over too wide a front in utilizing them.

The draft "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period Through 1990," in characterizing society's further economic progress, stresses the unity of two of its aspects--dynamism and proportionality; "dynamic and balanced development of the USSR's economy as a unified national economic complex and proportional growth in all its sectors and the union republics' economies is to be implemented."

2.

Economic analysis reveals that the disparity in our economy between the dynamics of fixed capital and manpower appreciably affects the national economy's general efficiency. The crux of the problem is that fixed capital is accumulating very rapidly but the number of employed people, above all skilled manpower, is not growing accordingly and its utilization is not improving. This results in slow assimilation of the capacities being created and low equipment utilization indicators, that is incomplete utilization of the accumulated production potential.

This disparity is based on economic factors, primarily the intensified orientation toward new construction and inadequate attention to the real renewal of existing

production apparatus, modernization and reconstruction and mechanization of manual labor. Another factor is the inertia of economic thinking, where the dominant idea is that the main task is to create capital and capacities and ensure the construction of new projects and the manpower will easily be found. It is indicative that the proportion of annually commissioned fixed capital used to replace existing production apparatus fell significantly in 1971-79 compared with 1966-70. But the number of personnel engaged in manual labor in industry and construction is still increasing in absolute terms (with a slight reduction in the relative proportion).

In conditions of the unjustifiably large discrepancy between the dynamics of fixed capital and manpower, with a growing amount of new construction and an inadequate proportion of capital investment in the replacement of obsolete equipment, jobs are increasingly failing to be filled. The consolidated assessment of the USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Institute for Economics showed that in 1971-75 in industry alone more than 2 million new jobs were created for which the manpower was not fully provided; add to this in excess of 1 million in 1976-78. This excessive commissioning of fixed capital (in terms of availability of manpower and quality of its utilization) costs tens of billions of rubles and accounted for approximately one-fourth of total capital introduced. The presence of expensive but unfilled jobs is a factor in the reduction of the capital-output ratio in industry. A similar process is occurring in agriculture and construction. That is why one provision of the "Basic Guidelines" has such an urgent ring to it: "Measures are to be adopted to achieve a balance between existing and newly created jobs on the one hand and manpower on the other."

Inadequate use of the production capacities that have been created is also conditioned by lack of coordination in commissioning by type of capacity which creates bottlenecks in technological chains of production which lower the output capacity. This concerns both individual enterprises and their cooperative systems which make up territorial production complexes. At the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev quoted a striking example: "At the cost of immense effort very large plants were constructed to produce fertilizers. Now it turns out that capacities for the production of millions of tons of fertilizers are... standing idle. Apparently there is a shortage of raw material and gas. What were they thinking of before? Why did they provide money for the construction of plants they were not sure they would be able to operate?"

Similar phenomena leading to a reduction in the efficiency of utilization of significant capital resources occur in agriculture. In accordance with party decisions on agrarian policy matters large capital investments have been pumped into this area over several 5-year periods. For 13 years, starting in the mid-sixties, this sector received around 75 percent of the funds invested in agriculture in the entire period of Soviet power. This permitted a substantial strengthening of its material and technical base. However, these colossal resources were not always assimilated rationally, comprehensively and efficiently enough. The reason for this is lack of coordination between the different investment areas. For example, investments in the economic assimilation of reclaimed land have fallen significantly behind the actual reclamation process, thus reducing the effect of the latter. We now have 17 million hectares of irrigated land but its yield falls far short of its

potential. In our view, the direction of future capital investments should be changed and emphasis placed on the real economic assimilation of land in which immense resources have already been invested. The reduction of the rate of primary reclamation could mean a big saving in capital investments for use in other areas of the agrarian industrial complex.

In livestock raising in a number of republics major investments in new premises for livestock have been implemented without taking into account real opportunities for increasing the other element in agricultural fixed capital--the herd--or were not backed up by equally vigorous efforts to increase the number of animals and were therefore not economically rational. In 1966-1978 R54 billion--around one-third of all production capital investments in kolkhozes and sovkhoses--was earmarked for the construction and equipping of livestock premises alone. This made it possible to construct livestock units to house 55 million head of cattle, 49 million hogs and 81 million sheep, while the real increase in the number of animals was only 46, 36 and 20 percent, respectively of the number of places available. Moreover, there are frequent cases where livestock raising complexes and large livestock units are not filled and where good buildings are written off prematurely and the buildings of existing units are used for the wrong purpose.

Of course greater balance in the dynamics of the accumulation of the most important elements of the stock raising sector's fixed capital--the animals and the premises equipped to house them--would enable even greater savings to be made and free for a time a number of resources of the agroindustrial complex's other needs--such as increasing fodder production or capacities for storing agricultural produce.

Clearly, eliminating such phenomena as the overaccumulation of fixed capital in terms of manpower or of some fixed capital elements in relation to others and balancing these various reproduction flows offer enormous scope for increasing efficiency. It is, of course, in this direction--rationalizing and balancing reproduction factor by factor--that the focus of efforts to create a solid platform for the efficient utilization of resources must move.

This does not, of course, mean that the dynamics of the capital reproduction process should be artificially inhibited in some way. The main thing is to raise the standard of planned management of the investment process and to more thoroughly substantiate the directions in which capital is invested.

It is imperative to intensify the processes of replacing obsolete equipment in current use, refurbishing and modernizing, which make it possible to raise the technical standard of output and expand production without increasing the number of those employed at enterprises undergoing modernization, and to gear the investment process to end results--the speediest commissioning of capital.

3.

It is no secret that there is a manpower shortage in our national economy. In order to correctly point out ways of overcoming it its nature and causes must be explained.

There is a widespread view that the reason for the shortage lies in the worsening demographic situation. True, in the middle of the 10th 5-Year Plan a marked absolute reduction in the ages of the population of working age began to occur and this process will continue to be left throughout the eighties and into the early nineties. Indeed this involves the immediate and more distant future, whereas marked manifestations of manpower shortages began to occur as long ago as the first half of the seventies. What is more, they occurred when the demographic situation was entirely favorable from the viewpoint of the natural increase in the able-bodied population: the average annual absolute increase in the population of working age was higher in 1971-78 than in 1969-70; by 1978 the number of men and women of working age was equal for the first time since the war; and the standard of employees' education and vocational training was appreciably higher.

The real reason for the increased complexity of the tasks involved in providing the national economy with manpower resources lies in the fact that recruitment of the able-bodied population into social production had already reached a high level (more than 90 percent), as a result of which additional manpower sources (the home and private plots) were sharply reduced.

There was a change not so much in the demographic as in the economic conditions of insuring employment while the nature of economic growth remained unaltered: it was still based on a rapid rate of accumulation of fixed capital and the formation of new production capacities. The above-mentioned disparity between the process of fixed capital reproduction and the dynamics of manpower resources was to a large extent also the cause of the manpower shortages.

Admittedly, the nature of the manpower shortage differs according to the part of the country. In the European part of the USSR and in the Urals it is mainly caused by the small scale of existing enterprises' retooling and modernization and the excessive rate of new construction. In the Central Asian republics, the Transcaucasus and the Moldavian SSR, where there are considerable free manpower resources, the shortage is mainly caused by continuing to build in big cities large-scale enterprises and sophisticated types of production facilities in a situation of insufficient industrial labor skills, the population's low geographical mobility, the indigenous nationalities' poor knowledge of Russian and a relatively underdeveloped network for the training of worker cadres. New enterprises, especially in the machine-building sector, have to be staffed with skilled workers brought in from areas with large manpower shortages. There are other reasons too, but the fact remains that the shortage is caused not so much by the demographic situation as by economic and social factors and certain economic decisions.

The labor resources situation aggravates certain phenomena on the side of the labor force itself. For a number of reasons we have a situation of low labor intensity. The tendency to maintain excess personnel has intensified. The exacerbation of the shortage prompts enterprise leaders to have manpower "in reserve." This also results from the imperfection of the mechanism for releasing and redistributing workers: job placement of personnel released due to the introduction of technical innovations and improvement in labor organization is the responsibility of the same enterprises which implement the aforementioned measures. Moreover, executives always have an eye to the possibility of moving personnel away from

basic activity in the system of patronage assistance to work in agriculture, in vegetable storehouses, on construction sites and in providing city amenities.

The economic constraints on demand for this kind of manpower are weak and the economic incentives for making better use of it are extremely weak. In 1970 in kolkhozes and sovkhoses 40 percent more manpower was enlisted than in 1960, and in 1978 it was already 140 percent more than in 1970 (on the annual average).

Thus, in social and organizational terms the manpower shortage creates certain preconditions for a reduction in labor and technological discipline, high personnel turnover and artificial increases in wages as a means to attract people to enterprises and institutes and has an adverse effect on the utilization of not only fixed capital but also manpower itself.

Improving the proportionality between the dynamics of fixed capital and the number of employed and overcoming manpower shortage phenomena require a broad complex of technical, economic and social measures and their consistent implementation.

In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee's instructions, planning and economic organs are preparing large-scale measures for accelerating labor productivity growth in the 11th 5-Year Plan and saving manpower on the basis of the reduction of the sphere of application of manual and unskilled labor and the extensive mechanization of loading and unloading work; for introducing automata-industrial robots, particularly in sectors with hard working conditions; and are providing for an increase in the volumes and proportion of capital investments and equipment channeled into the renovation of the existing production apparatus.

The solution of problems of the rational utilization of manpower in the long term presupposes a differentiated approach to employment policy by region. In particular in the central Asian and Transcaucasian republics, the Moldavian SSR and to a considerable extent in the Kazakh SSR, which currently have considerable reserves of manpower, particularly in the countryside, paramount significance is attached to training cadres from the local population. A complex of measures is needed promoting an increase in the local population social mobility and a change in its way of life. In this connection it is particularly important there to improve the Russian language teaching as the language of inter-nation communication, primarily in rural schools, and to expand the training of skilled workers on the basis of the rapid development of the region's own network of vocational and technical colleges and the organized, purposeful dispatch of local young people to study workers' professions in other republics.

There are also great tasks facing us with respect to creating a more rational sector production structure with consideration for local possibilities for supplying production with cadres with the relevant qualifications.

Considering that in the economically most developed regions of the country the release and redistribution of workers between sectors, enterprises and organizations will be the main source for supplying them with cadres, it is necessary to improve this entire practice substantially. It is expedient to transfer all job placement functions to local organs and absolve enterprise and organization

leaders of this duty. There is also a tangible need to create a centralized system for retraining released workers and to intensify material incentives for the collectives of enterprises implementing planned development of production while reducing their personnel.

An important condition for the fuller utilization of the labor potential of social production is the improvement of material incentives for efficient labor on the basis of the increasingly consistent implementation of the socialist principle of distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor. There are many aspects to this problem, but here just one of them is under examination--the need to insure proper proportionality between the population's effective demand and the supply of goods and services as an essential precondition for the effectiveness of the steps being taken.

In the sphere of satisfying effective demand it is also necessary to note the presence of a certain tension and discrepancy between the dynamics of the population's effective demand and the goods and services on offer. This is borne out by the statistics published on the growth of the workers and employees wages fund, kolkhoz members' earnings and money payments from social consumption funds on the one hand and on the increase in the production of consumer goods on the other.

The population's deposits in savings banks have risen considerably, and a certain proportion of these deposits are the result of unsatisfied demand. Deposits increased by an average of R13.8 billion a year in the 10th 5-Year Plan, while in the previous decade they increased by an average of R7.2 billion.

Obstacles to normal spending of the money income the population receives for labor in social production and from social consumption funds reduce the effectiveness of material incentive measures, weaken labor incentives and thus impede the growth of social production and the raising of its efficiency. This determines the decisive significance attached under present-day conditions to the satisfaction of effective demand and the improvement of proportionality in the "income-demand-consumption" process. It seems to me that measures in the current and most immediate long-term plans for economic and social development must be directed primarily toward the solution of this problem.

4.

Decisive significance in the process of expanded reproduction attaches to a correctly organized investment process and interaction between the subdivisions and sectors involved in social production. Analysis of these aspects of economic growth leads to the conclusion that the growth of efficiency at the present stage depends to a decisive degree on the attainment of stable proportionality and balance.

Indeed, imbalance in the capital construction process has been persisting for a long time in the national economy. This is caused to a decisive degree by the disruption of the essential conformity between the construction front--the volume of construction and installation work under way at one time--and actual capital investment resources and construction organizations' capacities; it is also caused

by poor planning and economic monitoring of the rise in the estimated cost of projects under construction.

The 1976-80 5-Year Plan provided for a sharp deceleration in production investment growth rates. This was intended to ensure a shift in the center of gravity in economic policy from the expansion of investment resources to the alternation of their technical composition and quality with a view to eliminating the tension and imbalance existing in a number of components of the national economy. However, this expedient and timely economic maneuver was not carried out consistently enough. The point is that alongside the slowing down of production capital investment growth rates in the 10th 5-Year Plan there was an unwanted expansion of the front of construction projects simultaneously in progress and the growth rates of the cost of newly launched construction were high. The total estimated cost of projects under construction at the same time (the construction front) was 80-100 percent above the normative. The time taken to build projects increased. The contradictory orientation of the dynamics of the components of the investment process intensified the disruptions of this process.

This increase in the total estimated cost leading, with the set volumes of capital investments, to an increase in the duration of construction and the reduction of the effectiveness of investment activity, results from the revision of drafts and estimates by including in the new construction projects additional projects whose commissioning conditions the growth of production capacity and changes in the range and quality of the output produced. In addition, many projects are being installed which do not lead to an increase in capacity.

Alongside the fragmentation of capital investment, the disruption of the necessary proportionality is affected by the rise in unit capacity costs. What is taking place is above all a rise in the cost of construction and installation work. It occurred as a result of the approval of new estimated prices for 1969. But even since then, despite the fact that no substantial price changes have been observed, the cost of a unit of capacity has continued to rise.

The process of the rise in unit capacity costs is not fully considered in elaborating capital investment plans which in time have to be revised in violation of previously projected plan rations. As a result the estimated cost of projects under construction is constantly revised.

The fragmentation of capital investments over an excessively broad front of construction and the frequently unjustified raising of the estimated cost of projects under construction as against the cost reckoned when forming national economic plans thus act as what are in our view the main economic reasons for disruptions of the balance of capital investment plans.

Stable proportionality in the development of the entire economy, the growth of the efficiency of the utilization of all types of resources and the improvement of production structure in accordance with the dynamically changing requirements of the national economy and the population are possible only on the basis of the regularization of capital construction and the improvement of the standard of its planned management. The essential preconditions for this are created by the CPSU

Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Improvement of Planning and the Intensification of the Economic Mechanism's Impact on the Improvement of Production Efficiency and Work Quality." It is to consistently implement a line aimed at restricting the construction work front on a planned basis, bringing it into line with available material resources and manpower, reducing construction times, reducing the relative volume of uncompleted construction and bringing it into line with normative indicators.

The volume of new construction must be restricted both in terms of the number of construction sites and in terms of the total estimated cost of construction simultaneously in progress. Here, to avoid large losses, the reduction of the construction front must be carried out gradually. Here the total estimated cost of projects under construction must not be more than 2-3 times the annual volume of capital investments.

In the national economy there is also tension in supplying certain types of materials (mineral and agricultural raw material, metals, chemicals, fuel). Many specific reasons for their shortage can be cited, but the most common basis is the insufficient mobility of the production structure. The result has been a disparity between the production of progressive types of materials and requirements for them (for instance, fine-gauge sheet metal in the production of rolled metal, plastics in construction materials, paper in the production of timber output and so forth), the dilatory reorientation of technical progress and the economic mechanism toward energy-saving and materials-saving manufacturing processes and shortcomings in design decisions leading to high metals-intensiveness of many machines and construction structures.

A profound critical analysis of these phenomena is given in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of the Ministries of Metallurgy, Machine Building and Construction in Improving the Quality of Metal Output and Making Effective Use of Metal on the Basis of the Introduction of Low-Waste Technology in the Light of the Requirements of the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum."

The following production ratios can serve as evidence (albeit not absolutely precise in quantitative terms) of the tense situation with regard to materials and energy sources in the national economy. Whereas in the Eighth and Ninth 5-Year Plans the average annual growth of rates of the means of labor were 1.3 times the growth rates of the subjects of labor.

In the 10th 5-Year Plan the former were double the latter. The average annual growth rates for processing industry output were 1.6 times higher than the growth rates for extracting industry in 1971-1975, while in the 10th 5-Year Plan they were 2.5 times higher. Here the degree of reduction of material expenditure norms was less than in the previous 5-year plan.

All this is leading to a situation where the potential of the available production apparatus is being underused and efficiency and quality indicators are falling. Consequently, the restoration of balance itself contains the potential for a marked improvement in national economic efficiency. That is why so much importance

attaches to one of the aims of the draft "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period through 1990": "Achieving Greater Coordination in the Development of the Extracting and Processing Industries and the Sectors Producing and Consuming Implements of Labor..." The solution of this task is possible on the paths both of the more rational distribution of production accumulation between the extracting and processing sectors and also the extensive introduction of resource-saving and waste-free manufacturing processes and the development of infrastructure elements which insure the best conservation of what has been produced, without substantial losses.

Essentially we are faced with a very important technical and economic problem, steering a course in the long term toward the purposeful modernization of production providing a real saving in raw materials, materials and energy per unit of finished output and orienting technical progress toward insuring resource-saving economic growth and satisfying society's requirements for fuel and materials to an increasing extent by saving them and not by building up extraction levels.

With a view to the fuller satisfaction of the national economy's requirements for fuel and raw and other materials and in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee's instructions, planning and economic organs are elaborating measures to accelerate the development of base sectors like the fuel sector, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry; targeted programs are also being prepared for saving fuel and energy and metal.

In conclusion it is expedient to emphasize that the above analysis of the balance in a number of important spheres of the national economy gives grounds for concluding that improving the proportionality of its development is a particularly urgent task, an important link in the present-day economic policy and an essential condition of the course toward increasing efficiency. The resolution of this task requires a substantial improvement in the economic substantiation of plan decisions at all levels of management while strictly observing the preeminence of national economic interests.

In this connection it should be stressed that surmounting departmentalism and localistic tendencies is a very important condition for improving proportionality in the national economy. In many respects the irrational use of capital investments, disharmony and lack of coordination in commissioning capacities and the realizing of the potential of technical progress, the uncomprehensive use of initial raw material, the inertia of structural policy, and the slowness of the pooling, specialization and production sharing processes and of the development of production facilities for output for intersectorial purposes and of important elements of the production infrastructure and so forth are precisely the result of decisions taken from narrow departmental and localistic positions. As the party Central Committee resolution "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs" notes, in resolving questions of improving the control of these economic processes "The CPSU Central Committee attaches paramount importance to further increasing the role of the state plan and above all the 5-year plan as an important instrument for implementing the party's economic policy and insuring that plans are balanced and oriented to a greater degree toward the solution of social tasks."

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PRESSING INDUSTRIAL POWER GENERATION REQUIREMENTS

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[Article by P. Lomako, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy]

[Text] The contemporary level and the future development of the national economy are characterized by the ever growing role of the power industry and electrification. In the past 20 years alone fuel extraction in the USSR increased by a 2.8 factor while electric power production quadrupled. Under such circumstances, reliable and uninterrupted power supply is a most important governmental task, while the rational utilization of all types of fuel and energy is a law of socialist economic management. Bearing in mind the contemporary level of the consumption of fuel and energy resources, this feature should be the subject of as much attention as increasing the extraction of fuel and the production of all kinds of energy.

Long experience in the work in nonferrous metallurgy confirms that the implementation of state plans for the production of basic commodities would be impossible without making steady improvements in the industrial power industry field. Naturally, such work is being systematically done in all industrial sectors. However, the pace and scale of this effort are no longer consistent with present requirements today. This problem has outstripped the sectorial framework. The need for substantial improvements in the management system for industrial power generation on a national scale has become quite urgent. On the basis of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, it would be desirable "to complete this work before the congress in order to prevent obsolete structures from becoming part of the new five-year plan."

A powerful energy base is the foundation for the all-round development of the country's economy, for improvements in production equipment and technology in all sectors and for the steady growth of the people's prosperity. That is why the development of the power industry and of the electric power industry in particular has always been a focus for the attention of the communist party and the Soviet government.

The GOELRO plan, formulated in the first years of the Soviet system on V. I. Lenin's initiative and described by him as a "second party program," laid the foundations for the country's electrification and the creation of a powerful energy industry and a new socialist economy. The urgent but systematically planned work done by the party and the government to develop the power industry met with the

extensive support of the people's masses and yielded good results. Today the Soviet Union has become a leading industrial world power and the reliability with which industrial enterprises are supplied with energy is backed by a permanent system of joint work by such interrelated sectors as fuel (USSR Ministry of Coal Industry, Ministry of Gas Industry, Ministry of Petroleum Industry), transportation (Ministry of Railways, and energy procurement (USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification).

The fullest possible utilization of the industrial, economic and scientific and technical potential created in the country and the all-round enhancement of public production effectiveness and work quality are characteristic features of the party's economic policy at all stages in the building of a communist society.

One of the most topical production tasks involves upgrading the effectiveness with which fuel-energy resources are used. Its implementation is of prime significance to the further development of the national economy. Problems in economical utilization of fuel and energy are regularly considered at party congresses and CPSU Central Committee plenums and are reflected in a number of documents. "The country's requirements for energy and raw materials are steadily growing while production is becoming ever more expensive. Consequently, in order to avoid an excessive increase in capital investments we must insure the more efficient utilization of resources. This includes a reduction in the material intensiveness of output, the use of less expensive and more effective materials and economy in their utilization," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The further improvement of the organizational structure and management of industrial power generation is an important link in resolving the problem of rational and economical utilization of fuel and energy resources. The interrelated problems of increasing capacities and output, the distribution of electric power and fuel and the operation of power generating units and equipment have become difficult at the contemporary development level.

Most of the fuel and the heat and electric power generated in the country go to industry, and the power industry has become a decisive element in basic technological processes. The time has come to make the organizational structure of the management of industrial power generation consistent with the increased impact of the economic mechanism on the rational and economical utilization of fuel and energy resources. We are directed to the adoption of this approach to the problem by the CC CPSU decree "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs" and the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Productiveness and Work Quality."

The need for the further advancement of the organizational structure and management of industrial power generation is particularly topical in the case of ferrous metallurgy, which is one of the most energy-intensive economic sectors. The cost of the power generating facilities in the sector (electric power plants, boiler facilities, compressors, electric power and heat distribution grids, and so on) accounts for about 30 percent of the value of the total productive capital; power generating outlays account for an average of 25 percent of production costs, going

as high as 55 percent in a number of production facilities. For example, overall power outlays per ton of nickel or aluminum come to about 7 and 9 tons of conventional fuel, respectively.

The scale and rate at which the technical standards are rising in nonferrous metallurgy and the related increase in the number and capacity of installed power-technological and power-generating equipment force the ministry to be constantly concerned with upgrading the effectiveness with which fuel-energy resources are utilized. The sectorial specialists who work in this area are achieving some success in the conservation of fuels and thermal and electric power.

All efforts to improve the rational utilization of fuel-energy resources are made in accordance with the following basic technical directions: elaboration and installation of new and more economical power-technological units and processes; replacement and modernization of obsolete and uneconomical power-generating and power-technological equipment; centralization of power supplies and improvement in the fuel-energy balance; and extensive use of automation and of automated control systems.

The comprehensive programs for the application of progressive processes and the utilization of machine units, the modernization of power-generating and power-technological equipment, the optimizing of power balances and power consumption systems, the development of secondary power resources and the use of automation are being formulated and implemented in accordance with these directions. Such work is being done on the basis of close creative cooperation among enterprises and organizations in the sector, institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and republic academies and the specialized organizations of other ministries and departments. Such extensive representation in the solution of this problem is based on the great variety of technological processes, the multicomponent structure of the raw materials and the task of protecting the subsoil and the environment. The ever growing needs of the country for nonferrous metals, the increased complexity of their extraction and production and the need to extract tremendous volumes of lean ores from great depths and in distant areas are taken into consideration.

The sector is developing processes and units for work with continuous automation and high productivity and levels of fuel-energy resource utilization. The combined production of metals and thermal energy is being developed. Effective use is being made of the energy potential of the technological raw material itself. Examples of such technical solutions in pyrometallurgy are found in autogenic processes using oxygen-enriched hot blowing, including oxygen-torch smelting and oxygen cyclone electrothermal smelting, and continuous conversion and smelting in a liquid bath. The aluminum industry is using high capacity electrolyzers with burnt anodes. New leaching systems, aluminum oxide calcination furnaces, aluminum oxide boiling and baking furnaces, and regenerating refrigerators are used in the production of aluminum oxide.

A great deal is being done in the development of new energy-saving technological equipment. However, the rapid implementation of all technical solutions on the scale of the entire sector is quite difficult. For this reason, one of the basic directions in the conservation of heat and power resources is the reconstruction

and modernization of existing enterprises. The technical retooling of nonferrous metallurgical enterprises resolves one of the main problems posed by the 25th CPSU Congress, that of insuring an increase in production capacities with the least possible outlays.

Let us note that in the reconstruction and modernization of industrial enterprises, the specialized construction ministries often refuse to work in operating shops, using a variety of pretexts. For this reason many industrial sectors are forced to set up their own specialized organizations. Thus nonferrous metallurgy has set up the following organizations: Tsentroenergotsvetmet, Uralenergotsvetmet, Sredazenergotsvetmet, Sibenergotsvetmet, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Nonferrous Metallurgy Energy, Tsvetmetelektroproyekt, Energotsvetmet-gazoochistka, the Sibtsvetmetavtomatika Scientific Production Association, Soyuztsvetmetavtomatika and Tsvetmetpetsenergomont. Their creation has enabled us to resolve many technical problems, including replacing mercury with silicon transformers. This has reduced the need for the transformation of electric power by three billion kilowatt hours per year; we installed static exciters and thyristor electric power drives; we modernized piston compressors and oxygen blocks; and we applied systems for the evaporation cooling of elements in metallurgical machine units and air heaters.

The organizations we set up can resolve the most urgent problems in modernizing basic equipment in thermoelectric power plants and boiler facilities. Thus, at the Kol'chugino Nonferrous Metals Processing Plant, Tsentroenergotsvetmet modernized two of the plant's TETs power boilers, increasing their productivity by 40 percent. This insured the timely completion of the new shop and saved a considerable amount of fuel. Similar work is under way at other enterprises. Their accelerated implementation is aided by the close ties existing between the specialized sectorial organizations and the enterprises and organizations of the ministries of power machine building, gas industry, electrical equipment industry and instrument making, automation equipment and control systems such as those at the Belgorod Plant for Power-Generating Machine Building, the Elektrovypryamitel' Plant in Saransk, the Soyuzpromgaz Association, the VNIETO [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Electrothermal Equipment], the TsNIKA [State All-Union Central Scientific Research Institute of Complex Automation] and the Automation Scientific Research Institute in Kirovakan.

However, the amount of work involved in repairing, modernizing and automating energy-generating and energy-technological equipment is increasing steadily and already exceeds the capacities of the sectorial specialized organizations by several hundred percent. For example, preliminary estimates indicate that equipping the operating metallurgical units with heat utilization systems alone would cost about 300 million rubles in capital investments.

We must point out that the problem of utilizing secondary power resources is of tremendous importance. Use of these resources is one of the most important prerequisites for insuring that the growing needs of the national economy for fuel and energy, improving the fuel-energy balance and upgrading public production effectiveness are reliably met.

In September 1980, the CC CPSU considered the practical experience of the collectives in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and chemical industry enterprises in the utilization of secondary fuel-power resources. It approved the positive experience of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, the Volkhov Aluminum Plant and the Polimir Production Association in Novopolotsk, and the initiative of the Chelyabinsk Electrolytic Zinc Plant, which launched socialist competition in the conservation of fuel and energy resources in nonferrous metallurgy. The Central Committee decree is a mobilizing and guiding document for all industrial sectors.

The great economic effectiveness of using secondary energy resources is worth noting. Practical experience indicates that capital outlays for their utilization are considerably lower than those needed to increase the production and transportation of an equivalent amount of prime fuel. The thermal energy generated by heat-using systems is far less expensive than that obtained by the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and in our own boiler facilities.

The utilization of secondary power resources makes it possible not only to recycle thermal energy but to obtain impressive technological results. Reliable heat utilization systems have enabled the branch to install oxygen-blowing facilities at shaft furnaces, a new autogenic process for the suspended smelting of copper concentrates and units for the sublimation of valuable components from slag.

All of these things are results of the steady practical work done to improve the system of organizational and technical management of the power service. The ministry has set up a commission for the development and operation of various models of recovery boilers, air heaters, evaporative coolers for metallurgical units and other heat utilization systems. Soon after the September 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy approved the decision to strengthen its sectorial power service through specialization and maximum concentration. A number of Tsentroenergotsvetmet, Uralenergotsvetmet, Sredazenergotsvetmet and Sibenergotsvetmet subunits specialized in the designing, manufacturing and installation of heat utilization systems, as the result of which these organizations can today resolve complex problems related to the utilization of secondary power resources. For example, after a study of the experience of ferrous metallurgy enterprises in the conversion of metallurgical machine units to evaporative cooling, Uralenergotsvetmet organized extensive application of this measure at its own sectorial enterprises. Sibenergotsvetmet successfully resolved the problem of installing recovery boilers for diesel generators. For many years Tsentroenergotsvetmet has been cooperating fruitfully with the TsKTI [Central Scientific Research, Planning and Designing Boiler and Turbine Institute] Scientific-Production Association imeni I. I. Polzunov and the Belgorod Plant for Energy-Producing Machine Building, as a result of which the application of recovery boilers as in nonferrous metallurgy has broadened substantially.

Currently the specialized organizations are engaged not only in the repair but also the installation of heat utilization systems. For example, Sredazenergotsvetmet successfully installed a recovery boiler for the oxygen-torch smelting furnace at the Aimalyk Mining-Metallurgical Combine, while Tsentroenergotsvetmet installed a system of two recovery boilers, one of which was assembled in only 3.5 months, at the Severonikel' Combine.

The long experience in nonferrous metallurgy made it possible to formulate the basic requirements which power engineering units must meet: high specific and unit productivity, long intervals between repairs, process continuity, comprehensive utilization of raw materials and fuel-energy resources, maximum automation, elimination of environmental pollution and recovery of valuable components.

The creation of power technology units on the basis of existing metallurgical facilities is a very important trend at the present time. Thus, together with the VAMI [All-Union Institute of Aluminum and Magnesium], Tsentroenergotsvetmet developed a machine unit for petroleum coke hardening. Four such units installed at the Bratsk Aluminum Plant, in addition to yielding considerable economic results from the improved technology, made it possible to produce an additional 186,000 gigacalories of thermal energy in 1979. Similar systems are currently being installed at the Tadzhik and Krasnoyarsk aluminum plants. At the Ust'-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zinc Combine, Uralenergotsvetmet developed and applied a rotary kiln energy-technological unit which has raised the kiln's productivity 20 percent, improved labor conditions and saved 6.5 thousand tons of conventional fuel per year. More than 20 such systems will be installed in the sector. Together with the Gipronikel' Institute, the Belgorod Plant for Power-Generating Machine Building and the TsKTI Scientific-Production Association imeni I. I. Polzunov, the Tsentroenergotsvetmet developed an energy-technological unit for nickel converter refining. The installation of such units at all existing converters will enable us to obtain an additional 2.5 million gigacalories of thermal energy and one million tons of sulfuric acid per year.

A major step has been taken in the utilization of secondary power resources. However, even more remains to be done. The sector has developed a specific comprehensive program for the utilization of secondary power resources between 1981 and 1985. Its implementation will enable us to double the generation of thermal energy. Experts have estimated that this program will require capital investments of about 100 million rubles as well as manpower for its implementation. The task is complicated by the fact that the variety of technologies used in the production of nonferrous metals makes it impossible to formulate standardized designs for recovery boilers and other utilization equipment.

Extensive work lies ahead. A number of problems must be resolved on the sectorial and intersectorial levels. More extensive research is needed on the utilization of the heat released by dumped slag, which accounts for one-third of all secondary power resources and on the utilization of the low potency heat and chemical energy released by blast-furnace gases.

The special intrasectorial work done to improve the efficiency of the utilization of fuel-energy resources does not meet modern requirements because of its slow pace, small scale, limited economic effectiveness and frequent duplication of research projects and designs. All the economic sectors involved must organize this work efficiently.

It is also necessary for the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosstab to resolve the problems of financing the updating and reconstruction of energy-generating facilities in the sector. The point is that whereas measures which do not require major outlays could be financed by the enterprises themselves, the building of major modern projects in the field of industrial power generation, the basic reconstruction and

modernization of capital equipment and the creation of powerful and effective environmental protection systems and other projects upgrading the technical standards of the power industry require major capital investments which the enterprises are unable to make. The financing of such projects at the present stage is a major problem. Measures for upgrading the effectiveness of the utilization of fuel-energy resources as a rule require capital investments which are less by a 3-4 factor than what is required for the extraction and transportation of the corresponding amount of fuel. In most cases such investments are recovered over periods ranging from 6 to 30 months. It would be expedient to simplify the procedure for planning capital investment for such measures by giving the ministries the right to draw up lists for the construction and reconstruction of industrial power-generation projects, as is the case with the planning of capital projects. In our view, the financing of projects worth less than three million rubles should be treated as production outlays or capital repair projects.

The work of the intersectorial repair organizations remains extremely unsatisfactory. The specialized repair organizations of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry meet no more than 10 percent of the repair needs of nonferrous metallurgical enterprises, and for a limited number of items at that.

Centralization and improvement of the fuel-energy balance play an important role in the rational utilization of energy and in insuring a reliable power supply.

Practical experience indicates that large enterprises in the sector with their own thermoelectric power plants work calmly and confidently. The combined production of heat and electric power at plant electric power plants is more economical than receiving electric power from the power grid or steam produced by industrial boiler systems. The desire of nonferrous metallurgical enterprises to have reliable power supplies without restrictions or outages leads to a high level of operation at plant electric power stations. In this connection it would be expedient to retain such nonferrous metallurgical power plants within the enterprises and to improve them. This is a case in which sectorial and general governmental interests coincide. Let us note that the transfer of the plant electric power stations of nonferrous metallurgical enterprises to the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification resulted in a weakening of the energy base of the sectorial enterprises.

The centralized heat supply of large cities and territorial-industrial complexes deserves particular attention. A positive example is provided in this connection by the supply of heat to Noril'sk, Pikalev, Magadan, Yakutsk and other cities which have no small boiler systems. The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification made the wrong decision in resolving the problem of supplying heat to the Nikolayev Alumina Plant. It was only in the course of its construction that the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy was able to convince the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification of the expediency of allowing the plant to have its own thermoelectric power station. The future of nonferrous metallurgy is closely linked with Siberia and the Far East and we are concerned about the proper solution of the problem of insuring thermal energy for the cities and industrial centers in these areas.

The nonferrous metallurgical industry is implementing an extensive program for centralized heat supply. During the 10th Five-Year Plan the sector closed down 140 small boiler systems but initiated 49 large ones and expanded 26 operating systems. A great deal of work has been accomplished in this respect, and will be continued under the 11th Five-Year Plan. Between 1981 and 1985 the plan for centralized heat supply calls for the closing down of yet another 139 small and uneconomical boiler systems and the commissioning of 36 large ones.

The problem of efficient industrial utilization of natural gas, which is a most valuable raw material in many industrial sectors, has assumed major governmental significance in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. It is precisely on the basis of this position that the competent organizations of the Ministry of Gas Industry and USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy considered the problem of rationalizing the utilization of natural gas in nonferrous metallurgy and earmarked a program for joint action through 1985. The use of natural gas in technological conversion increases the productivity of metallurgical machinery by 5-12 percent and lengthens its operational time between repairs by a factor of 1.5-2.5. The percentage of fuel utilization in a number of processes drops by 30-40 percent while the use of refractory material decreases by a factor of 1.5-2.0. Metals and alloys come out purer and of better quality. It becomes possible to automate technological processes in existing machine units, to improve the atmosphere in the shops and to upgrade the condition of the environment.

As of now, however, the problem of centralized manufacturing and delivery of economical gas-burning systems has not been resolved on a national scale. The sectors and enterprises are therefore forced to resolve it on their own. All of this involves great losses of natural gas.

Production mechanization and automation constitute one of the main features of technical progress in the sector. At the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted that "We must rely not on the recruitment of additional manpower but strictly on higher labor productivity. Drastic reduction in the role of manual labor and comprehensive production mechanization and automation are becoming mandatory prerequisites for economic growth."

Modern means for utilizing mechanization and automation systems in the management and control of technological processes insure the efficient maintenance of optimum operational systems for the equipment and, consequently, the conservation of material and energy resources. In nonferrous metallurgy this problem is being resolved above all at labor and energy-intensive production facilities, such as those for the extraction and concentration of ores, electrolysis, and electrothermics.

The use of automated control systems for aluminum electrolysis, the production of alumina, soda, cement and sulfuric acid and the operation of dredgers and rolling mills have made it possible to upgrade production effectiveness and work quality, to increase the volume of output and to save hundreds of millions of kilowatt hours of electric power. Work has been initiated on the installation of automatic regulators for electric furnaces and, above all, for ore smelting. The installation of automatic electric power regulators for all ore smelting furnaces in the sector will enable us to save about 170 million kilowatt hours of electric power per year.

Unfortunately, we must point out that new capacities are often commissioned without the necessary mechanization facilities or automated control systems. The Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems does not meet requirements for meters showing technological parameters and controlling and regulation instruments, not only for the purpose of modernizing existing equipment, but for the newly completed capacities as well. To this day the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry is delivering technological equipment without management and control systems. The machine-building ministries are not meeting the need for mechanization facilities. This situation urgently requires correction. The development of the mechanization facilities, instrument manufacturing, automation and control systems industry must be accomplished at a faster pace.

The creation of mobile nuclear electric power plants and heat production systems is an important problem facing nonferrous metallurgy and other sectors. Bringing energy sources to enterprises scattered in remote and inaccessible areas is of major national economic importance. The supply of organic fuel in such areas is expensive and its year-round delivery is impossible. Major stockpiling leads to losses and is economically unprofitable. Technically, the problem of creating mobile nuclear electric power plants and heat generating systems was resolved quite some time ago. The great power intensiveness required in the production of nonferrous metals such as, for example, aluminum, involves inevitable losses of electric power in conversion and delivery. It is no accident that plants engaged in the production of aluminum are located in the immediate vicinity of major hydroelectric power plants. The use of cryogenic equipment which uses the phenomenon of superconductivity with electric power conductors at very low temperatures can lead to a considerable reduction in such losses. However, the industrial manufacturing of mobile nuclear electric power plants and cryogenic systems has not yet been organized by the corresponding departments.

Due to the fact that the power service within the overall system of an industrial enterprise plays one of the leading roles in production technology, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems should, in our view, review the regulation governing auxiliary services.

It is equally necessary to devise more effective systems for bonuses and incentives for the conservation and rational utilization of energy resources, to create less energy-intensive technologies and to establish systems of measures for technological processes which increase the effectiveness of energy utilization.

The organic link between most technological processes involved in the production of nonferrous metals and the power industry calls for the organization of specialized training of power workers for nonferrous metallurgy. However, today, when the field of fuel and energy resource use in nonferrous metallurgy has broadened considerably, the schools operated by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education still include no institutes or departments for the training of power engineers for nonferrous metallurgy, even though numerous less power-intensive sectors have such institutes or departments.

Tens of thousands of power workers are employed in leading industrial sectors. These sectors have their own specialized scientific research, planning and design institutes and bureaus, repair bases and even plants. However, these power

services and organizations have not coordinated their work. Research and design projects are frequently duplicated, whereas they should have a single methodical, scientific-technical and organizational management system. Naturally, under such circumstances, improvements in the power industry are slow and not always optimal.

Improvement in planning economies in fuel-energy resources is a major problem. Considering the current production volume, the existing practice of issuing conservation assignments is unjustified. One cannot issue assignments unsupported by computations and based only on the developed dynamics of indicators on the conservation of fuel and energy resources and on a power balance which varies with circumstances.

In his consideration of matters of technical policy and methods of economic management, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum that "...We must use the target program method extensively. Each such program must be a substantiated plan for measures based on precise computations and aimed at specific results and the full solution of one problem or another... Naturally, one must have a program management system which will clearly define individual responsibilities for each work sector and provide the necessary authority. Without this a program would not be a program but an accumulation of pious wishes."

In our view, on the basis of these instructions issued by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and in order to insure the further optimum development of industrial power generation, a special organ should be set up under the USSR Council of Ministers. It should be granted the functional-production interdepartmental authority and obligations necessary to enable it to manage the development and improvement of the power industry in industrial enterprises.

It is a question of the formulation and development of a type of system which would control the development and functioning of industrial power generation and insure improvement in the rational utilization and conservation of fuel-energy resources as the result of the effective management of research, design, planning, repair and organizational operations on a national scale. The creation of a single authority will enable us to resolve the important problem of full utilization of secondary energy resources in national economic sectors. This would be the equivalent of incorporating additional amounts totaling dozens of millions of tons of conventional fuel in the active fuel balance of the country. An industrial power generation authority could perform the function of a single legislator in matters of heat supply for large complexes, could provide expert assessments of plans for technical solutions and major organizational-technical measures from the viewpoint of rational utilization of energy, and could resolve problems of environmental protection along with a number of others which routinely require the joint effort of several sectors. Concentrating the management of the industrial power generation on a state level would accelerate technical progress in the field of energy utilization. It would eliminate unproductive losses of power resources and insure the optimum channeling of financial and material resources toward the solution of pivotal problems in energy utilization and, in the final account, would reduce the existing stress in the fuel-energy balance of the country.

The CC CPSU decree "On Further Improving Technological and Political-Educational Work" (April 1979) emphasizes that "Under developed socialist conditions, Lenin's stipulation that the state is strong through the conscientiousness of the masses... is more topical than ever before. It is from this position that we must resolve the problems in the strictest conservation of materials, raw materials, fuel, energy and financial means.

The local party organizations could be of substantial help in upgrading the effectiveness of fuel and energy resource utilization. For example, the experience of the party members in Kemerovskaya Oblast has met with broad recognition among metallurgical workers. This experience indicates that the party organizations can focus all the forces of the collectives of local enterprises and organizations on the solution of the problems encountered and can organize effective creative cooperation among the departments involved, mutual aid and reciprocal control.

Extensive work is being done by the Sverdlovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee on the installation of heat utilization systems at nonferrous metallurgical enterprises. With the help of the Murmanskaya Oblast CPSU Committee, the Kol'stroy Construction and Installation Organization was asked to participate in the installation of the heat energy-technological conversion complex at the Severonikel' Combine. The complex was installed within a short time without any interruption in basic production. We hope that the Zaporozhskaya Oblast CPSU Committee will also help us to resolve the problem of the utilization of furnace gas from the ore heating kiln of the Zaporozh'ye Ferroalloys Plant by the thermoelectric power plant of the Dneprovskiy Aluminum Plant, and that the Ryazanskaya Oblast CPSU Committee will support us in resolving the problem of the utilization of torch gas from the petroleum refinery at the Ryaztsvetmet Plant. Unquestionably, an active position on the part of party organizations could contribute to the solution of problems existing in other areas as well.

The draft "Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Through 1990" stipulates the following: "Drastically upgrading production effectiveness and putting all reserves in the service of the national economy is the duty of party, state and economic organs and all public organizations and labor collectives and of every Soviet person." The nonferrous metallurgical enterprises are competing for the successful completion of the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan and for a worthy welcome for the 11th party congress. On discovering internal reserves, they make ambitious pledges for the additional production of goods with lower energy outlays. Metallurgical and power workers and the entire personnel of the nonferrous metallurgy sector will celebrate the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan with new labor successes and make a substantial contribution to upgrading production effectiveness and improving the utilization of fuel-energy and raw material resources.

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QUESTION OF GREAT IMPORTANCE

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[Article by M. Gvardeytsev]

[Text] The progress of our society greatly depends on upgrading the level of national economic management. In the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that at the present stage in the building of communism, "The organization, i.e., the further improvement of economic management, in the broadest sense of the term, becomes a decisive link."

In order to make fuller use of our tremendous production potential and all of our opportunities in the interests of the people, we must work with even greater energy on the solution of key problems in the development of the economy, the main one being upgrading production effectiveness. In the next 10-15 years, this process must result almost entirely from higher labor productivity based on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The upgrading of production effectiveness is a truly nationwide task.

The October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, which paid particular attention to the task of upgrading the people's prosperity, reemphasized the importance of improving economic management. The scientific utilization of technical control facilities represents an important potential for upgrading management effectiveness and the coordination of the actions of its organs, and insuring that administrative measures are efficient and functional.

The CC CPSU decree "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs" stated that "It is important to insure the rational utilization of everything at the disposal of the national economy, relying mainly on intensive growth factors, and extensively applying scientific and technical achievements and progressive experience in production work."

As it implements the party's decisions, Soviet science is adamantly trying to upgrade the effectiveness of major control systems involving the use of technical automation facilities. A powerful industry engaged in the production of computer equipment has been created and is developing in the country. In recent years a considerable number of automated control systems have been mastered by enterprises, territorial organizations, ministries and departments.

Computers are being equipped with operational systems, practical program packets, and means for programming automation which come with their own programs and insure coordinated work by the technical facilities involved. In a word, a great deal has already been accomplished from the technical viewpoint.

Naturally, we cannot claim that the economic management system is now adequately saturated with technical facilities. Problems related to the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of such saturation remain. However, this is not the only problem. The rational utilization of available equipment remains a serious problem. It would be pertinent to note an essentially paradoxical circumstance--the problems resolved at enterprises and sectors with the help of computers are in practice frequently not the most important ones from the viewpoint of management activities but are instead peripheral or secondary. No special study is necessary to realize that the resources with which the managers work require improvement. Frequently such facilities mean no more than the availability of a telephone.

Furthermore, the higher the level of the management system becomes and consequently, the more important the problems which must be resolved on this level, the more inadequate the facilities with which the manager works are.

Obviously, the main management decisions included in the strategic plan are meaningful and of good quality.

Not by any means all aspects of such decisions allow the use of strictly mathematical methods or are put in formal language suitable for computer use. However, this does not mean that an unbridgeable gap separates the quantitative from the qualitative or the meaningful from the formal aspects of management activities. Under contemporary conditions, "bridge building" between these aspects of management is a topical theoretical and practical problem. It is also important to take into consideration and to implement systematically a proper methodology for the solution of this problem, which involves acknowledging the leading, determining role of the qualitative, meaningful aspect of management.

Any equipment remains useless unless it is included in the actual management process and unless it has been mastered and subordinated to the process the way each individual organ is subordinated to the entire organism. It frequently happens in practical work that the manager and the entire management system must be organized in a way consistent with the equipment already available.

Factual mastery of the equipment and its use at full capacity presume the creation of a system of methods for the translation of substantive problems and actions into the language of quantitative methods and formal algorithmic operations. In specific terms, this means a need for the development of systems of mathematical support for management activities, based not on the operation of computers but above all on the substantive activities of management, not on equipment but on people, on the knowledge and utilization of the objective laws of social development and the social meaning of managerial activities, rather than merely a knowledge of the laws governing the operation of technical systems. The technical aspect must be subordinated to the social aspect. Only thus will the equipment be put to use not only in terms of natural scientific knowledge but social knowledge

as well. "Railroad tracks which are not used or consumed," K. Marx wrote, "are only a potential railroad, not an actual one." "A house in which no one lives is not a real house" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 46, Part 1, p 27).

In our country, the effective utilization of technical means in management would be impossible without taking the characteristics and historical advantages of the socialist economic system into consideration.

It is basically impossible to upgrade management effectiveness radically on the basis of the use of computers alone, for the rules governing data processing in the interests of good management are not formulated by the computers. In order to upgrade management effectiveness using computers one must have facilities which reflect the substantive aspect of the processes taking place in the course of the decision-making and implementation processes.

Man is the focal point in the whole public production and management process. This applies equally to man as a manager. The results of his work mainly determine the success in the building of socialism as a whole. Every manager must have an opportunity to use the achievements of modern science functionally (maintaining the pace of the management process) in ways suitable for specific decision making.

What does the economic manager need at present?

First, information reliably describing the condition of the process being managed.

Secondly, facilities for assessing the value of possible alternative decisions. Quantitative measures and methods by means of which he can define the quality of such variants based on specific circumstances are needed. Such methods should enable him to assess the effect of each specific decision on the results in the national economy as a whole and on the functioning and development of the overall economic organism. Consequently, such methods must be based on the objective laws governing social development.

Certainly the manager must be able to carry out all his functions promptly and efficiently. This means that interruptions in enterprise work because of delays in the formulation of management decisions are inadmissible.

Let us add to this the fact that the number of factors influencing the quality of decisions comes to hundreds of thousands or millions. The lack of only one of the tens of thousands of details at the necessary time and place can immobilize a complex industrial project. A tremendous number of interrelated phenomena, factors and data must be taken into consideration in substantiating a specific decision. In this connection it is obvious that today's manager needs powerful management facilities with the help of which he can make substantiated decisions promptly. The volume of such facilities is still inadequate today.

Methods for substantive data processing must have priority among other automation control facilities with a view to providing management support. It is not the computers, but above all such methods which determine the actual help automated control systems can give the manager. Computers are merely the tools by means of which these methods can be used.

The interconnection of all processes developing in the national economy must be reflected in the sum total of substantive data processing methods used for the purpose of upgrading management effectiveness. This means that the sum total of such methods could be developed within a system defined as the special (substantive) mathematical support of management (SMOU).*

In the planning of special mathematical management support systems, we must above all take into consideration the qualitative distinction separating socialism from capitalism, i.e., the distinction between the national economic management system based on the public ownership of productive capital and centralized planning, on the one hand, and the system of economic management dominated by the private ownership of productive capital.

The former is distinguished by the impossibility, under socialism, of using the "maximum annual return on invested capital" as a criterion of the effectiveness of national economic management. It is precisely this criterion which is used in capitalist countries.

The system of special mathematical support of national economic management as a whole as well as individual enterprises must be based on criteria representing not the local interests of one department or administrative rayon or another but the interests of the national economy as a whole.

The second distinction pertains to the centralized planning system which has been established in our country. That is why the SMOU provides the type of mathematical description of management projects which insures the "unification" of local management systems within a single entity.

These two major distinctions are based on the content of the objective laws of social development.

The problem of the drafting of a system of corresponding indicators is exceptionally topical on the level of management improvement and upgrading the level of economic management in all economic units. The importance of this problem was emphasized in the draft plan of the CC CPSU for the 26th party congress entitled "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990:" "More advanced plan indicators, differentiated on the basis of the specific nature of the sectors, must be applied at all management levels. The plan indicators must most fully reflect and stimulate increased output, its greater effectiveness and higher labor productivity, economy in work time and conservation of metal, energy and other resources."

Here the rate of increase in labor productivity plays a particular role in the public production system. In our view, it is the overall substantive criterion for

* See N. I. Gvardeytsev, V. P. Morozov and V. Ya. Rozenberg, "Spetsial'noye Matematicheskoye Obespecheniye Upravleniya" [Special Mathematical Management Support], Sovetskoye Radio, Moscow, 1980.

assessing the effectiveness of national economic management and it binds all the other indicators into an integral system.

V. I. Lenin focused his attention on the search for a general indicator which would characterize the situation in public production. In the summer of 1921, he repeatedly turned to this matter as chairman of the Labor and Defense Council (STO).

In his 16 August letter to the Central Statistical Administration, Lenin especially emphasized that "Along with the Gosplan we must establish a kind of index-number for the purpose of assessing the condition of our entire national economy, regularly computed at least twice monthly..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 53, pp 122-123).

Lenin issued the following instruction: "Every month the Central Statistical Administration must submit to the STO--necessarily before signing them to the press-- the preliminary results on the main problems in the national economy (including a mandatory comparison with the previous year). These main problems and main figures, whether included in the index-number or not," he wrote, "must be formulated without delay.

"Please send me a program on such problems...without delay" (Ibid., p 124).

On 1 September 1921, in a letter to the editors of EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN', Lenin wrote: "The conversion of EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN' into the organ of the STO," he stated, "should not remain a mere meaningless formality.

"This newspaper must become a battle organ which will not only provide regular and truthful information concerning our economy, first of all, but will also analyze this information and process it scientifically to make possible proper conclusions with a view to the management of industry and other sectors (secondly). Finally and thirdly, this will encourage all workers on the economic front to strive for punctual accountability, which will lead to approval of successful work, and it will subject inaccurate, backward and unskilled workers in a given enterprise, establishment or economic sector to the judgment of the public.

"The newspaper is providing a mass of most valuable data, statistical information in particular, on our economy. However, this material suffers from two shortcomings: it is random, incomplete and unsystematic and, therefore, unprocessed and unanalyzed" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 112).

At the end of the same letter, Lenin called for the holding of a joint session on such problems with the participation of representatives of the newspaper, the Central Statistical Administration and the Gosplan. He wrote:

"Please convene a conference to be attended by the editor of EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN', a representative of the Central Statistical Administration, and a representative of the Gosplan to discuss such problems and measures. Please report to me on the decisions made at the conference.

"Lenin, STO chairman.

"P. 5. At the same conference, please discuss the question of the development of an index-number for the purpose of defining the overall condition of our national economy. This "indicator" must be published on a monthly basis" (Ibid., p 114).

The reason for citing these excerpts is to show the great importance which Vladimir Il'ich ascribed to the need for a "index-number" which would express the overall condition of our national economy. The determination of such an "index-number" has proved to be a very difficult matter. Today some economists doubt that one can be established, while others favor it but offer no specific solutions.

What is the nature of this "index-number?" Naturally, it would be impossible to answer this question without substantive scientific research. In our view, it should be related to the law of labor productivity increase within the public production system. This conclusion stems from Lenin's familiar statement that "In the final account, labor productivity is the most important, the main feature in the victory of the new social system. Capitalism created labor productivity without any parallel under serfdom. Capitalism can be definitively defeated, and will be, due to the fact that socialism will create new and far greater labor productivity. This is a rather difficult and lengthy matter. However, it has been started and that is the main thing" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 21).

We know that K. Marx himself pointed out that the first or basic law which operates in all socioeconomic systems, including the future communist society, is the law of time saving. He wrote that "...Time economy, like the planned distribution of working time among the various production sectors, remains the first economic law, based on collective production" ("Arkhiv Marksa i Engel'sa" [Marx and Engels Archives], Vol IV, p 119).

These statements by the classic authors of scientific communism are essentially identical. The increase in labor productivity and the saving of time are merely the two sides of the same process: the result of the first is that the production of the same volume of material (or spiritual) goods requires of society a shorter time.

In order to compute the rate of increase in social labor productivity we need a method for computing the level of labor productivity for the national economy as a whole.

Thus far the level of labor productivity has been measured by the monetary expression of the social product divided by the number of people engaged in public production. The resulting value expresses the rate of increase in output in rubles per working person. It is easy to see that a simple price increase could raise this indicator as much as one might wish. The monetary expression of the rate of increase in productivity may exceed the rate of increase in labor productivity, at which point we note the effect of the increase in the formal index--"the gross product in its monetary expression," while the volume of output remains the same. This means that in order to assess the level of labor productivity we must choose an objective indicator as distinct from a monetary representation.

In the work of V. G. Afanas'yev entitled "Nauchno-Tekhnicheskaya Revolyutsiya, Upravleniye, Obrazovaniye" [The Scientific and Technical Revolution, Management and Education] (Politizdat, Moscow, 1972), the production potential of society is related to the value of the overall energy consumption by society, determined objectively. The share of the overall energy consumption effectively (productively) used by existing machines and mechanisms determines the level of advancement reached by the technology, i.e., the "physical potential of society" as an integral system.

Just as technical facilities have a general coefficient of technological perfection, the socioeconomic systems related to the physical potential of society, accepted as a unit, have their plan quality coefficient, which V. G. Afanas'yev describes as the "quality coefficient for the public organization" (see p 285). This coefficient indicates the portion of the physical production of material and spiritual goods which goes to the actual satisfaction of social requirements and the portion which remains as commodity reserves, the equivalent of gross unused output. The level of labor productivity is defined by the volume of overall useful energy consumption per working person. The rate of increase in this value corresponds to the concept of the rate of increase in public labor productivity in the national economy at large. A check on overall energy consumption would enable us to coordinate price setting with the interests of the public production process more accurately. With such a price setting system, we can use the monetary expression of the rate of increase in labor productivity effectively.

The increase in public production is inseparably linked with higher labor productivity. The higher the rate of increase in public labor productivity, the faster the country advances toward the solution of the problems formulated by the CPSU.

The rate of increase in public labor productivity is influenced by each specific decision made in the course of national economic management.

The following question arises: how can the level of this influence be determined? How can the manager be aided in making this assessment? Let us consider one of the possible ways.

Traditionally, a year is taken as the time measurement and the percentage of increase in labor productivity is computed on an annual basis. It would be expedient to introduce the concept of "doubling time," the period in the course of which the level of labor productivity in the public production system has doubled.

The annual percentage of increase in labor productivity and the time in which labor productivity doubles are part of a single phenomenon, for which reason a certain correlation can be established between them. If the rate of increase in labor productivity remains steady, an approximate correlation will exist between the "doubling time" and the annual rate of increase: the annual rate of increase is expressed as a percentage and the "doubling time" will be an approximately "constant" value (plus or minus five percent) and will equal 72.

Looking at the table of complex percentages, we can see one characteristic of the link between the annual rate of increase and the "doubling time:" with an annual

rate of increase of two percent per year the "doubling time" will be 35 years; with an annual rate of increase of eight percent per year the "doubling time" will be 9 years; with an annual rate of increase of 20 percent the "doubling time" will be 3.8 years.

We will describe the manner in which the manager can use this correlation in assessing the quality of specific decisions.

The rate of increase in labor productivity is established by means of specific decisions concerning capital investments and the use of inventions and rationalization suggestions. All of these decisions involve the allocation of resources.

The rate of increase in social productivity within the public production system as a whole is computed as an average figure for all capital investments. Each specific capital investment may have a "doubling time" either longer or shorter than that planned for the national economy as a whole. Each specific decision on the investment of resources can be assessed in terms of the time it will take these resources to double ("doubling time"). If the resulting figure is below that of the national economic average, the decision will have insured a more rapid rate of increase in labor productivity than the national average, i.e., it will have been effective. If a specific decision results in "doubling time" greater than the national average, it results in a reduction of the planned pace of development, i.e., it has been ineffective.

Let us clarify this by means of a hypothetical example.

Let us assume that the volume of a specific capital investment has been established. We must assess the effect a specific decision on changing capital construction deadlines may have on the rate of increase in public production, such as for example extending it by 2 years past the initial period (T). The question is, how will this affect the rate of increase in public production? The correlation we mentioned provides an answer to this question: in the case of this specific capital investment, the rate will be reduced to $72: (T + 2)$. For example, if $T = 8$, the rate of increase will drop by 9 percent, to 7.2, if we extend the construction time.

Let us assume that the directives for the two forthcoming five-year plans stipulate that the average rate of increase in the national economy will be eight percent. In such a case, the decision to extend the construction deadline will have an adverse effect on the implementation of the directive assignments. If all individual decisions made in the management of individual enterprises are of such quality, the planned pace of the country's economic development cannot objectively be maintained.

The "doubling time" is the sum total of three time periods: construction time, recovery time and the time needed to obtain results equaling the initial investment of resources. If we wish to achieve a rate of increase in labor productivity within the public production system averaging six percent per year, the "doubling time" must not exceed 12 years. This 12-year period must include the three terms of the stipulated total, as follows: construction time, 3 years; recovery time, 4 years; time for earning the second ruble for each ruble invested, 5 years. The

extension of any one of these terms with no change in the others increases the "doubling time." In turn, this reduces the rate of increase in labor productivity for the entire public production system. By simply extending the construction time to 5 years, recovery time to 6 years and the time for earning the second ruble to 7 years the "doubling time" is increased to 18 years and the expected rate of increase in labor productivity declines to four percent per year.

The suggested method for assessing the influence of specific decisions on the rate of increase in labor productivity by means of "doubling time" links local decisions with the objective laws governing social development. This assessment is the result of development of theory rather than an "empirically" developed system. The existing method does not encourage a reduction in construction time, for this time is not clearly apparent since it is not taken into consideration in assessing the effectiveness of capital investments and new equipment. The use of the "doubling time" method establishes a direct connection between construction time and public production effectiveness.

The SMOU makes it possible to develop a method and a mathematical system which enable us to assess the results of economic activities from the viewpoint of the interests of the national economy as a whole, but it would not replace the specific-economic analysis of such activities.

The suggested approach is merely the quantitative expression of the first economic law of increase in labor productivity in a way which offers managers an opportunity to compare the effectiveness of specific decisions with the established rate for the development of output as a whole. In order to convert this opportunity into a reality, a system of special mathematical management support is required. This would create the prerequisite for the drafting of the necessary assessments of specific decision alternatives in the course of the processes being controlled.

Let us clarify this:

1. Each specific decision made in the course of production management must be preceded by a determination as to whether the necessary objective conditions which would make its implementation possible exist. These include availability of manpower, existence (possibility) of the necessary raw materials and complementary goods, and so on.

The stage of analysis and evaluation of the availability of the necessary objective conditions is mandatory in the substantiation of a specific decision. Under such circumstances investigation must be carried out efficiently.

An assessment of the current situation may lead to the conclusion that timely and high quality investigation of the availability of the necessary conditions for the substantiation of major decisions which would require substantial material outlays for implementation is not possible without the use of automation facilities. By management automation facilities we mean, above all, the rules governing formalized data processing (nomenclature, algorithms, programs) for management work using technical facilities.

2. The substantiation process for a specific decision must be accompanied by an evaluation of the expected effectiveness. Here we must take into consideration the outlays for all types of resources required for the execution of a substantiated decision: volume of outlays in labor, time and material and technical resources for the performance of the work, labor and material and technical resource outlays for operating the equipment, servicing, running repairs, and so on.

Taking the overall outlays of resources and the necessary outlays for the organization of the management process into consideration, we must assess the time needed to justify them and to produce a yield equaling the initial investment ("doubling time").

We must point out that as a rule, the assessment of the effectiveness of a decision requires the consideration of a variety of possible alternative solutions. Each is characterized by its own parameters and has a different level of effectiveness. This calls for the solution of optimizing problems. As a rule, this requires the use of mathematical modeling with computers. This allows an assessment of the rate of increase of output on the basis of the decision suggested. Such an assessment leads to a conclusion on the extent to which this decision meets the level of global standards and the established rate of increase for the country's national economy.

3. The process of substantiating a specific decision must be extended to an assessment of the actual conditions existing for the utilization of its results. This must include the availability of a client for the results, the actual potential for the transportation (transmission) of results from the place of production to the consumer, the existence of storage facilities (if such are necessary), and so on.

Therefore, the process of substantiating a specific decision must include at least the three stipulated stages: assessment of actual conditions for the implementation of the decision; assessment of the effect a decision may have on the rate of increase in labor productivity, and a study of the availability of conditions for the utilization of results.

The timely consideration of a large number of interrelated conditions is possible only with the help of a system of formalized data processing, i.e., special mathematical support facilities.

Energy, the flow of which cannot be stored, plays a particular role among all the various resources used in the national economy. This means that the energy unused within a given time interval is irretrievably lost, unlike stored resources such as construction materials and others. Therefore, decisions involving the rational and timely use of energy resources are of particular importance. The functional management of energy flow is one of the most important areas in which the use of specialized mathematical support in management could be most effective.

In our view, the lack of a quantitative approach to the functional assessment of the effect of each decision on the rate of increase in labor productivity creates conditions leading to irresponsibility.

For example, due to repeated amendments to construction plans in many cases construction organizations are even awarded bonuses for work reducing the rate of the development of the national economy below the standard necessary in order to compete successfully with the capitalist economy. The approach we suggest would exclude this possibility. Any change in deadlines would immediately be examined in terms of its correlation with the directed rate of increase in the national economy. If any change slowed this rate below the admissible level it could be deemed undesirable. At the very least, rewards should never be given for this type and quality of planning and management.

Let us consider an example involving figures: let us assume that in the initial computations "doubling time" equals 12 years, i.e., the rate of increase is six percent annually. This means that "on an average" 100 million rubles will yield a "revenue" of 6 million per year. Let us assume that our planned construction time is 3 years, the recovery time is 4 years and the time for the earning of the second ruble 5 years. How would the national economy be affected as a whole if the construction workers complete the project not in 3 but in 2 years? Assuming the existence of adequate raw materials and consumers for the new item, we can assess the effect of the ahead-of-schedule completion of the project.

The "average" return on capital would be income of 6 million rubles per year per 100 million rubles invested. If the "doubling time" has been reduced from 12 to 11 years, the annual profit would be 6.55 million rubles. The addition of 550,000 rubles to the annual profit would be the economic effect of reduced construction time, or the equivalent of an "additional" capital investment of 9.2 million rubles. This would represent the real contribution of the construction workers to end results.

Let us consider another example: under the same circumstances, we invest 100 million rubles in the same project. However, the construction organizations complete the project not in 3 years, as planned, but in 4. The result of this delay will be an increase in the "doubling time" from 12 to 13 years. This means that now the main capital investment will yield a profit not of 6 million, but only 5.55 million rubles per year. The loss of 450,000 rubles of profit per year would mean that the effective capital investment in the project would not exceed 92.5 million. A 1 year construction delay will have cost the national economy 7.5 million rubles in loss.

The reason we have used these two examples is not merely to prove the economic effectiveness of construction. In addition to this, they also indicate the connection between "capital returns" and time. What "capital" do we have in these two cases? If with normal construction time the "capital" is 100 million rubles, it would be the equivalent of 109.2 million in the first case, declining to 92.5 million rubles in the second.

In the capitalist world this connection between "capital" and annual returns on invested capital can be directly traced through the stock market mechanism, where this is revealed by the increased or decreased value of shares. Within the capitalist society, the law of labor productivity increase is unregulated, whereas the SMOU system allows its conscious utilization.

On the national scale the volume of capital investments is assessed at dozens of billions of rubles per year. Therefore improvements in management methods, as this article shows, could result in savings worth billions of rubles.

Under contemporary conditions, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, the task is the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and fuller use of the qualitatively new opportunities which are created in the course of scientific and technological development.

Scientific and technical progress provides a steady flow of ideas, in the form of patents, authorship certificates or technical documentation, designed to improve the production process. The requirements in choosing among such ideas, offered as patents, licenses and authorship certificates, are quite rigid. This selection can only be based on an objective assessment of the usefulness of an invention to the entire social production system at large. The method described above makes such an assessment possible.

It is entirely obvious that any specific invention or rationalization suggestion has its own "doubling time." If the planned "doubling time" of labor productivity in the public production system equals 9 years, which corresponds to an annual rate of increase in labor productivity equaling eight percent, effective inventions and rationalization suggestions should have a "doubling time" of under 9 years. Let us assume that we come across an invention with a "doubling time" of no more than 3 years. This would be the equivalent of a rate of increase of 24 percent per year. Let us assume, as was the case with the previous examples, that the required outlays total 100 million rubles. Through the use of this invention the state would earn not 6 million rubles per year, as in the case of standard capital investments, but 24 million. This corresponds to a one-time capital investment of 400 million rubles.

The difference between the 400 million and the 100 million actually spent would be the "price" of the invention.

Should the "doubling time" for such an invention be 4 years, the annual rate of increase would decline to 18 percent per year, while the "price" of the invention would be reduced from 300 to 200 million rubles.

The real possibility of using such a quantitative approach in the practice of national economic management will exist with the fulfillment of the party's decision to create a nationwide automated management system in which specialized mathematical facilities play an important role. With the help of the SMOU, we can assess the influence of a specific decision on the overall results of economic activities as the actual processes develop, and can consequently insure the opportunity for making scientifically substantiated decisions.

With the approach considered, utilizing the time-saving law, the system of specialized mathematical support of managerial decisions would reflect the rules by means of which we can investigate the consistency between each decision on the utilization of production resources and the rate of economic development established by the party directives. If a specific decision leads to rates of increase

lower than those stipulated, not to speak of lower than the average rate of increase in the capitalist economy, it works objectively against the conditions needed for the utilization of the advantages of the socialist economy.

It may seem on the surface that this approach is somewhat simplistic, since the single concept of "doubling time--increase rate" is used in an attempt to determine the consistency between a specific decision and party directives on the development of the national economy. However, we cannot agree with this conclusion.

This approach, we believe, is entirely consistent with Lenin's recommendations. It combines the possibility of an objective measurement of the "doubling time" and an assessment of the effect which time-saving has on the rate of increase in the national economy. Furthermore, it creates conditions for assessing the quality of management at all levels, ranging from the national economy as a whole down to the individual enterprise.

The use of the time-saving law in the practice of every manager, with the help of specialized mathematical management facilities, leads to a particularly important conclusion of national importance and affecting all work in this area.

The development of a major, complex system of specialized mathematical management support must be combined with the use of the program-target management method and the creation and utilization of a theoretically substantiated methodology which will be the basis for the centralized management of the work of developing the system itself.

The theory and methodology needed for the formulation of the SMOU must be made available to the numerous collectives working on the development of mathematical support for management and on automated control systems. Presently such collectives employ thousands of people. This would enable us to unify the scientific views of the developers of means for upgrading management effectiveness based on automated data processing.

The target program must include measures for the quantitative substantiation of resources allocated for the development of specialized mathematical management facilities. Such resources are part of the overall amount allocated for upgrading management effectiveness. The overall volume of resources should be distributed among technical automation facilities, specialized mathematical management support facilities and the training of cadres for the development and utilization of the system. Any lack of coordination here would result in unnecessary expenditures. Such a situation occurred recently when outlays for technical automation facilities were not supported by corresponding efforts to develop program support and, above all, to formulate applied programs for upgrading management effectiveness.

The intended purpose of this article was to explain the methodological principle, which naturally requires further specific development applicable to economic management tasks.

"...Extensive work lies ahead," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said. "In the 1980s we must complete the conversion of the economy to an intensive development track. Labor productivity and quality must be upgraded sharply."

Radical improvement of the management system in the entire national economy as a single complex is a mandatory prerequisite for the solution of this truly strategic problem. This is possible through the creation of a special system designed to assess the value of decisions made on the basis of their influence on the rate of increase in labor productivity within the public production system.

We must include on the agenda the question of coordinating the local criteria already developed for automated control systems with the single criterion of public production effectiveness. Only thus can we expect a substantial economic result from the utilization of automated control systems.

The use of discoveries, inventions and rationalization suggestions with a "doubling time" not exceeding 3 to 5 years would substantially affect the rate of increase in labor productivity throughout the entire public production system. Success in this area can only be achieved when control of the utilization of new scientific and technical ideas is constantly overseen by the party organizations on all levels.

Accelerating the rate of increase in labor productivity is a truly national problem which can be resolved only by organically combining the creativity of the broad toiling masses with efficient centralized management.

With a view to considerably upgrading management effectiveness, it would be desirable to include in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" a comprehensive target program for the development of a system of special mathematical management support (SMOU) which would stipulate the following:

The creation of a methodology for the development and utilization of applied programmed management facilities, their centralized development and the coordination of this work on a national scale;

The creation of technologies for the automated designing and production of standardized program modules; and

The formulation and introduction of a state system for the designing, production and utilization of applied programmed management facilities and the formulation of state standards regulating their industrial production and use.

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[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Novikov, written on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the founding of Lenin's ISKRA]

[Text] Lenin's ISKRA deserves tremendous historical credit. It played a decisive role in the struggle for ideological, political and organizational unity in the ranks of the Russian revolutionary social democratic movement, in the elaboration of the program and in the substantiation of the ideological, political and organizational principles of the first proletarian party of a new type in the world--the Bolshevik Party. "Bolshevism," V. I. Lenin wrote, "led the old ISKRA for 3 years, between 1900 and 1903, and adopted the struggle against Menshevism as its target" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 19, p 103).

The 80th anniversary of the founding of Lenin's ISKRA is being celebrated in a remarkable period. We are only 2 months away from the inauguration of the 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow. Then the eyes of all mankind will turn toward the homeland of the great Lenin and the forum of his loyal students and followers. It is with a feeling of tremendous thanks and gratitude that we recall today the names of those who stood at the source of the communist movement and who, under Lenin's guidance, thanks to their energy and boundless loyalty to the cause of the working class, created a truly revolutionary Marxist party. The communist party rallied the proletariat and all the working people of Russia. It led them honorably through three revolutions and a civil war and mobilized them for the building of the first socialist society in the world. The most important result of the selfless toil of the Soviet people, led by the communists, is the developed socialist society established in our country.

The CPSU--the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch--continues firmly to follow the Leninist course toward communism. The forthcoming party congress will be a major historical landmark in the life of the Soviet people. It will earmark new prospects for further progress, the foundations for which were laid by Lenin and his newspaper, ISKRA.

The activities of Lenin's ISKRA were inseparably linked with the international communist and workers movements. By embodying and implementing Marxist-Leninist ideas it won universal historical victories and became the most influential political force in our time. The role of the communist and workers press increased sharply. Lenin's principles--party-mindedness, class-mindedness and nationality,

systematically promoted for the first time among the workers masses by ISKRA, remain to this day a reliable guideline for revolutionary journalism and literature in the struggle being waged by the people for peace and national and social liberation.

In terms of contemporary standards, ISKRA's circulation was small--6,000 to 8,000 copies. However, each of its issues was carefully passed from hand to hand and many of its materials were discussed in Marxist circles and hectographed. The total number of readers considerably exceeded the size of the printing. It owed its extensive dissemination among the working people of Russia, its fame in many foreign countries and the greatest possible service rendered to the Russian and international communist and workers movements to the genius and tireless activities of its creator, organizer and ideological inspirer. "The ideological-theoretical, political and organizational principles developed by Lenin remain the foundation of the activities of the revolutionary parties of the working class and help us to struggle and to win" (from the CC CPSU decree "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth").

The Marxist-Leninist party appeared in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. This event became a turning point in the history of the Russian and international revolutionary movements.

Headed by Lenin, the Marxists raised the question of the founding of the party at a time when the socioeconomic and political prerequisites for it had developed in the country. In this respect the turn of the century was a sort of landmark: capitalism had entered its highest and final stage--imperialism. Contradictions between labor and capital, between the peasantry and the serf-owning landholders, between the capitalist town and the backward country and between the great power policy of tsarism and the oppressed peoples had become exceptionally grave.

As a result of profound socioeconomic changes and the development of industry a new revolutionary class--the proletariat--entered the Russian public arena. The political rightlessness and the unbearably difficult economic situation of the working people led to the rapid development of a widespread labor movement.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, a wave of strikes spread throughout the country. The actions of the working people became better organized. This was confirmed not only by the scope of the revolutionary movement and the fact that new strata of workers were becoming involved in it, but also by the increase in their conscientiousness and attraction toward socialism. Meanwhile, the class struggle of the proletariat already needed scientific and purposeful leadership, while the social democratic movement was still splintered and "amateurish." On the basis of the familiar concept that "the proletariat becomes a power as of the moment it sets up its own workers party" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 16, p 69), the revolutionary social democrats focused their efforts on the creation of such a party.

In the course of his revolutionary activities in Petersburg, Lenin had already rallied the Marxist circles in a single political organization--the "Alliance for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class." The Petersburg "Alliance for the Struggle" was the prototype of a revolutionary Marxist party. Under

Vladimir Il'ich's leadership, the revolutionary social democrats in Russia were the first to combine the ideas of scientific socialism with the workers movement.

During the night of 8 (20) - 9 (21) December 1895, Lenin and a group of his fellow workers were arrested. They were later exiled to Siberia. This circumstance adversely affected the further development of the social democratic movement but was incapable of stopping it. The "Alliance for the Struggle" was able to survive despite its heavy losses, for it had sunk profound roots in the workers movement. Not for a minute did Lenin halt his revolutionary work, whether in Petersburg's jail or in Siberian exile.

The creation of a party of a new type was preceded by tremendous ideological-theoretical preparation and by Lenin's systematic exposure of opportunistic currents. The combination of Marxism and the liberation movement and the establishment of an independent class line for the proletariat would have been impossible without such cleansing work.

A profound study of the course of social development in Russia led Lenin to the conclusion that the first step on the path toward the founding of a party which would operate under the single banner of the revolutionary social democratic movement should be the founding of an all-Russian clandestine political newspaper. From the viewpoint of resolving the main problem--the creation of a proletarian party of a new type--Vladimir Il'ich compared the newspaper metaphorically with the scaffolding erected around a building under construction in order to facilitate cooperation among the individual construction crews. "The newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and agitator but a collective organizer as well"--this was how Lenin formulated the tasks of the revolutionary printed organ ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 5, p 11).

Even while in Siberian exile in 1899, Lenin had drafted a most detailed plan for the founding of ISKRA. N. K. Krupskaya recalls that "In the final year of exile, Vladimir Il'ich formulated the organizational plan which he subsequently developed in ISKRA, in the pamphlet "What Is to Be Done?" and in the "Letter to a Comrade." He was planning to begin with the founding of an all-Russian newspaper, published abroad, linking it as closely as possible with the work in Russia and with the Russian organization, and to organize its transportation in the best way possible" ("Vospominaniya o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine" [Memories of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin]. In five volumes, Vol 1, Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, p 236).

The practical implementation of this plan could be undertaken only after the expiration of the term of exile. On the way from Shushenskoye to Pskov--his new place of residence--Lenin stopped in Ufa, Moscow and Petersburg, where he acquainted the revolutionary social democrats with his plan. In the greatest secrecy he began to rally the scattered forces of the revolutionaries and to prepare them for the forthcoming struggle. After reaching Pskov with a specific program for action, Vladimir Il'ich organized encounters and meetings, chose his future correspondents, and set up one of the first ISKRA groups in Russia. He prepared and chaired the historical Pskov conference which adopted the decision to publish the newspaper ISKRA and the periodical ZARYA. The conference was attended by six people: four social democrats and two "legal Marxists"--Struve and Tugan-Baranovskiy.

Differences arose in the course of the discussion of Lenin's "Draft Statement by the Editors of ISKRA and ZARYA." A heated argument developed between the social democrats and the "legal Marxists" because of different views on the workers movement. The "legal Marxists" believed that it should be headed by the liberal bourgeoisie. Their desire was to adapt the future printed organs to its interests. They found the possibility of expressing the ideas of liberalism in the revolutionary press in the name of the working class very tempting.

In his talks with Struve and Tugan-Baranovskiy, Lenin firmly and systematically defended a strictly Marxist line for the printed organ. Differences notwithstanding, a temporary agreement for cooperation with the "legal Marxists" was reached. Their aspiration to become coeditors of the publication was defeated.

While accepting a temporary agreement with the representatives of the nonproletarian faction on specific matters, Lenin refused to allow the basic ideological and theoretical differences to be glossed over. Somewhat later, in a separately published program document--"Statement by the Editors of ISKRA"--he especially emphasized that the line of the new printed organs could be expressed by the single word "Marxism." "...It is hardly necessary to add," Vladimir Il'ich wrote, "that we favor the systematic development of the ideas of Marx and Engels and firmly reject the halfway, loose and opportunistic revisions which have now become so fashionable thanks to the heedless efforts of Ed. Bernshteyn, P. Struve and many others" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 358).

Thanks to Lenin's principled positions, the revolutionary social democrats were able to defend the Marxist aspect of the future newspaper.

After completing the necessary preparatory work in Russia in July 1900, Lenin went abroad. From there he continued his discussions with the Russian social democrats.

The publication of ISKRA was to involve the participation of Plekhanov's "Liberation of Labor" group--the oldest organization of the Russian revolutionary social democrats. In this connection, Lenin wrote that "We do not deem it possible to carry out the project without forces such as Plekhanov and the "Liberation of Labor" group. However, this does not give anyone the right to conclude that we are abandoning even a single bit of our independence" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 46, p 42). Noting the positive aspects of joint work, he also predicted the inevitable friction. Subsequent events confirmed these fears. Occasionally relations between Lenin and the "Liberation of Labor" group were so stressed that a break seemed inevitable and joint work impossible. However, each time the interests of the cause gained the upper hand.

After surmounting numerous organizational difficulties, the editors produced the first issue of ISKRA on 11 (24) December 1900.

The editors of ISKRA included such representatives of the social democratic organizations in Russia as Lenin, Martov and Potresov, and Plekhanov, Aksel'rod and Zasulich, members of the "Liberation of Labor" group. Lenin directed the editorial work. He defined the political line of the newspaper, published regular articles on the most important topics in the social democratic and workers

movements, edited the articles sent by correspondents, planned the format, sought funds for publication, and corresponded with the social democratic organizations in Russia. In one of his letters Lenin remarked incidentally that "...Currently I bear the entire burden of the newspaper..." (Ibid., p 160).

Long before the publication of ISKRA, Lenin had written that "There is nothing I want or dream about more than the possibility of writing for the workers" (Ibid., p 12). This desire became a reality with the publication of a newspaper which systematically carried the revolutionary printed word to the toiling masses and the social democratic organizations.

Reports and materials on the lives of the working people and their struggle for their political, economic and social rights came to ISKRA from the various parts of Russia. More than anyone else, the newspaper's management was informed about the revolutionary movement in the country, the feelings of the masses and the status of the international social democratic movement. ISKRA explained events and defined the ways and means for revolutionary struggle on the basis of scientific positions.

A study of ISKRA's activities indicates that the editors adhered strictly to their work plan. Its main lines are quite apparent. The editorial was one of the main genres. The editorials exposed the reactionary and antipopular policy of the tsarist government and covered the most important theoretical and organizational problems of the revolutionary struggle and the situation in the international workers movement. Few of the editors were allowed to write editorials, as the responsibility was exceptionally great and the work itself quite labor-intensive. Lenin and Plekhanov regularly wrote the editorials.

The consistency and the topics of the ISKRA editorials are of unquestionable interest. In the first issue Vladimir Il'ich published the programmatic article entitled "The Essential Tasks of Our Movement." In it he substantiated the main tasks which the course of social development posed for the Russian social democrats: the creation of a revolutionary party of the working class and the liberation of the working people from political, economic and spiritual slavery. Lenin appealed to all revolutionary social democrats in Russia to struggle actively for political freedom and to assist in the political development and organization of the working class. "He who gives this task second priority," he emphasized, "or fails to subordinate to it all other tasks and individual means of struggle, is following a false path and seriously harming the movement" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 374).

Successful activity by the revolutionary party inevitably presumes the existence of a strictly formulated Marxist program, strategy and tactics. On behalf of the ISKRA editors, Lenin drew to the particular attention of the social democrats the fact that "We intend to publish a number of articles in our next issues" on organizational problems (Ibid., p 376).

The first editorial was immediately followed by a second entitled "Where to Begin?" Here Lenin laid out a plan for the creation of a Marxist party and substantiated the role of the newspaper in the solution of this problem. Lenin's

organizational plan triggered tremendous interest among the social democrats because of its novelty and the originality with which the problem was presented. Subsequently, Vladimir Il'ich presented his plan for the founding of the party in greater detail in the book "What Is to Be Done?", which he described as a summary of the ISKRA tactics and organizational policy (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 16, p 101).

Whereas in his initial editorials Lenin paid particular attention to problems of organizational party work, in the two subsequent ones--"The National Problem in Our Program" and "The Situation of the Bundt in the Party"--he analyzed several programmatic concepts. He systematically opposed any manifestation of national oppression, great power chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. He defended the right of nations to self-determination and the principles of proletarian internationalism. The antipopular nature of the pseudorevolutionary party of the S. R. and the liberal bourgeoisie were exposed in the articles "Political Agitation and 'Class Viewpoint'," "Political Struggle and Politicking" and "New Events and Old Problems."

It would be fully justified to say that Lenin played the leading role in this newspaper genre. All in all, he wrote and published 17 editorials in the newspaper.

Lenin's works covered the development of the most important theoretical concepts comprehensively as well--the dictatorship of the proletariat, its leading role in the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions, the proletarian party of the new type, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the role and place of the national-liberation movement and many others.

Lenin's articles called upon the revolutionary social democrats to resolve the key problems of the workers movement, above all, that of creating a militant, united Marxist workers party in Russia. They substantiated the most important principles for its organizational structure, program, strategy and tactics under the conditions of approaching revolution. They subjected opportunistic views to crushing criticism. They described the socioeconomic and political reasons for the inevitable increase in revolutionary actions convincingly and defined the prospects for the class struggle.

There was virtually no single important problem of sociopolitical life, revolutionary movement or party construction which was not discussed by Lenin in ISKRA.

Soon after the Second RSDWP Congress, Lenin compiled a table showing the number of articles written by the various editors and published in the 45 issues of the newspaper. The table showed that he had authored 32 articles (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 46, p 323). All in all, ISKRA published about 60 works by Lenin.

Everything prepared for printing was thoroughly discussed by the editors. Naturally, the individual authors had their own views on these matters and their own approach to the presentation of the topic. In such cases the reflection of individual perceptions of events is inevitable. As the result of collective discussion, however, the authors were able to express an overall editorial viewpoint.

As early as 1904, I. S. Belyanchikov, a worker and member of the Sredne-Ural'skiy RSDWP Committee, noted the great importance to the revolutionary social democrats of the articles published in ISKRA. Defending the old ISKRA against the attacks of the opportunists, he wrote: "As a worker I consciously draw closer to the Leninists, to the ideological direction which most sharply expresses the interests of the workers, which most consistently promotes the ideas of the revolutionary social democratic movement, and which most strongly supports the class proletarian viewpoint (Central State Archives of the October Revolution, Archive 1,167, List 2, Storage Unit 3059, Sheet 7, verso).

One of the most important features of Lenin's newspaper was its very close ties with the proletariat, the people's masses.

Even prior to the publication of ISKRA, Lenin called for contributions from worker correspondents. Vladimir Il'ich spared no effort and took every opportunity--personal encounters, talks, or correspondence--to broaden contacts and establish regular business relations with them. Worker correspondents came first. Such was the theme of a number of editorial letters sent to Russia. They always emphasized the importance to the paper of materials coming from such large labor centers as Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhniy Novgorod, Rostov-na-Donu, Samara, Kiev, Baku and Riga.

The great attention which Lenin paid to the publication of local news is particular proof of the extent of his concern for the newspaper's section "News of Russian Economic Life." In this connection he wrote a special analytical article. Vladimir Il'ich began with a short preface to the readers. It emphasized that the systematic publication of an economic section in itself requires a substantial amount of data which the editors lacked and pointed out the difficulties involved in its preparation. No success could be achieved without the help of the readers. He concluded by addressing a request to the readers to send information on socioeconomic topics. The facts prove that economic reviews, statistical data, letters and notes were sent from Russia to ISKRA. The newspaper printed most of them.

Lenin believed that the conditions which must govern relations between the newspaper and its correspondents included "a precise understanding between editors and contributors, with notification of the fate of all manuscripts..., and a sameness of views shared by editors and contributors on basic aspects of theoretical problems, immediate practical tasks, and the nature of the organization desired for the newspaper..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 179). He himself observed these rules strictly.

Vladimir Il'ich paid particular attention to materials sent by workers. Krupskaya remembers the following case: at one point information was received from workers mining a stone quarry in Odessa. "It was quite ungainly, written in some sort of rusty ink. However, it contained a great deal of warm feeling and expressed the mood of the workers quite well. I recall that Vladimir Il'ich reread this letter several times. He put it on his desk, read it, paced around and then came back to the desk and read it again. As he prepared it for publication he edited it somewhat but made no corrections whatever which would change the feeling which imbued the material even the least bit" (periodical PRAVDIST, No 5-6, 1931, p 438).

I. V. Babushkin was one of the most active of the worker correspondents. Lenin asked him to become an ISKRA contributor. He regularly sent along perceptive and topical materials written by himself and by workers in Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other cities. This was not easy to do under clandestine conditions. However, Ivan Vasil'yevich managed it brilliantly.

Lenin valued Babushkin's activities in the period of the old ISKRA highly. Noting that as long as Ivan Vasil'yevich was free to act the newspaper had no shortage of workers' materials, he wrote: "Look at the first 20 issues of ISKRA, and at all the reports from Shuya, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Orekhovo-Zuyev and other places in the center of Russia: virtually all of them have come through Ivan Vasil'yevich, who tried to establish the closest possible ties between ISKRA and the workers. Ivan Vasil'yevich was one of the most zealous correspondents and warm supporters of ISKRA" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 20, p 80).

N. E. Bauman, the ISKRA agent, worked efficiently with the worker and employee correspondents. Many years later one of them, M. A. Bagayev, a member of the "Northern Workers' Alliance," recalled discussing a list of questions on materials for ISKRA in the course of a clandestine meeting with Nikolay Ernestovich in Moscow, and giving him the foreign address to which to send such materials (see PROLETARSKAYA REVOLYUTSIYA, No 12 (47), 1925, p 102).

All of the largest workers' centers in the country maintained close ties with the old ISKRA. From December 1900 to July 1903, about 500 local reports on the life of the workers were published in its 44 issues. "Almost without exception, we printed everything coming out of Russia," Lenin recalled ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 9, p 106).

ISKRA was able to organize a widespread network of correspondents in Russia to supply the newspaper with valuable topical materials on the most important problems of social life. The editors drew from them the life force without which the paper's successful activities would have been impossible.

At that time no other printed organ could compare with Lenin's ISKRA in terms of the extent to which it influenced the toiling masses and the scope of the workers' topics. Even official government circles were forced to acknowledge this. A review of the most important investigations conducted in 1901, which was drafted by the police department, noted that the group which published the newspaper ISKRA was "able to keep in touch with all events and to organize the mass distribution of ISKRA in the empire. As of that time it had assumed dominant importance, pushing RABOCHAYA MYSL' into the background" thanks to its extensive connections within Russia (Central State Historical Archives, Archive 1405, List 530, Storage Unit 1,028, Sheet 17, verso).

Lenin considered the political education of the masses the very basis of revolutionary work, its "foundation and main content" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 13, p 376). Between 1901 and 1903, Lenin's ISKRA systematically disseminated Marxist ideas among the masses and exposed the "legal Marxists" and "economists" and the notorious policy of "police socialism," which were doing tremendous harm to the revolutionary movement.

ISKRA fought "economism" particularly adamantly. This was the Russian variety of international opportunism which hindered the comprehensive increase in the political self-awareness of the working class. The "economists" deliberately tried to keep the workers movement within the framework of solution of economic problems alone. They rejected the need for a revolutionary party which would assume political leadership of the proletariat. Their printed organs RABOCHEYE DELO and RABOCHAYA MYSL' factually rejected the basic stipulation of the "Communist Party Manifesto" to the effect that any class struggle is political as well.

In his article in ISKRA and his book "What Is to be Done?", Lenin criticized the "economists" comprehensively, profoundly and sharply. He exposed their attempts to pit economic against political struggle and to reject Marxism as the scientific foundation for revolutionary strategy and tactics, and their reverence for the spontaneous workers movement. The "economists" claimed that the proletariat develops a socialist awareness independently in the course of the spontaneous workers movement. The reverence for spontaneity and the belittling of the role of the conscious approach constituted tremendous dangers. Lenin struggled passionately against such views and steadily emphasized the need for the organized and purposeful struggle of the workers. Issue after issue of ISKRA explained the need for combining socialism with the workers movement. In one of his articles Lenin wrote that such a need had been "theoretically proclaimed for quite some time, but in practice this combination is being accomplished only at the present time in Russia" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 373). He defended and developed the Marxist doctrine of the party and proved that theory is a powerful weapon in the revolutionary struggle.

In his arguments with the "economists," Vladimir Il'ich systematically and irreconcilably defended the strictly revolutionary line adopted by the Marxist printed organ. "...We are proud of the fact that ISKRA is triggering political discontent in all strata of the population," he pointed out, "and can only regret that we cannot do this to an even greater extent" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 5, p 366).

The ISKRA editors did a tremendous amount of work to expose the so-called "police socialism"--the Zubatov movement. They promptly identified the true nature of the "legal" workers organizations promoted by the tsarist government and were able to direct the clandestine press and the social democratic groups efficiently in the struggle against this menace. The social roots of the Zubatov movement and the activities of the organizations set up by the police were exposed by the newspaper.

Even though the Zubatov movement was one of the means used by the police for the corruption of the workers, the societies it created nonetheless remained working class organizations. That is why it was not in the interests of the revolutionary movement to ignore such workers, even those who were hostile or hesitant. "...We must work where the masses are," was how Vladimir Il'ich subsequently formulated one of the most important tactical principles of a proletarian party. To the Russian Marxists, this principle was a law governing their activities in all stages of the struggle.

ISKRA materials exposing the provocative nature of "police socialism" were widely distributed among the working people. They were frequently copied and discussed in

workers' circles. Many workers who had been trapped in the net of the Zubatov organizations were thus able to reject the influence of the police. By then it had already become clear that ISKRA deserved the main credit for and had played a decisive role in the defeat of the Zubatov movement.

The struggle which Lenin's ISKRA waged for a party of a new type, for the purity of revolutionary theory, against opportunism and revisionism and against "police socialism" is of tremendous historical significance. Following its example, communists in all countries are learning principle-mindedness, conviction, and irreconcilability in the struggle against the enemies of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard. Our ideological opponents are doing everything possible to belittle the international significance of Bolshevism and to restrict the applicability of the most important Leninist propositions to a "regional" framework or "national-specific" factors. Life itself, however, refutes such claims. The international Leninist doctrine has been applied in practice in our country and in the other nations of the socialist comity. The light of its ideas is illuminating all parts of the planet today. It is invincible because it is true!

In the period of preparations for the Second RSDWP Congress, a sharp struggle developed in Russia in connection with winning the local committees over to the ISKRA positions. Lenin considered this a priority task. It was necessary to surmount a certain caution displayed by the social democratic committees toward the newly published ISKRA and to achieve ideological and organizational unity among the revolutionary social democrats in the various parts of the country. Under Lenin's leadership, ISKRA groups and agents involved the local committees in all-party work step by step. Within a relatively short time, they succeeded in getting "the flower of the conscious proletariat to take the side of ISKRA" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 344).

Lenin repeatedly focused attention on the need for revolutionary activity against any excesses in the behavior of the police toward the people, whether the beating of peasants, torture of soldiers, censorship excesses, or persecution of religious sects. An example was set by ISKRA, which supported the actions of the opposition and thus involved all those dissatisfied with tsarist despotism in the antigovernmental struggle. It exposed all manifestations of police oppression and autocratic excesses.

We continue to be impressed to this very day by the tremendous impact which ISKRA had on the course of the revolutionary struggle and on the broad toiling masses. Its issues reached the most distant corners of Russia. Hundreds of people passed on newspaper articles and reports transcribed in longhand and discussed them confidentially.

A large number of the materials published by ISKRA won high marks. Vladimir Il'ich was particularly interested in the workers' reactions. Such living testimony convincingly characterized the newspaper's activities. The following is the noteworthy reaction of a Petersburg worker and his comrades to issue No 4 of ISKRA, in particular to Lenin's editorial "Where to Begin?" "...I showed ISKRA to a number of comrades," the worker wrote, "and the entire issue was worn to tatters. However, this paper is important, far more important than MYSL', even though it

does not include our contribution. ISKRA supports our cause, the Russian cause which cannot be assessed in terms of kopecks or time spent; as we read it we understand why the gendarmes and the police fear us, the workers, and the intellectuals we follow" (ISKRA, No 7, 1901).

Lenin and the ISKRA people established extensive links with the social democrats and socialists in a number of European and American countries. They consistently helped the editors in transporting the issues, finding funds, locating secret relay addresses and preparing materials for ISKRA. In their day, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Klara Tsetkin, Yulian Markhlevskiy, Dimitur Blagoev, Georgi Bakalov, Connie Zilliacus, Karl Branting and many other leaders of the international workers movement provided truly invaluable support. Between 1900 and 1903, ISKRA had 84 relay addresses for use in mailing materials from Russia in Germany alone.

ISKRA provided extensive coverage of various problems in international life, particularly the course of the revolutionary struggle in Germany, France, Belgium, the United States and other countries. The foreign network of ISKRA correspondents steadily expanded.

The articles published in ISKRA met with great response abroad. Many of them were reprinted by noted organs of the workers' press such as RABOTNICHESKI VESTNIK and RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgaria, VORWARTS in Germany, PEOPLE in the United States and many others. At that time the Bulgarian newspaper RABOTNICHESKI VESTNIK wrote: "Each separate issue of ISKRA depicts the growing upsurge of the revolutionary struggle. There is no other newspaper which can so uplift the spirit and faith in the revolution" (Dimitur Blagoev, "Biografiya" [Biography], Partizdat, Sofia, 1979, p 261).

The Russian revolutionary social democrats helped their foreign colleagues in a variety of ways to the extent of their strength and opportunities.

Lenin, in turn, valued the support of many foreign social democrats and of the famous German publisher H. Dietz greatly. In a letter dated 3 October 1913, Vladimir Il'ich wrote gratefully to the latter that "As member of the editorial staff of ISKRA and ZARYA to which, 10 years ago, you provided such valuable service, and as a representative of the RSDWP, which will never forget your fraternal aid in this period of the greatest importance in the building of the party, I hasten to convey best wishes to you on behalf of the RSDWP Central Committee and myself, personally, on the occasion of your 70th birthday.

"I wish you many more years of work for the good of international Marxism" ("Poin. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 48, pp 212-213).

ISKRA earned great and invaluable credit for the elaboration of the draft party program. Lenin ascribed tremendous importance to the drafting of this all-party document in which the final objective of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat was formulated from a Marxist standpoint, and the basic ways and means of achieving it were indicated.

Work on the draft program was started on Vladimir Il'ich's initiative. In 1901, the editors conducted a lively correspondence on the drafting of the document. The first draft was written by Plekhanov. After long discussion and consideration, the editors set up a "conciliation" commission to write the draft party program. The document developed the most important Marxist concepts creatively. It contained a profound analysis of the social processes occurring in Russia. Lenin played the main, decisive role in the drafting. Thanks to him the program included a number of basic propositions. This was the first time in the history of the international workers movement that a program for a proletarian party had been adopted. It formulated the task of waging the battle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its agrarian portion was entirely written by Lenin.

Visualizing the full importance of the agrarian-peasant problem efficiently and clearly on the basis of scientific positions, Vladimir Il'ich formulated the provisions of the party's agrarian program. At his suggestion, ISKRA undertook the extensive publication of the pertinent materials. In its third issue in April 1901, the newspaper carried Lenin's article "The Workers Party and the Peasantry," which formulated the Marxist party requirements on the agrarian problem. The author regarded his work as "a rough outline of the agrarian program of the RSDWP, written on behalf of the editors of ISKRA and ZARYA and published in the summer of 1902. It became the official party program at our second congress (August 1903)" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 12, p 243). In discussing the need to aid the peasant movement, he emphasized that "The social democrats would fail in their duty if they refused to provide any and all support for this struggle. Such support must be manifested, to put it briefly, by introducing the class struggle to the countryside" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 432).

Lenin's conclusion on the inevitability of the class struggle in the countryside and the need for the revolutionaries to guide this struggle came as a great surprise to a number of social democratic leaders, and many of them failed to understand it. Most revolutionary social democrats fully endorsed the basic provisions stipulated in the article.

Lenin made a careful study of the views of the practical revolutionary workers. He made a detailed study of all materials received by the editors. The specific information which he drew from Russian life in addition was a major source for the formulation of the agrarian program, which called upon the party to organize a revolutionary alliance with the multimillion-strong peasant masses.

The publication of the "Draft Program of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party" in June 1902 was a major event in the revolutionary movement of the country. ISKRA not only published this document but called for comprehensive discussion of it.

Following the successful completion of the practical efforts to rally the revolutionary forces around ISKRA and to formulate the draft RSDWP program, the question of holding a party congress arose. Lenin assigned the best ISKRA forces to the solution of this problem. The newspaper's editors and the ISKRA organization in Russia did everything necessary to insure success in the activities of the organizational committee in charge of convening the Second RSDWP Congress. They did

virtually all of the vast organizational work inevitable in such cases. In the aftermath of the congress, Lenin wrote that his main task was "to create a real party on the basis of the principled and organizational foundations formulated and developed by ISKRA. This precisely was the direction which the congress was to follow after the three years of work done by ISKRA and the recognition of this work by most committees" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 8, p 193).

The Second RSDWP Congress completed the process of unifying the revolutionary Marxist organizations and founded the party of the Russian working class on the basis of the ideological-political and organizational principles formulated by Lenin. The congress proclaimed ISKRA to be the party's central organ.

The party of a new type created by Lenin was generally different from the reformist parties belonging to the Second International. Marxism-Leninism was its ideological-theoretical foundation. The party was the leading, conscious and organized detachment of the working class, the superior form of its class organization and its political leader. It was a truly revolutionary party united on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism, combining unity of theory with practice. It was and has remained irreconcilably opposed to any type of dissidence, opportunism or revisionism. It is a consistently internationalist party.

The path covered by Lenin's party was one of struggle and construction for the sake of the people. The very fact that a revolutionary Marxist party of the working class appeared in Russia was of the greatest possible significance to the destiny of the country and the entire international workers movement. There is no other party in history which has had such a transforming impact on the entire course of the world's development.

"Lenin's greatest historical merit," states the CC CPSU decree "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth," "derives from his founding of a proletarian party of a new type--the living embodiment of the inseparable unity between scientific theory and revolutionary practice--the inspirer and leader of the socialist revolution and the building of a new society."

Lenin's brilliant theoretical, political, and organizational principles governing the party of a new type, systematically implemented by the old ISKRA, the militant and purposeful activities of the newspaper in defending the interests of the toiling masses and its inseparable links with the working class saw their further development in the activities of the CPSU. The party considers serving the people the highest purpose of its activities. Once again this has been clearly manifested in the decisions of the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum and the draft CC CPSU plan for the 16th party congress entitled "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period through 1990." Characteristically, the Central Committee points out in the draft the need to "sum up the experience of the revolutionary-transforming activities of the CPSU." Thus the party reasserts the fact that experience in the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism is our priceless acquisition in the struggle for communism.

The activities of Lenin's ISKRA are a vivid, unforgettable page in the history of our party and an instructive example of heroic struggle in the interest of the working class, all working people, revolutionary humanism and proletarian internationalism.

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SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE: SOCIOECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INTENSIFICATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 65-72

[Article by Prof P. Ignatovskiy, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] A collection of works on the conversion of agriculture to the socialist track is of great interest, among the many books by V. I. Lenin published in recent years.* This work is being published on the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress, when the party and the entire Soviet people are summing up the results achieved in the distance covered and are formulating their plans for the future. As they struggle for the implementation of the party's economic strategy, the Soviet people are adamantly resolving complex agrarian policy problems. The new collection of works by the leader actively encourages the consideration of such problems from the viewpoint of the continuity of the Leninist agrarian course, the ideas in Lenin's cooperative plan, and checking its theoretical foundations and socio-economic direction against living practical experience.

"Lenin's doctrine on the agrarian problem and the ideas and principles in his cooperative plan were and remain tools to be used by our party," L. I. Brezhnev said at the July 1978 Central Committee Plenum. "The CPSU is invariably guided by them and is developing them further in accordance with specific historical conditions."

Now, when the party is pursuing a course of effectiveness and quality in the economy, Lenin's analysis of the problems in the intensification of socialized agricultural production, aimed in the final account at strengthening the overall industrial foundations of socialism and its all-round development, becomes particularly topical.

In discussing the continuity in our contemporary agrarian policy, the Marxist-Leninist theory of agricultural intensification and Lenin's cooperative plan, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the communist party has considered it its prime obligation to strengthen the material and technical base of agricultural production considerably by accelerating the pace of its mechanization, chemization and land reclamation and comprehensive solution of sectorial development problems. Naturally, the CPSU has taken into consideration the fact that none of this is

* V. I. Lenin. "O Sotsialisticheskoye Preobrazovanii Sel'skogo Khozyaystva" [On the Socialist Reorganization of Agriculture]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 448 pages.

possible without additional investments in the soil and other productive capital, as a result of which the approach to the allocation of capital investments has been changed. The party considers this matter the cornerstone of the further development of the agrarian sector of the socialist economy, for which reason it undertook the redistribution of funds in the national economy to insure a sharp increase in the volume of capital investment in agricultural production and a considerable increase in its share of national economic expenditures.

Whereas during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, i.e., before the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum, this share was 20 percent, it rose to 23 during the Eighth, 26 during the Ninth, and over 27 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan. The draft CC CPSU plan prepared for the 26th party congress and entitled "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" confirms the need to maintain agriculture's share of the country's capital investments on a level equal at least to that now achieved.

By intensification, Lenin meant additional investments of material facilities and labor for the same land areas (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Collected Works], Vol 16, p 287; Vol 27, pp 191-192). The purpose of such investments is to achieve a "technical change in farming, its intensification, conversion to better crop-growing systems, increased utilization of chemical fertilizers, improved tools and machinery..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, p 181). It is precisely the improvement of labor means and objects in agriculture and the enhancement of the fertility of the soil, through land chemization and reclamation above all, which are the basic directions in the contemporary agrarian policy initiated by the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum and pursued by the party.

However, the process of additional investment in agricultural production as such can insure intensive development only if proportional development of all of these factors is achieved and if conditions such as a highly conscientious and active attitude toward labor by all participants in the production process and competent management have been created.

The July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum emphasized the need to complete the mechanization of farming during the 11th Five-Year Plan, and in particular the need to meet stricter requirements concerning everything related to the successful utilization of the material base created. The party takes into consideration not only the need of the production process itself for funds and labor objects, which is an objective need, but also the need of the kolkhoz peasantry and of all agricultural workers to change the conditions of their work, to reduce the volume of heavy, manual and unskilled work, to reduce the dependence of farm labor on negative weather conditions, to upgrade agricultural labor productivity and to improve the living conditions of the entire rural population.

Therefore, the problem of agricultural intensification is not only one of production and economics but a tremendous social problem as well. Its solution would be inconceivable without an increase in the material investment in the rural material-production base and social infrastructure. That is why the party has deemed a major shift of financial resources in favor of that sector necessary. It was when the sum total of capital investments per hectare of plowland had almost doubled in comparison to 1965 that the question of the effectiveness of additional investments arose.

V. I. Lenin did not entertain consideration of the ineffectiveness of agricultural production intensification. Such a phenomenon is objectively excluded by observing the nature of intensification--the consistency of investments added to the same land areas, technological and technical production changes and improved quality of cultivation, resulting in the concentration of material and manpower resources on the same land areas. The results of intensification may be greater or lesser depending on the specific conditions and farming methods and the way available resources are used. Lenin, however, did not especially focus on the effectiveness of additional investment of funds in agriculture, for additional and systematic investments which upgrade the fertility of the soil and new farming systems based on the higher concentration of productive capital are not self-seeking; objectively, they are subordinated to the final target of the production process: increased output with reduced outlays per unit of output.

Agricultural intensification involves radical changes in technology and the utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology, rejecting or replacing traditional production methods. The use of new high-yield crop strains provided one such turn in public farming in our country and the other member nations of the socialist comity. Based on extensive farming facilities, they can produce marketable grain in excess of 50 quintals per hectare. This change, combined with increased deliveries of chemical fertilizers to agriculture (from 121.8 kilograms per hectare of farmland in 1965 to 341.4 kilograms in 1979) resulted in a substantial increase in grain harvests and a shift toward feed crops. For example, winter wheat yields in the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes have increased since the March 1965 CC CPSU Plenum by 4.4 quintals. In 1979 they reached 20.5 quintals; corn yields increased by 6.1 quintals, averaging 31.3 quintals; rice yields increased by 12.3 quintals, averaging 39.2 quintals per hectare.

It is a noteworthy fact that even though the area in grain crops was reduced by 1.6 million hectares as compared with 1965, the 1979 gross grain harvest totaled 58.1 million tons. This means that with few exceptions, virtually the entire grain crop increase was the result of farming intensification and above all, the use of high yield wheat, corn, barley and rice strains. Had the 1979 grain crop remained on the 1965 level, the amount of grain which was harvested--179.2 million tons--would have required almost half again as much land planted in such crops. In turn, this would have required about 70,000 tractors, 35,000 grain harvesting combines and a corresponding number of mechanizers. Naturally, this would also have increased outlays for labor and other operations.

The immediate prospects for agricultural intensification and for insuring a stable supply of food products for the population involve the introduction of new semidwarf winter wheat strains with higher yields. New sugar beet strains and hybrids will yield as much as 87 quintals of sugar per hectare in crops.

The problem of reducing and subsequently eliminating the shortage of protein in fodder rations is taking on exceptional significance. This could be achieved by planting the proper areas with the new Neosypayushchiysya-1 pea strain, which yields as much as 60 quintals of grain per hectare, and highly productive clover, which would yield as much as 100 quintals of hay per hectare with proper zoning,

and increasing the areas in lupine grass, the best strains of which contain as much as 40 percent protein, and the areas planted in soybeans. The intensification of animal husbandry cannot be fully effected without a sufficient amount of protein in the fodder.

Unfortunately, instead of developing intensification on the basis of the latest scientific achievements, particularly in the area of selection of highly productive crop strains and cattle breeds, the local organs base their management and production control practices on obsolete rules, leading to the extensive expansion of herds of underproductive livestock, and backward farming methods, which result in low yield and low quality grain, leguminous, fodder, and many industrial crops, sugar beets in particular. Occasionally this lowers the production of meat and milk per head of cattle. Both the breeding and raising of cattle must be improved in order to increase output with lower feed outlays.

The elimination of meat shortages presumes the implementation of a set of measures for the intensification of the sector. They include replacing underproductive cattle with highly productive breeds and improvir, feed production and the entire management system in some economic areas which account for the bulk of the marketable animal husbandry goods such as pork, beef, and young offspring, as a result of the objectively developed division of labor (specialization). The formulation of such questions in general, without regard for the specific areas and the concentration of material resources and skilled cadres, or without the special appointment of talented organizers, would not enable us to attain our objective, and the allocation of additional funds would result in an inadmissible waste of materials and manpower.

Both the further intensification of agricultural production and the improvement of material conditions for it are closely linked with the progressive socialization of production. This is expressed in the intensified division of public labor and, above all, in production specialization and concentration. "...Technological progress," Lenin wrote, "means socialization of labor. Such socialization necessarily requires the specialization of the various functions in the production process and the conversion from splintered and separate processes duplicated in each unit engaged in such production to socialized functions concentrated within a single new institution and focused on the satisfaction of overall social needs" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 1, p 95).

As we can see, Lenin directly related such very important intensification directions as agricultural mechanization and technical progress to socialization, and consequently to the concentration and centralization (combination) of equipment and all other production facilities. This means that the problems in agricultural production specialization and concentration are a major target of the party's agrarian policy and its organizational work in the countryside. The present tasks within this policy were defined in the 28 May 1976 CC CPSU decree "On the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperation and Agroindustrial Integration." They have been reflected in the draft "Basic Directions" as well.

The implementation of the measures stipulated in the May 1976 decree led to the development of agricultural production specialization and concentration on an

interfarm basis. More than 9,000 interfarm enterprises and organizations were created in the country. These processes became most widespread in the Moldavian SSR, where a considerable proportion of the marketable pork, beef, grapes and other fruits is supplied by associations operating on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration.

With increased capital investments for the intensification of agricultural production and related sectors in industry, construction and transportation, problems in organization, as a means for the implementation of agrarian policy, acquire priority. It is a question of organization in the broad meaning of the term, including the organizational structure of the agrarian economic sector and the type of management at different levels, aimed at promoting production socialization and in the final account, insuring the effective utilization of production resources with a view to meeting the growing needs of the population for food and those of industry for agricultural raw materials.

The party relies for the solution of all these problems on the experience in the new forms of production organization and in the development of relations within and among agricultural subsectors and between agriculture and industry acquired by the individual republics, krays and oblasts.

In emphasizing the need to combine the proven organization with measures for the intensification of agricultural production, the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum instructed the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and their local organs to insure clear coordination of all work related to interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration. The text of this stipulation calls for "determining, on the basis of a thorough summation of the experience acquired in interfarm cooperation, the best organizational forms for application to the different sectors and types of farming, and recommending the extensive dissemination of the types of cooperative associations and enterprises which enhance socialist socialization of production and labor, based on the latest scientific and technological achievements, and which insure the highest labor productivity and a maximum of inexpensive output."

In formulating this task, the July 1978 Plenum noted that interfarm cooperation and kolkhoz and sovkhoz production intensification is the only and the most effective means of increasing the production of agricultural commodities. Furthermore, a high level of agricultural intensification would be inconceivable without interfarm cooperation in the utilization of equipment and chemization and reclamation facilities. "The well-planned organization of this major project," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "would enable us to achieve the levels assigned to agriculture by the party with lower outlays and greater time savings. However, we must remember that this is no simple task. Unquestionably, it is far more complex from the organizational, scientific and technical and economic viewpoints than, for example, the consolidation of the kolkhozes, i.e., what we have recently accomplished."

Our experience in the organization of associations in Moldavia, Belorussia, Estonia, the Ukraine, Krasnodarskiy Kray and Voronezhskaya, Saratovskaya and other oblasts in the RSFSR proves that interfarm cooperation leads to more successful

intensification of crop growing and animal husbandry and more productive utilization of the manpower, land, equipment, chemical fertilizers and animal herds. Output is increasing at a higher rate and production effectiveness is rising. For example, in Buturlinovskiy Rayon in Voronezhskaya Oblast, farms participating in interfarm cooperation have been able to triple the production of pork in 10 years and, something quite important, to reduce fodder outlays per unit of output by more than one-third.

Naturally, positive results were not achieved in this complex matter immediately. It took some time to determine the most efficient methods for the organization of specialized production based on interfarm cooperated relations. This makes the need to learn useful lessons from this experience even more important, for profound changes in the production area such as specialization and concentration are not a brief campaign which can either be waited out or postponed, but rather an objectively timely economic process tested under different social, economic and natural conditions in both the USSR and a number of other socialist countries. This process can neither be set aside nor imposed from above, nor can it be carried out hastily and superficially just for the record. It is a process which is taking place within the production system directly. However, it cannot be implemented on an arbitrary basis. It must be organized and planned as a comprehensive, scientific and purposeful program for increasing the production of foodstuffs under the conditions of increasing labor socialization and output. Unless this is achieved everywhere, the objective economic process will be hindered in some areas as a result of an unskilled or incompetent approach. Its nature will be distorted and it will turn into one more campaign measure distorting the natural and necessary planned development of economic life.

The scientific approach to this problem must be based on the conviction that agricultural production specialization and concentration, being a strictly economic process, can be based on the existing conditions in a given area. This is not to say, however, that the production organizer must wait until some special conditions for interfarm cooperation have developed at his farm. Progress can only be hindered by such tactics.

The increased production of food at lower cost and the equalization of living and working conditions in town and country are the basic criteria for assessing cadre activities for purposes of improving the organizational structure of agriculture. The initiative of the collectives themselves is important in this matter. As to the influence of the central economic organs, the union and republic agricultural ministries above all, the latter must have a clear idea of the extent to which the measures related to production specialization and concentration through interfarm cooperation being implemented in the individual rayons, oblasts or krays are consistent with scientific recommendations and reflect progressive experience.

In his time, assessing the influence of the new and different conditions of social development on the management of economic and social processes in the countryside, Lenin wrote that "We have reached a stage of socialist construction in which we must formulate specific, detailed and practically tested basic rules and instructions for work in the countryside, and we must be guided by them..." (p 201).

The situation is such that in a number of areas, agricultural management is still lagging behind the level and complexities of its tasks, while the processes of further specialization and concentration are not yet having a major impact on production effectiveness. However, one of the most important problems facing our agriculture today is that modern machines which require highly concentrated utilization and industrially organized exploitation are being scattered among many farms and, within farms, among brigades and teams. They frequently fall into inexperienced and unqualified hands. Furthermore, they are not always of the proper quality. The result is that a considerable percentage of the new tractors going to the farms goes to replace worn-out tractors, i.e., for the simple reproduction of equipment. This results in economic and other losses to society.

The kolkhozes and sovkhoses are increasing their power resources, but they use them ineffectively. In 1979 the overall power generated by tractor engines (including tractors powering reclamation or other machinery) in the public farms was 124 million horsepower more than in 1965, totaling 208.5 million distributed among 2,868,000,000 tractors, while areas in crops totaled 211.2 million hectares, or 8.7 million hectares more than in 1965. Therefore, the power resources of the kolkhozes had increased by 57 horsepower per 100 hectares in crops. However, the time needed for field work, harvesting in particular, has not been reduced significantly. This affects the crop yields and the gross harvests of grain and other crop products. In this connection, the new organizational methods for the use of equipment are quite important, as they change relations between the collectives and society as the result of the use of tractors and other agricultural machinery. The experience of the mechanization associations set up in Moldavian rayons is of interest. They have brought about radical changes in the organization of the use of all types of field equipment and repair services (see KOMMUNIST, No 15, p 49-61). This experience deserves deeper study and more energetic dissemination, based on specific natural-economic and social conditions.

The disproportion between the production of working machinery and engines and the availability of skilled cadres for the operation of all of this complex equipment is a major hindrance to the efficient utilization of tractors and of all energy-generating facilities in agriculture. If the number of tractor drivers in a farm is considerably smaller than the number of tractors, any further increase in tractor deliveries can only lower production effectiveness.

It is obvious that elimination of the scattering of the machine-tractor fleet and the use of industrial methods in its operation will contribute to the training of experienced mechanizers who would settle in the villages and upgrade the effectiveness of capital investments in new equipment.

Under the circumstances prevailing in our country, where the natural conditions are far from the best in terms of farming and animal husbandry, due to its tremendous territory and frequently extensive territorial dispersal of the people, supplying the population with an adequate amount of food is a most complex problem which cannot be resolved exclusively by achieving an agricultural upsurge, but also presumes the proportional development of the entire food production complex.

This complex does exist, since a widespread network of enterprises engaged in the production, storing and transportation not only of agricultural raw materials but

also of finished food products of all kinds has long since been developed. Organizationally, however, it is uncoordinated. It is not concentrated or centralized administratively and economically. Consequently, the level of concentration is inadequate, its units are underqualified and cooperation among them is inadequate. This entails major losses for society in areas where technological processes come together, and as the result of increased disproportions in the production and circulation of goods. The proper organization of the units within this complex would be improved by including the special section entitled "The Agroindustrial Complex" (APK) in the state plan, starting with the 11th Five-Year Plan, based on the coordination of planned assignments among industrial sectors which supply agriculture with productive capital, agricultural and industrial sectors engaged in the processing of agricultural raw materials, and organs in charge of procurements and material and technical supplies.

This would be a major step forward in the organizational strengthening of economic relations within the country's APK. This measure, however, will not in itself resolve all problems. As the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum emphasized, the food complex must be planned, financed and managed as a single entity and must yield excellent end results. Consequently, we must set up a management center in charge of food production in order to eliminate anonymity in the organization of food supplies in the country. We must assign specific responsibilities for the uninterrupted supply of all types of quality food products to the population. Currently there are six union agricultural ministries and committees alone, yet not one of them is specifically responsible for the status of the entire food production process.

The drafting of a single consolidated plan for the APK is one prerequisite for the proportional development of sectors producing foodstuffs and industrial raw materials. However, the loose management structure which has actually developed in the APK is delaying the solution of this problem and weakening the effectiveness of economic measures and the efforts of the state to intensify agriculture. Obviously, the solution to the problem of APK management would be facilitated by the formulation of a food program backed by the necessary production structure, which would include above all raw material and processing sectors and the required production and social infrastructure.

In short, management problems are becoming ever more prominent in the totality of organizational problems in the food production area. The experience gained in the implementation of the comprehensive program for the Nonchernozem zone in the RSFSR should be taken into account in resolving them. This program as well was "supervised" by a number of ministries and departments. This slowed the coordination of the work and led to delays adversely affecting capital investment effectiveness. The problem of a strictly defined organization and individual responsibility for end results within the agroindustrial complex, judging from the way the Nonchernozem program is being implemented, is of exceptional importance. Even the most vital decisions will have no impact on realistic planned deadlines if this principle is underestimated.

As we know, the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers acknowledged a quarter of a century ago that "The planning procedure according to which the kolkhozes were

issued sowing plans strictly defining the kinds of crops to be planted on specific areas and the breeds and number of head of cattle which a kolkhoz had to raise resulted, in a number of cases, in inefficient farming."

Consequently, the March 1965 Central Committee Plenum condemned the multiplicity of purchase plans and deemed it necessary to convert to fixed plans. Subsequently, the decision of the July 1978 Plenum noted that "Instead of a single fixed plan for the purchase of agricultural commodities based on a five-year period, a number of plans were drawn up, and here and there the practice of frequent and unjustified changes in them was restored."

A description of this helter-skelter type of agricultural planning was recently given by A. Khristenko, director of the Sovkhoz imeni Virov, Karagandinskaya Oblast, who wrote that "It seemed that the following should take place: an assignment was issued for the sale of farm goods to the state and you, the director, should be good enough to insure its implementation. The factual situation, however, was that the rayon administration was issuing annual plans as to how much and what to plant, determining outlays per hectare, and so on" (PRAVDA, 11 October 1980). The consequence was that, willy-nilly, somewhere deep within this approach, the principle of allotment was beginning to operate.

These were not isolated cases. Even though there have been several generations of agricultural production organizers, this long-condemned practice has not been entirely uprooted. This situation is not in the least accidental. It stems from the mistrust which some local organs feel toward specialists and farm managers. This defect in management practices, which paralyzed the initiative of the immediate production organizers and labor collectives (instead of promoting it), affected economic activities and resulted in considerable fluctuation in crop yields and animal husbandry output. In other words, this was the result of production instability and the insufficient confidence shown by local organs that the assignments issued to the farms for grain, meat, and other food deliveries would be carried out.

The root of this phenomenon can be found in the fact that the system of economic measures aimed at insuring the upsurge in agriculture, involving considerable capital investments, price increases and other incentives which were "superimposed" on a primarily traditional farming technology, with the extensive breeding of morally obsolete cattle strains and substandard herds, as well as unbalanced rations and undereffective production organization methods, could not fully prove itself and insure durable agrarian policy results. This led to difficulties in supplying the population with meat and some other products. The recommended planning principles could not be strengthened, not because they were insufficiently substantiated, but because the plans, as a form of economic relations directing the production process, were themselves entirely based on the volume of the output. A shortage of crop or animal husbandry products due to one reason or another affected the stability of purchasing plans and was accompanied by additional assignments given to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, particularly in the area of grain sales.

We see, therefore, that the stability of the plan is a product of production stability. To an even greater extent this applies to production marketing plans,

which is what state plans have essentially become of late in both agriculture and industry. The implementation of such a plan can be guaranteed only by material conditions developed in the course of farming practice. The implementation of measures to improve the planning and stimulation of agricultural production, formulated in accordance with the decisions of the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, will be of major significance. Such measures call for improved production methods and the use of new industrial technologies for crop growing and cattle breeding. Considering the production scale which has now been achieved and the steady reduction in the number of workers in agriculture, it would be difficult to manage on the basis of old production methods and obsolete technologies. It was no accident that Lenin related the essence of intensification to radical changes in technological production methods. The need for such methods has been apparent for quite some time. However, they had not been adequately backed by the necessary material or social prerequisites.

In his time and in the course of his study of the establishment and development of capitalist production in agriculture, Marx wrote that the capitalists "mercilessly eliminated traditional farming procedures." "They totally ignored the problem of the settled population, which was chased off; the existing villages, which were razed to the ground; the farm buildings, which were wrecked; or the various agricultural systems, which were changed in one fell swoop... In a word, they did not accept all production conditions as they had traditionally existed, but historically created conditions in a manner consistent with the requirements of the most advantageous use of capital according to the specific case" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 26, Part II, pp 256-257).

We were essentially unable to follow this method. For quite some time we retained the traditional technological production methods used previously by the private farmers, particularly in animal husbandry, which in the main remained scattered among small, poorly mechanized livestock farms.

Today, in the course of the implementation of the new stage of Lenin's cooperative plan, backed by changed material and social conditions, a stage characterized by interfarm cooperation, along with higher real concentration of specialized facilities for the production of a specific item (rather than simply the consolidation of a multisectorial farm), the rejection of obsolete labor-intensive technologies and the conversion to contemporary industrial technologies, already tried and applied in many areas, become inevitable prerequisites for agricultural intensification. The economic organs must clearly realize that agriculture alone cannot carry out this task. The conclusion that the use of modern technologies is urgently needed will be no more than a pious wish if industry does not introduce changes in equipment and fertilizer deliveries or if it fails to supply the villages with the sets of machines required by industrial technology, such as an adequate number of domestically produced corn crop herbicides equal to the best foreign products, for example. In short, the working class, industry and science play an exceptionally important role in the solution of contemporary agricultural production problems.

"The peasant," Lenin wrote, "needs urban industry. Without it he cannot breathe. But it is in our hands. If we undertake this work properly, the peasant will be grateful to us for the products, tools and culture he will receive through us from

the city. He will receive them not from exploiters or landowners but from the same kind of comrade-working people whom he values exceptionally profoundly but practically, on the basis of their actual aid alone, while quite justifiably rejecting commands and 'prescriptions' from above" (pp 264-265).

In emphasizing that industry is in the hands of the proletarian state, Lenin stressed the role of economic policy in the solution of rural problems. In this connection the party's agrarian policy involves yet another aspect: it is a means of strengthening the economic alliance among the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. It is a means of broadening the economic basis for a modern and closer labor rapprochement between town and country. This aspect of the party's agrarian policy presumes more flexible planning of the production of labor tools and objects for the countryside, protection against departmental red tape, subjectivism and narrow-mindedness, and fuller and practically immediate reflection of the changing needs of the rural population in the plans and the utilization of the latest achievements in scientific and technical progress. This need is based on the fact that under the conditions of the gradual rapprochement among classes and social groups within the socialist society, the peasantry has retained its specific class interests based on the social development of the countryside and on the needs of the entire society for food and agricultural raw materials for industry.

It is precisely now, in the period of general intensification, that we need more than ever before a class-wide, national rather than departmental or group perception of the problems of technological progress and a policy of real industrialization of agriculture, i.e., a comprehensive one. Today its essence can no longer be reduced merely to the use of machinery in farming and animal husbandry. Modern agricultural industrialization is based on the latest achievements in the natural sciences, biology in particular, high farming standards, which include a combination of balanced nutritive substances applied to the soil, and the high professionalism of skilled cadres who can handle both new equipment and scientific achievements.

Unfortunately, a study of farming practices indicates violations of scientific methods. It is precisely this, rather than the existence of adverse weather conditions in one season or part of the country or another alone, which is the crux of the difficulties experienced in agricultural production.

Socialist expanded reproduction presumes the extension of the production process as a prime condition, even within the limits of simple reproduction, as well as the establishment of a stock for the restoration of the productive capital consumed and a reserve fund. In livestock breeding, for example, this applies above all to the creation of a fodder stock which will meet the needs of existing herds. This legitimate condition cannot be ignored without harming production or its intensification process. For many years, however, it has been frequently ignored.

In many farms the productive herds face the winter with aggravated shortages in the feed balance, protein in particular. Unlike the seed fund, which is a replenishment fund as well, the fodder fund is based on the so-called residual principle. It is what remains after the plans for grain marketing have been

fulfilled, with all their supplements. The fact that year after year the marketing of some of the replenishment fund (the fodder fund) undermines the reproduction processes in animal husbandry and makes its intensification impossible is being ignored.

Such practices adversely affect the thinking of some agricultural cadres. Some workers neglect reproduction requirements and therefore the interests of society, to such an extent that immediately after selling grain they turn to the state with a request for a grain loan or funds for feed purchases. Occasionally, above-plan amounts of grain are sold, for which the farm earns a 50 percent supplement to the purchase price, after which it buys from the state a certain amount of fodder, insufficient however to feed the cattle properly. Such farms engage in so-called maintenance feeding, which results in major losses. At the same time, society suffers additional labor losses as a result of this kind of artificial circulation of grain and, furthermore, a product shortage develops. Under such circumstances the state must periodically raise the purchase price for cattle, milk and other products and must subsidize processing industry enterprises.

Let us consider yet another Leninist provision applicable to the countryside today, and essential in the case of socialism and its economic relations. Lenin ascribed great importance to letting the state grant a certain freedom for local turnover aimed at satisfying the needs of the population in a specific producing area. This too is a kind of incentive. It is mainly territorial, but operates within the production process and triggers the interest of the direct producer (collective, rayon) in the production of some commodities supplied to society. Unfortunately, planning practices did not until recently deal with the territorial aspect of production incentive, which objectively is manifested as much in agriculture as in other sectors.

"Local initiative," Lenin taught, "must be comprehensively supported and developed whatever the circumstances" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 333). This provision can be a great help in the solution of food problems today. However, here and there initiatives related to the expansion of output and the support of local economic turnover have been abandoned. This has necessarily reduced the local state authorities' sense of responsibility for supplying the population with food products, meat, milk, and vegetables in particular.

In the future, when all production units in agriculture are strictly specialized, when the exchange of the results of activities among them is increased and when public production becomes such as to insure the adequate fulfillment of the needs of the population in all rayons, the question of local farm turnover and its nature and sources may be reexamined. Currently, however, we must apply here the principles for encouraging the expansion of output on a given territory as formulated by Lenin in the period when the tax in kind was being eliminated. In terms of specific reality, such principles involve the need to satisfy the local kolkhoz market (its cities and rayon, oblast and kray centers) through commodity surpluses and above all, to create conditions for increasing the production of such surpluses.

Our contemporary agrarian policy is focused on the solution of a broad range of economic and social problems related to interrelationships among classes and

social groups within the socialist society at its greater maturity level, and on the development of relations between town and country under conditions governed by their political as well as social rapprochement and the equalization of the working and living conditions of the urban and rural population. This is a comprehensive process which should not be viewed as though the countryside alone must try to achieve a given urban living and working standard.

A shift in values concerning ideas about the living environment of the working people in town and country is taking place as the result of changing ecological circumstances. In particular, the sufficiency of high quality vitamin-rich food products and clean water and air are among the primary conditions for the all-round development of man. In this respect again the rural resident has the advantage, even though in terms of living standards and the entire way of rural life, the countryside is lagging behind the city. These problems cannot be resolved in isolation from the processes of expanded reproduction of the overall social product.

As we can see, Lenin's assessment of the problem of the peasantry, with its social aspects, applies to the contemporary Soviet countryside as well, to food production, to the utilization of the powerful production potential of the countryside, and to the development of the personality of the rural worker. The most essential feature here is the attitude of the person toward his work. This remains the foundation of all our past, present and future successes.

Currently the social activeness of the Soviet peasant and agricultural worker has been given new impetus with the development of the socialist competition in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress and the implementation of the plans for further economic and social development. Increasing the effectiveness of the party's agrarian policy will make a contribution to such activities.

5023

CSO: 1802

WITH FAITH IN THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE AND THE SOCIALIST FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 73-78

[Article by V. Semenov]

[Text] This month will mark the 60th anniversary of the founding of the French Communist Party. Having appeared on the crest of a powerful upsurge of the labor movement and under the direct influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the FCP [French Communist Party] has covered a great battle distance. It has earned great prestige with its systematic struggle in defense of the vital interests of the working class and working people. For this reason the anniversary of the French Communist Party is an outstanding event in the life of the entire toiling people of France. The FCP is one of the largest political parties and plays an important role in the country's life. Although profoundly national, throughout the basic stages of its history it has ascribed prime importance to international solidarity and has been in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and friendship among the peoples.

The conditions under which the FCP is operating today are marked by particular stress and gravity. Political clashes are increasing on the eve of the April-May 1981 presidential elections, against the background of the intensifying crisis in state-monopoly capitalism. At its recently held national conference, the FCP unanimously nominated Secretary General Georges Marchais as the communist party candidate and asked that the comprehensive support of the candidate be considered a primary task.

Comrade G. Marchais' book "Hope Today," published in Paris, has assumed important political and ideological significance in mobilizing the party members for the implementation of this task.* It is addressed to the party activists, to the working people, and to anyone who considers the FCP the firmest defender of his interests. It is a vivid and emotional description of the topical problems facing contemporary France, the life of the working people and the comprehensive activities of party members.

The theme of G. Marchais' new book is profound faith in the potential and the strength of the working class, the inevitability and legitimacy of revolutionary changes, and socialism. It is imbued with historical optimism based on a knowledge

* Georges Marchais. "L'espoir au present" [Hope Today]. Editions sociales, Paris, 1980, 201 pages.

of the objective laws governing social development and a study of the major shifts which have taken place in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of progress and socialism, which were initiated by the October Revolution in Russia. "...Socialism became an irreversible reality as of October 1917," the author emphasizes (p 32).

As he reconstructs the broad picture in contemporary France on the basis of class positions, G. Marchais reveals the profound reasons for the crisis affecting all aspects of bourgeois society--economics, politics, ideology and morality. The principal motive force of this system, he points out, is the unrestrained pursuit of profit extracted through merciless and inhuman exploitation of the working people. Growing unemployment, galloping inflation and price increases, the reduced purchasing power of the working people, social inequality, the difficult situation of women and young people, and unresolved problems in protecting the environment from the predatory actions of the monopolies comprise a most concise enumeration of the vitally important problems which are becoming ever more acute under capitalist conditions, as opposed to the tremendous opportunities which are offered by the present scientific and technical revolution. The author depicts the fatal consequences of the crisis to the working people. Under the conditions of monopoly capital domination, man is deprived of his most basic right--the right to work. Unemployment is the greatest problem affecting the country today. According to official data, France has over 1.5 million unemployed, i.e., about 10 percent of the active population. According to data compiled by the progressive trade unions, the figure exceeds two million people. About 40 percent of them are young people to whom the bourgeois society refuses even vital necessities.

In France, which is a highly developed capitalist country, millions of people find it hard to make ends meet. They do not have comfortable housing or, if they do, they spend as much as 40 percent of the family budget on rent for an ordinary apartment. Many French people have no paid vacation. They are denied access to education, spiritual values and sports. The facts of daily life cited in the book sound like an indictment of a society based on exploitation and profit.

By shifting the burdens of the crisis to the working people, the monopolies, above all those linked with the multinational corporations, earn tremendous profits. According to the French press, the 1979 profits of the 20 largest companies jumped 48 percent in comparison to 1978 and totaled about 83 billion francs. Facing acute competition within the Western European capitalist integration system, monopoly capital is resorting to the closing down of enterprises and the elimination of entire industrial sectors. This gives additional profits to a handful of owners but in the final account undermines the country's economic potential.

Profiting from the apathy and the feeling of insecurity and fear which the crisis has created among some working people, monopoly capital is intensifying its onslaught on the vital interests of the working people and on the rights and democratic freedoms they have won in class conflicts. Bourgeois propaganda is promoting the thesis of the "inevitability" of the crisis. It suggests to the people's masses that their struggle is useless and futile.

G. Marchais exposes the policy of big capital and emphasizes that the PCP counters it with decisive and active efforts. In one of his recent speeches the PCP secretary general presented a "plan for struggle against the crisis and for change" containing a broad range of specific measures which if implemented, in the communists' view, would help to lead the country out of the crisis. In particular, the plan calls for raising the taxes on profits earned by capitalist companies, improving labor conditions, raising minimum wages and pensions and other steps aimed at improving the situation of the working people. The socioeconomic measures formulated by the PCP presidential election candidate prove that the communist party is the only political force in the country acting as the real spokesman for the interests of the broad toiling masses.

A major point made in G. Marchais' book is that the struggle waged by the communists for the vital demands of the French people is closely linked with the prospects for profound democratic changes and with the final objective of the working class--socialism. "Socialism alone," the author emphasizes, "can provide an answer to the problems facing French society, an answer which would be entirely consistent with the interests of the working people and the entire nation" (p 110). Naturally, as they explore the path of transition to socialism, the communists turn to the rich experience of the French labor movement and take into consideration the historical characteristics and particular conditions of the country. They also take into consideration the enduring value of the general laws of socialism. It is a question, above all, of the need to abolish private ownership of productive capital and for the seizure of political power by the working class and its allies. G. Marchais considers the question of power and the leading role of the working class to be a pivotal aspect of the socialist revolution. "The power of the working people alone, within which the working class is assigned a leading political role," he concludes, "can insure the conversion from one social system to another" (p 116). It is also quite clear that the development of the problems which arise in the course of social practice by the PCP, and a number of consequent theoretical provisions, will obviously have to be tested by reality itself, by the process of the class struggle.

The question of allies in the struggle against state-monopoly capitalism and of unity of action on the left, by the democratic forces of the country, is considered by the communist party as of great importance under contemporary French conditions. In developing their strategy and tactics, the French communists have always paid prime attention to this problem. As we know, the PCP participated in the origins of the Popular Front, before the war. It made a decisive contribution to the formation of a democratic government following the liberation of the country from fascist occupation. It initiated the alliance among leftist forces in the 1970s and the drafting, together with the socialist party and the movement of the leftist radicals, of a joint governmental program aimed at undermining the omnipotence of the monopolies and making profound democratic changes.

The failure of the alliance of the left in the 1978 parliamentary elections and a change in the line of the socialist party, accompanied by the virulent anticommunism and anti-Sovietism of its leaders, created a new situation in the movement of the left. Today, as G. Marchais' book shows, the communists are to a certain extent reassessing the experience of the last decade and are seeking new ways and

means of creating a single front in the struggle against monopoly capital. While basically confirming its readiness to make political agreements with the other parties on the left, the FCP is emphasizing the development of mass actions by the working people and strengthening its own relations with the working class and the other social categories which are victims of monopoly policy. In the communists' view this is precisely what could insure a firm and reliable foundation for a broad popular alliance for democratic change in France.

The FCP is acting as the revolutionary vanguard in the recreation of such an alliance. It draws its power from the support of the working class and the ability to assess new phenomena and deployments of class forces on the basis of scientific theory. Today, G. Marchais emphasizes, the key problem is that of increasing the weight and influence of the communist party in the life of the country. Currently the party has over 700,000 members in 28,000 primary party organizations. More than one-half of the party members are workers. This confirms the great prestige enjoyed by the party among the working class. The FCP is also followed by millions of working people in other categories, such as engineering and technical personnel, white collar workers, and peasants. The experience in the recent class battles proves that ties with the broad masses are strengthening, that the militancy of the communists is growing and that the party is strengthening its organizational and political unity. This is the guarantee of future FCP successes.

The distinguishing feature of G. Marchais' book is that he considers the communist party's domestic political line in connection with international circumstances, the struggle for peace and against the arms race, and for strengthening the international cohesion of all contemporary revolutionary forces: world socialism, the national-liberation movement and the working class in the capitalist countries. The idea clearly promoted in the book is that the successes won by the FCP in the struggle for socialism under French conditions cannot be separated from the realities of today's world and the shift in the ratio of forces in favor of socialism and progress. "...it would be a major error," the author points out, "to separate our struggle from that of the other forces in the world which oppose capitalism and favor socialism" (p 135).

The thesis of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, which runs throughout the book, is of major, essential significance. The author uses convincing examples as evidence of the progress of the world socialist system and the historical achievements of the socialist countries in their competition with capitalism. It is precisely the socialist system that gave these countries high and stable rates of economic growth, led to the elimination of social inequality and once and for all put an end to the permanent companions of capitalism, unemployment and illiteracy. It gave the masses broad access to education and culture and to the all-round development of the individual. As he notes the successes achieved by the socialist countries in the development of democracy and in involving the working people in the administration of governmental and social affairs, the author presents the familiar FCP viewpoint on this matter. The conclusion drawn by G. Marchais is that the socialist countries are progressing in all fields as they surmount the difficulties and problems arising in the course of their progress.

These concepts are particularly topical now, when bourgeois propaganda in France and the other Western European countries is working tirelessly to blacken real socialism and to depict it as a "frozen" society. The intent of this slanderous campaign is obvious. Its purpose is to poison the minds of the working people and to draw them away from the struggle against monopoly policy and for democratic changes and socialism. G. Marchais' statements strengthen the resolve of the French communists and those who believe in a socialist future to strengthen their opposition to the anticommunist and antisocialist fabrications of bourgeois propaganda.

Another basic concept found in the book is the indivisibility of socialism and peace. The socialist countries play a decisive role in the defense of international peace and security. "Mankind owes the fact that it has been able to avoid a world war for 35 years to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries above all," the author emphasizes (p 39). He gives a substantiated answer to the malicious fabrications concerning the notorious "Soviet military threat" and the "aggressiveness" of the Soviet Union disseminated by the bourgeois mass information media.

The contribution of socialism to the defense of the peace is truly invaluable. This is convincingly proved by the whole of postwar history. Thanks to the persistent efforts of the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity a turn from cold war to a policy of detente and peaceful coexistence and cooperation among countries with different social systems was effected. The peaceful course pursued by the socialist states is seen for example in the numerous foreign political actions undertaken by the USSR and its allies. The thesis that peace is not an imperialist gift but the result of the developed ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of progress, socialism and national liberation is promoted. The book by the secretary general of the FCP shows yet once again the scale of the changes which have taken place on earth in recent decades. As the author points out, they are clearly confirmed by the events in Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Kampuchea and dozens of other countries in Africa and Asia which are joining ever more energetically in the struggle for economic independence and social progress and against imperialist dictates.

G. Marchais issues a strong appeal for the strengthening of peace, the preservation of detente and the restraint of the arms race unleashed by imperialism. "The struggle for peace," he notes, "has become an urgent necessity today for the simple reason that it is a question of the salvation of all mankind. Preventing imperialism from resorting to war and insuring a transition to socialism under peaceful conditions and through the free choice of each nation are the supreme objectives of the class struggle on a worldwide scale" (p 163). These words are exceptionally topical in today's international circumstances and under the circumstances of increased imperialist aggressiveness, above all that of America. The United States and NATO are promoting the arms race and trying to wreck the existing balance of power. They are resorting to threats and intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign countries. This course seriously aggravates international circumstances. It calls for increased vigilance and a rebuff of imperialist intrigues on the part of all peace-loving democratic forces. Peace is the basic right of the individual and must be adamantly defended, G. Marchais points out.

The French Communist Party also plays a notable role in the battle being waged for peace. Throughout its history it has invariably considered this a primary task. The party has earned deserved prestige for the consistent struggle waged by the communists for detente, against the conversion of Europe into a deadly testing ground for new American nuclear missiles, for cooperation on our continent in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and for the success of the Madrid meeting. True patriots that they are, the French communists firmly favor the independent foreign policy of their country. They oppose the dangerous and senseless arms race, including the development of a French nuclear bomb. They favor the active and constructive participation of France in strengthening detente, restraining the arms race and achieving real disarmament.

In discussing the means for the solution of these problems, G. Marchais draws attention to the great importance of the peaceful initiatives launched by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for strengthening detente, security and cooperation. The FCP supports the suggestion formulated in October 1979 by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, concerning the withdrawal of 1,000 tanks and 20,000 Soviet military personnel from Central Europe and the proposal by the Warsaw Pact members that heads of countries from all parts of the world hold a summit meeting to discuss problems related to the need for easing international tension and terminating the arms race, and other constructive ideas suggested by the socialist countries.

The author discusses the topic of international solidarity at length. Support of this most important principle of the international communist movement has always been a distinguishing feature of the FCP. The French communists firmly supported the land of the soviets when the reaction was trying to strangle it. They fought in the ranks of the Spanish republicans and courageously struggled against the colonial wars waged by French imperialism and for the freedom and independence of the peoples. "We consider the cohesion of the communist parties and all revolutionary forces a necessity" the author emphasizes (p 135). Today as well the French communists are making a substantial contribution to the strengthening of international solidarity by supporting Vietnam and Kampuchea and defending the Afghan revolution and the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine. Together with the PZPR, the FCP formulated the important proposal that a meeting of communist and workers parties of Europe be held on peace and disarmament this coming April in Paris. This would provide new impetus in the struggle of the peoples for peace and detente on our continent.

In considering the problems of the world communist movement today, G. Marchais notes the increase in its influence on the course of international affairs and the growing variety of specific conditions under which the fraternal parties are developing their activities. Some of them are in a position of power in the socialist countries and are directing tremendous constructive effort toward building a new social system. Others are struggling in opposition to capitalism. The variety which exists in the positions of the fraternal parties and in the conditions of their struggle may and sometimes does lead to differences in the assessment of one phenomenon or another or in their views concerning one matter or another. While expressing the viewpoint of his party, the author also emphasizes the support which the FCP gives to the cause of international solidarity among

communist and workers parties. The joint communique on the talks between delegations representing the CPSU and the FCP held last January indicated that differences in positions and existing divergences among fraternal parties "must not constitute an obstacle to their cooperation in achieving the basic objectives they share, the struggle for peace, disarmament, international cooperation, and international solidarity with the communist parties and all the forces of social and national liberation in particular."

G. Marchais' book covers a broad range of topical domestic and international problems. It is an important tool for upgrading the aggressive spirit of the FCP organizations and all French communists in the present important and responsible stage of their struggle.

The Soviet communists, who have invariably nurtured feelings of friendship and solidarity with the French Communist Party, wish it further success in its activities for the good of the working class and the working people of France and for the sake of peace and socialism on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of its founding.

5003

CSO: 1802

MILITANT MYTH OF A DOOMED SYSTEM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 79-87

[Article by Z. Mirskiy]

[Text] "Imperialism cannot hope to be successful by openly proclaiming its true objectives," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out. "It is forced to create an entire system of ideological myths which confuse the true meaning of its intentions and dull the vigilance of the peoples." One such myth which one could say has in recent years become the main, basic propaganda platform of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism is the myth of the "Soviet military threat." The imperialist ideologues and politicians have transformed it into a weapon for antidemocracy, into an instrument for supporting reactionary trends and movements within and outside the capitalist society. In other words, the myth of the "Soviet military threat" is one of the most important class weapons of the bourgeoisie today in its struggle against social progress and, above all, against the international workers and communist movements.

Many noted political leaders, outstanding scientists and famous journalists in the capitalist West admit that there neither has been nor is there now a "Soviet military threat." At the peak of the cold war, in March 1949, J. F. Dulles, U. S. secretary of state, one of its inspirers and promoters, admitted in a moment of frankness that "The Soviet government has no intention of using war as an instrument of national policy. I do not know of a single responsible high military or civilian official in the Soviet government or of any member of another government who believes that the Soviet government is currently planning the seizure of foreign territory through naked military aggression." Thirty years later, in the autumn of 1979, G. Schmidt, FRG federal chancellor, stated in an interview granted to the British journal THE ECONOMIST that "There are no grounds for alarm. I believe that the Soviet government is not trying to start a war in Europe or formulating plans for aggressive steps in Europe but is aspiring toward the creation of a stable and safe situation... Today we are living in the safest period since World War II."

Many other similar statements could be cited. In the "Introduction to the Science of War and Peace," published in The Netherlands in 1979, a group of scientists emphasized that their study of the structure of "Russian military power" indicated that "Russia has never planned the seizure of the world through arms. Its military structure indicates a desire for safety rather than military aggression." In the opinion of the outstanding American economist J. K. Galbraith, "The Soviet Union

is fully aware of the nature of a nuclear war. The Soviet people have experienced the horrors of far more destructive wars than our people have.. Anyone who has had an opportunity to talk with Soviet leaders does not doubt their desire to avoid a nuclear catastrophe."

However, diametrically opposite statements could be quoted as well. Furthermore, their number is far larger than the others, for they are the product of the tremendous imperialist propaganda machine which has specialized for decades in anti-Soviet slander, fraud and falsification. The purpose of all these forgeries--whether coarse and simple or highly refined, whether twisting the facts with Jesuitic skill or making use of semitruths and transparent hints, equivocation and reticence, presented either as a scientific-seeming "study" by a "Sovietologist" or a garish electoral speech by a bourgeois politician, a cynical declaration by a NATO general or "top secret" information which has been "leaked" to a newspaper with a circulation in the millions of copies--have the single objective of implanting in the general and political awareness of Western social circles the idea that the communists, the Soviet Union, intend to unleash a nuclear war in order to destroy capitalism by the force of arms and establish their domination over the world. The "destruction of capitalism" is presented not only as military aggression, with all its related consequences, but also as the future loss of the "freedoms," customs and habits which, put together, constitute the so-called "Western way of life."

Such an interpretation entirely ignores the social, class aspect of the problems in the historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism and the forms it takes. The familiar Marxist-Leninist dictum to the effect that it is impossible for socialism, by virtue of its very nature, to "make anyone happy" or to impose its presence by the force of arms, that social revolutions are not exported but grow on the concrete-historical ground of the individual countries, and finally, that in the course of the lengthy and hard road to its universal-historical victory, socialism has always tried to use the least painful means of social reorganization and has tried to avoid wars, is simply ignored. As K. Marx said, socialism does not wish to be "likened to the disgusting pagan idol which drinks nectar only from human skulls" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 9, p 230).

In the propaganda stereotype of the "Soviet military threat," the key word is "military." Even when, for the sake of brevity, the stereotype is converted into the "threat from the East," or the "communist threat," the military, the coercive nature of this "threat" is retained as self-evident. To the propagandists of the anti-Soviet myth, overemphasis on precisely the military rather than the social or ideological nature of the "Soviet threat" has been of primary, basic significance at all times.

On 31 December 1978 THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE published a long interview with Z. Brzezinski, special assistant to the U. S. President for national security affairs, in which this individual, until recently the main ideologue and designer of American foreign policy, discussed a number of international problems. Naturally, he also spoke of the "Soviet military threat," which he mentioned frequently, for Brzezinski considers this to be a key problem. This is not only because he is

one of the contemporary masters of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism but, above all, because he considers the myth of the "Soviet military threat" the pivot, the basic element in imperialist foreign policy and ideology, without which they would be simply unviable.

The manner in which Brzezinski discusses the problem is such as to give the Western reader the impression that the author is allegedly unprejudiced, objective and broad-minded, and therefore to be trusted by the Western reader. That is why Brzezinski tries to avoid any superficial simplicity or clarity. For example at one point he says that "There is no doubt whatever that the growth of Soviet power, maintained over the past 20 years, is a threat." Elsewhere, as though contradicting himself, he states that "I believe that the real threat in the future will not be the fact that one beautiful day the world will all be colored red and will have a single flag, the flag of the Soviet Union. I do not believe that the Soviet Union has either the ideological potential or the economic power or even the military resources to impose its domination on the entire world." Subsequently, in developing his thought Brzezinski claims that "In the past, when we feared the Soviet Union, we may have been excessively inclined to overestimate its military power... I repeat, however, that even though it has increased considerably, Soviet military power is not superior to that of the United States (we are more than equal to it). It is insufficient for the purpose of dominating the world...."

In our view, Brzezinski's interview, particularly where he speaks of the "Soviet military threat," sets forth a typical credo for contemporary "Sovietology." On the one hand, it is a manual for the utilization and presentation of the anti-Soviet myth, the manipulation of its various aspects and the balancing of its components--"fear of threat" and "confidence in one's own superiority." On the other hand, the interview, which reflects long years of experience in anti-Sovietism in general and in efforts to use the myth of the "Soviet military threat" in particular, provides recommendations for the future as well. These two aspects particularly emphasize a third which emerges as diametrically opposed to the first two. Unwittingly, the interview clearly revealed that the axis of the myth, its backbone, is the assertion of the military nature of the "threat." Without it the myth would collapse like a house of cards, for, as Brzezinski admits, the threat posed by the USSR to the West was essentially not military in the past. It was the "threat" of ideological influence which, in his words, "was quite considerable in some respects." If ideological influence is considered a threat, it follows that even long ago, when the land of the soviets was relatively weak, the capitalist West feared neither its armies nor its guns and rifles but the influence of the ideas of scientific socialism being implemented by the Soviet working people.

However, this kind of "threat" is an objective law of social progress and social development. Socialism will replace capitalism as inevitably as capitalism replaced feudalism in its time. The feudal lords in their turn hated and feared the bourgeoisie just as the bourgeoisie has at all times and in all countries hated and feared the working people, the proletariat, headed by the communists. Naturally, they have equally hated and feared the Soviet union, which was the first country in history to break the chain of international capitalism and which set up the base for the universal-historical process of the replacement of capitalism

with socialism on earth. A feeling of fear of the historical experiment made and example set by the Soviet Union and the ideas it embodies, which as they conquer the masses, become a material foundation transforming the world, the feeling of fear experienced by capitalism concerning this whole historical inevitability and the certain birth of the new and withering away of the old runs through Brzezinski's entire interview, aggravating and intensifying its self-revealing nature.

This social class fear did not develop among the bourgeoisie just recently. It appeared when the "specter of communism" began to haunt Europe, and when the menacing warning of the proletariat to all exploiters and oppressors was voiced in the pages of the "Communist Party Manifesto:" "Let the ruling classes shudder at the communist revolution" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 4, p 459).

At that time, the proletariat, the communists, had neither a country nor armed forces of their own. They were armed only with great ideas and ideals, their unity in the struggle and, naturally, their political organization. Nevertheless the bourgeoisie feared them. The "red specter," the "red menace," was always visible to the bourgeoisie, predicting the doom of its rule. Slightly over a century ago, in a memorandum to A. Bebel, Liebknecht, V. Bracke and others dated 17-18 September 1879, K. Marx and F. Engels wrote that "In order to rescue the bourgeoisie from even the shadow of fear, it must be clearly and visibly shown that the red specter in fact is no more than a specter, and that it does not exist in real life. However, where does the secret of the red specter lie if not in the bourgeoisie's fear of the inevitable not life but death struggle between it and the proletariat, the fear of the inevitable outcome of the contemporary class struggle?" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 19, p 171).

For the first time in the history of mankind, a socialist revolution won out in Russia in October 1917. The world was split into two opposite social systems. The age-old conflict between two antagonistic classes--the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--became a conflict between systems, the main contradiction of the epoch, no longer resolved merely within a national framework but in the world arena, in the area of international relations as well. As Lenin pointed out after the October Revolution, "Relations among nations and the entire world system of governments are defined by the struggle between a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. If we ignore this we will be unable to formulate a single national or colonial problem properly, even though we may be discussing the most remote corner of the world" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 242). Particularly noteworthy in this Leninist statement is the clear indication that it was the imperialist circles rather than Soviet Russia which began immediately to rely on force in resolving the contradiction which had developed objectively between socialism and capitalism.

Ever since the birth of the Soviet state, the imperialist countries had waged a real war against it, but an "undeclared war," as W. Churchill admitted. Naturally, the bourgeoisie could not tell the real truth. It could not admit that it morally feared the inspiring example of the October Revolution and the Soviet state where the workers and peasants held power, the reason for which it was trying to destroy Soviet Russia.

Since it could not openly admit this to the people's masses, the bourgeoisie resorted to a grandiose long-term strategic fraud: an attempt to present the objectively existing threats to capitalism by socialism as a social system as a "military threat" posed by the Soviet State to the bourgeois countries and the whole of "Western civilization." That is how the myth of the "Soviet military threat" developed.

We cannot ignore the fact that this myth was used in the preparations for the outbreak of World War II which, as Western historian E. (Dzelepi) has written in his book "Churchill's Secret," should logically "have become a real 'crusade' by 'Western civilization' against red Russia, a 'crusade' led by Hitler with the direct or indirect support or participation of the Western countries. The entire policy of Europe in the 1930s was focused on this objective." However, the historical process has always pitted myths against reality. The Western "democracies" urged Hitler on against the USSR. Instead, they were the first nations he attacked.

It would also be useful to recall that whenever the Western imperialist circles, which, as was once said about the French Bourbons, never learned or forgot anything, launched a so-called cold war against the USSR, they too used the myth of the "Soviet military threat" as its ideological foundation.

In recent years the role and significance of the anti-Soviet myth have increased dramatically within the imperialist system. Partially, but only partially, this is explained by the fact that the myth of "red militarism," and subsequently the "Soviet military threat," were from the very beginning an important propaganda tool for the justification of the steadily rising military expenditures of the imperialist countries and a means for providing the war industry monopolies with ever higher profits. As early as the 1950s, Dulles frankly said that "In order to get the country to bear the burden of maintaining powerful armed forces, an emotional atmosphere resembling the psychology of wartime must be created. The concept of an outside threat must be created." On the eve of World War II, thanks to the use of the anti-Soviet myth of the "military threat," armament expenditures in imperial Germany rose from 484 million marks in 1924 to 11.1 billion in 1939. In the cold war period between 1940 and 1954, the U. S. military budget tripled, reaching \$42.8 billion. Today it exceeds \$160 billion. Between 1949 and 1979 NATO's armament expenditures increased almost tenfold, from \$18.4 billion to approximately \$180 billion. Today the military budgets of the United States and the NATO-member countries, running into many billions, would be impossible without keeping the idea of the "external threat" alive in the Western public, which is the permanent concern of the bourgeois mass information media; the astronomical profits of American and Western European war industry monopolies would have been equally impossible.

However, the myth of the "Soviet military threat" continues to serve imperialism and not merely for the sake of profits alone. The anti-Soviet myth is being even more extensively used as the most important means of preserving and strengthening the capitalist system internally and in the international arena. It is used as an ideological, propaganda and political obstruction to social progress. As EINHEIT, the theoretical journal of the SED Central Committee emphasized, "This myth has become a 'vitaly important argument' used by imperialism against the natural developments of our age."

In June 1977 the American newspaper NEWSDAY published an editorial entitled "Fear of Communism." Its point was that in speaking at Notre Dame University on 29 May, President J. Carter had stated that "As we look at our future with confidence, we are free today from the excessive fear of communism which in its time forced us to fraternize with any dictator who shared this fear with us." Noted U. S. political leaders, including H. Kissinger and Senator (D.) Moynihan, criticized Carter's statement almost simultaneously, accusing him of being insufficiently concerned about communist successes. In reporting this fact, NEWSDAY tried to assure the readers that Carter had a normal "fear of communism." Six months later another American newspaper, THE WASHINGTON POST, wrote that when he assumed the presidency Carter mentioned "how important it is for America to rid itself of the 'excessive fear of communism' which dominated its foreign policy for such a long time. Nevertheless, the President himself is apparently possessed by this old but persistent idea." Later events confirmed the newspaper's conclusion: the Carter administration and the President himself broke all the old records in promoting fear of the imaginary "Soviet military threat." However, there is more to it than this.

Unwittingly, Carter made clear what as a rule the capitalist leaders try to conceal or ignore. He actually demonstrated the direct link existing between the conditions in the capitalist world and its fear of communism by admitting that the kindling of anti-Soviet hysteria is the result of the adverse situation prevailing in the capitalist world. Industrial decline, inflation, the success of left-wing forces and the weakening of capitalist international positions are the prime factors, while fear of communism comes next. This fear increases as soon as life confronts capitalism with proof of the historical doom of the bourgeois system in one way or another.

Carter's speech was on the same level as the interview with Brzezinski we mentioned, not only because both were in the final account self-revealing, but also because from within capitalism itself, and the bonds linking its present and its future, its eternal realities and the realities of the world around it, they demonstrated the artificial, far-fetched nature of the claims of a "Soviet military threat" and the fear of it existing within capitalism.

Today the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members do have in fact powerful armed forces and modern technically perfect weapons, nuclear missiles above all. Parity in strategic forces on a global scale and of historical significance has been achieved. However, as before, there is no "Soviet military threat." The main reason is that now as in the past the military doctrine of the USSR is defensive. This is reflected in the official declarations of the Soviet leadership, the plans for the combat preparedness of the Soviet army and its military-strategic concepts. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "We are not striving toward military superiority in the West. We do not need it. All we need is reliable security. Security for both sides would unquestionably increase if we restrain the arms race, reduce war preparations and improve the political climate of international relations."

The May 1980 declaration of the Warsaw Pact members categorically states that the fraternal countries "do not have, have not had and will not have a strategic

doctrine other than a defensive one; they do not have, have not had and will not have any intention of developing the potential for a first nuclear strike. By virtue of the very nature of their social system they neither can nor will aspire to the development of "spheres of influence" or the establishment of military or political control over any area or any international line of transport communications."

Sober-minded Western political and military leaders as well admit the absence of any kind of military threat presented by the Soviet Union. Furthermore, as the French newspaper LE MONDE writes, Soviet military power and its strengthening not only do not threaten the West but "to an ever greater extent hinder the United States from resorting to the use of force, its habit until very recently."

This precisely also explains the fact that, as stated by THE PROGRESSIVE, an American journal, "During the last third of a century, all 'breaches' in the arms race came first from the United States. America developed an atom bomb 4 years before and a hydrogen bomb 9 months before such were developed in the Soviet Union... For quite some time America has played the main role in the creation and development of nuclear submarines, multiple-warhead missiles, cruise missiles and neutron bombs... The Russians have never initiated a new round in the arms race; they in all cases have only reacted to the escalation launched by the Americans."

Another fact which refutes the myth of the "military threat" facing the West is that the military-political defensive alliance of the European socialist countries --the Warsaw Pact--was founded in 1955, i.e., 6 years after NATO was created on the initiative of the United States. Another rebuttal to claims of "Soviet aggressiveness" is the fact that it was not the USSR but the United States which established a system of military bases circling the globe and directed against the countries of real socialism. This was frankly admitted by the American admiral A. Burke, who stated that "Our forces and bases, ships and air force are a springboard for a jump against Soviet Russia. They are deployed in such a way as to surround Russia from virtually all sides. Look at the map and you will see that they resemble the jaws of a huge crocodile ready to snap shut at any moment."

The groundlessness of the anti-Soviet myth of the "military threat" also becomes obvious if we look at it from the social and economic viewpoints. In the capitalist West, the United States above all, there are influential circles vitally interested in a steady increase in armaments and, consequently, in being able to justify this growth to the taxpayers by citing the "military threat." In order for the war business to prosper, E. Lefebvre, the representative of General Dynamics, the largest American war monopoly, has stated, "The people must believe in the existence of an enduring threat." Such circles use the concept of the "military-industrial complex" as their cover. According to the French periodical LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, "This complex, including all of the processes which are rapidly leading the world to the threshold beyond which irreversible militarization may begin, is no longer military and industrial alone. It is also administrative, banking, bureaucratic, university and, in many aspects, multinational... Many clans exist in the U. S. bureaucratic apparatus, in the literal sense of the word, thanks to the consequences resulting from tension in relations with the Soviet Union."

This view is entirely shared by G. Kennan, the American historian and diplomat. In his book "The Cloud of Danger: Current Realities of American Foreign Policy" he writes that "Everyone who can extract a personal advantage is interested in the tremendous flow of military expenditures. This applies not only to the industrialists who are stuffing their pockets with money or the Pentagon purchasing agents who receive equipment and services, but to anyone who derives one type of benefit or another from this order of things." G. Kennan points in particular to those in this group who have long dreamed of having the United States dedicate itself to the overthrow of the Soviet system and those "for whom the noisy demonstration of militant anticommunism has been the main political commodity. Such people would prefer that we take the path of total preparation for war rather than engage in talks on arms control."

Nothing similar exists or could exist in the Soviet Union or the other socialist Warsaw Pact member nations. Public ownership of productive capital, the political power of the working class and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties create a desire not for expansion or aggression but for peace, making the existence of social groups or classes who are interested in the arms race and who need this imaginary "military threat" impossible. In this connection, the West German newspaper VORWERTS wrote the following in its 30 August 1979 issue: "...One must most seriously and in the final account honestly, think of the following: there is no one in the East who would profit from rearming; there are no stockholders, company managers, retired officers or political personalities used as advisors. Unlike the West, the East has no weapons lobby."

Therefore, the West has no objective reason to fear any "Soviet military threat" from any viewpoint. Paradoxical though this might seem, it is confirmed on the one hand by Carter's deliberately cheerful assertion that he does not fear communism and, on the other, by Brzezinski's statements on the ideological influence of the USSR and the ideas of socialism which, in his words, have been allegedly reduced to naught. In fact, the imperialist bourgeoisie has a different type of fear: fear of the growing general crisis in capitalism, the successes of the revolutionary forces of our time, and the victorious march of the ideas of scientific socialism throughout the world.

A while back the American magazine THE NEW YORKER published a long article on the general economic situation in the capitalist world. It immediately attracted attention both because it was entitled "Capitalism, a Doomed System," and because its author, the noted bourgeois U. S. economist R. L. Heilbroner, frankly and openly acknowledged the accuracy of the Marxist analysis of the nature of capitalism and the Marxist conclusion as to its doom. "The reason for all the troubles," Heilbroner wrote, "lies in the very nature of the system, which is crumbling like an overstressed structure at the first strong shock." The conclusion of the American scientist was that "Already now we are aware, far more clearly than were previous generations, that the chapter on 'Capitalism' in the book of history cannot be extended forever and that it is in our time that most radical changes will take place, even if the system survives."

Heilbroner's article is not by any means an exception. One could name dozens of Western publications in which writers paint the unpleasant picture of contemporary

capitalism and, like the author of an article published in London's FINANCIAL TIMES, ask "Does capitalism have a future?" It is not a question merely of economics. As early as 1975, an Agence France Presse survey noted the following: "Even though the general features of the crisis in the West apparently confirm the accuracy of the Marxist analysis, as one can see, the free enterprise system is threatened... by the loss of faith by the people in this system." In his book "The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism," Harvard University Prof D. Bell, who is one of the most prestigious Western sociologists, wrote that "Confidence in the future has been lost... We have reached a certain point and are witnessing the death of the bourgeois idea itself."

However, in what direction do the working people in the capitalist countries, disappointed in capitalism and rejecting the "bourgeois idea itself" turn their eyes? Pointing out that "Many people consider existing norms and values and dominating institutions obsolete," the West German periodical DER ZEIT emphasizes that "A certain vague leaning toward an alternative, toward a different social structure, is spreading." An extraordinary conference convened by the FRG Federal Association of the Union of Entrepreneurs (headquarters of West German capitalism) reached the conclusion that "Throughout the entire postwar period...nonbourgeois criteria have spread" among the working people and that "White collar workers and even members of the liberal professions are turning ever more frequently to the system of proletarian values."

Brzezinski would like to present communism as a giant with feet of clay. Yet his colleague (H. Wallich), one of the managers of the U. S. Federal Reserve System, writes that communism is a powerful "intellectual structure developed by first rate minds over many decades, with an inner logic and consistency which can only be envied by capitalism." Brzezinski proclaims that the communist ideology has been defeated. However, the Frenchman R. Aron, an outstanding ideologue and defender of capitalism, publicly acknowledges that he is unable to write a "basic work" criticizing the allegedly "overthrown" Marxism-Leninism, a work which he has been planning for many years. According to UNESCO, translations of the works of V. I. Lenin rank at the top. They are being distributed in greater quantities than are any other works.

Brzezinski would like to convince the Americans and Western Europeans that the world is moving "to the right," i.e., away from socialism. However, (G. Rozitski) who is far from sympathetic to socialism, and is the author of an important book on American foreign policy, writes that "The global trend in the world politics is a trend 'to the left,' toward 'progressive' systems and left-wing parties. The global trend in the economies of developing countries is socialist rather than capitalist. In the face of such prospects, the Soviet leaders can assess the trend of development in world events--whether society will take the capitalist or the socialist and communist path--optimistically. Their optimism is based on the factual events of the past 20 years."

Therefore, it is not the "Soviet military threat" that frightens the imperialists but the threat of radical social changes. "We," acknowledged Gen A. Haig, former commander of NATO troops in Europe, "are currently concerned not with war in the narrow sense but with containment in the broadest possible sense; we are concerned

with security not only as a protection from attacks but, on a broader basis, with our further ability to deal with unprecedented economic, social and political difficulties." Haig echoes this same Brzezinski who believes that today "national security means the active and positive participation of the United States in the shaping of a radically changing world, so that it will be consistent with our interests and our values." A more frank and cynical statement would be hard to find, for the concept of "national security" is interpreted by Brzezinski not as the safety of governmental borders but the safety of the capitalist system, the securing of the status quo within it and the creation of favorable conditions for the preservation of capitalism on earth.

Thus, everything is in its proper place: the United States, the main bastion of contemporary imperialism, was and remains the opponent of social revolution and social progress wherever and however it may appear. Since today the main trend followed in the social progress of mankind, as was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, is "the development of the socialist countries, the growth of their power and the strengthening of the beneficial influence of their international policies," the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity consider the Western imperialists, in the word of the American journalist R. Lash, "mortal enemies" who "must be destroyed by every available means."

Having irrevocably lost the historical initiative, contemporary capitalism cannot oppose progress with any real force other than the threat of a nuclear conflict. It is desperately seeking a means of struggle which would enable it to establish military superiority over the socialist countries. In order to implement this plan, it needs an ideological and a propaganda cover today more than ever before, such as to enable it to conceal the true essence of its struggle against social progress, to depict the bourgeois class fear of social changes as allegedly nonclass and nationwide, to portray the social changes inevitable in the future as a supposed "military threat" dictated by communist "godlessness," "congenital Asiatic expansionism" and the "age-old hatred of the East for the West" and, above all, "the aspiration to eliminate the "free world" by means of military power and to establish communist rule everywhere." It is precisely these requirements which the myth of the "Soviet military threat" meets.

Why is it so important to the imperialists to present the threat confronting them today as in the past as "military?" Because only in such a case would imperialism have a "legitimate" justification for fighting communism not "with the weapon of criticism" but with the "criticism of weapons." As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, today's hysteria on the subject of the imaginary "military threat" with which the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact menace the West is needed by the imperialists in order to "justify NATO's aspiration to acquire longer and sharper swords and try to return to a policy 'from the position of strength.'"

Realizing the impossibility of theoretically refuting communism and scientifically, substantiatedly, and above all practically convincing mankind of the "advantages" of capitalism over socialism, the anticommunists are converting to an ever greater extent and ever more energetically from an ideological struggle against communism to psychological warfare against it. This means that the struggle is being shifted to an area which does not involve scientific argument, thought, or even facts, but prejudices, falsifications and anti-Soviet and anticommunist

myths, which are to an ever greater extent becoming the principal means of manipulating the thinking and behavior of the population in the capitalist West, and of introducing into the public awareness false thought stereotypes which distort and maim it and create in man fear, a feeling of doom, despair and resigned readiness to accept death and cause the death of others. It is precisely the myth of the "Soviet military threat" which is the basis of this trend in militaristic propaganda, whose purpose is to accustom the petit bourgeois in the West to the idea that sooner or later a nuclear war will break out, but that the Western petit bourgeois and the "free world" will be able not only to survive but even to win it.

The people fanning the anti-Soviet ... disseminating rumors about the alleged inevitability of a nuclear catast. ... "thoughts of the unthinkable" have at their disposal the numerous, varied ... powerful mass information media. Ideological influence has become one of the ... decisive weapons for the political and spiritual enslavement of the working people in the capitalist countries. The propaganda apparatus is oriented not only toward domestic consumption but also toward influencing all socialist countries, the nonaligned states and the entire world.

The militarist propaganda machine is not functioning in vain. By fanning the myth of the "Soviet military threat," it is contaminating a large strata of the Western public with feelings of fear and chauvinism and has been able to achieve a certain "militarization of thinking." In this connection, the noted American scientist F. Neal emphasizes that "The basic principle governing our policy toward the Soviet Union is the thesis of the constant threat of Soviet aggression. In reality, no such threat exists. However, so many people believe in this principle that it is almost never questioned."

In the summer of 1979, in an interview in the magazine U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, U. S. Secretary of Defense H. Brown stated: "I believe that we are getting rid of the Vietnam trauma in the sense of antiwar feelings." Unfortunately, according to public opinion polls, given the atmosphere of intensified fear of the "Soviet military threat," the number of Americans who favor increased military expenditures rose from 25 percent in December 1976 to 50 percent in November 1978.

By exploiting this artificially created and steadily maintained fear, imperialist circles are trying to gain public support for NATO's plan for the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe and for a steady increase in military appropriations. The "Soviet military threat" myth is a means by which the monopolies are trying to abate the intensity of the class struggle. It is also used as a major cloak and incentive for the energizing of neofascism and neo-Nazism in Western Europe and for the attempts of the reaction to force a turn to the right in the axis of political life in the countries in this area and to encourage the persecution and repression of left-wing forces, communists above all. That is why those outside the socialist comity who assume that under contemporary conditions one can struggle successfully against fascism and war without struggling against anti-Sovietism or exposing the lie of the imaginary "Soviet threat" are mistaken.

Naturally, there are many sensible-minded people in Western Europe and the United States who are struggling against militaristic propaganda, boldly exposing

the myth of the "Soviet military threat" and the aggressive plans of the American reaction. While a "hawk" such as P. Nitze, one of the heads of the notorious "Committee on the Present Danger," goes so far in fanning anti-Soviet hysteria as to assert that left-wing terrorists in Italy or the Iranian students who seized the American hostages have been "supported and possibly even inspired by Soviet bloc" agents, P. Warnke, former director general of the Disarmament and Arms Control Agency, sharply criticizes the anti-Soviets for the "instinctive hostility thanks to which they see Russians under every rock."

Some time ago the American periodical U. S. FARM NEWS published an open letter to President Carter from retired Brigadier H. Hester: "...Present U. S. foreign and military policies threaten all countries and all nations. This particularly applies to the Soviet Union..." Hester wrote. "In 61 years, with the exception of a few years under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the greatest American president, we have had no normal relations with the USSR. Now, since you became president, our relations with the USSR have deteriorated more than ever before.... Every Soviet leader beginning with Lenin has wanted peace and made an effort to secure it. You can make peace with the leaders of the USSR any time you wish. Abandon your efforts to destroy socialism, something that has been attempted by every U. S. administration since 1917, for you cannot destroy it without making our planet uninhabitable."

We can only agree with this conclusion, in particular because a nuclear conflict today, however "limited" the U. S. might try to keep it, would sooner or later become global, universal. Secondly, even the death of approximately 10 percent of the population on earth as the result of such a conflict, an obviously minimal figure quoted by Brzezinski, who considers it "insignificant," would mean that entire nations and countries would vanish from the face of the earth and modern civilization would be dealt a blow which might prove mortal.

Thirdly and finally, it is not a question of the fact that some will perish if a global nuclear catastrophe occurs, while others, according to Western propaganda, would be able to survive. The experience available, particularly the extensive experiments conducted on the Bikini Atoll, proves convincingly that a global nuclear missile war would not only sweep entire cities and countries from the face of the earth, killing dozens and even hundreds of millions of people, but would also destroy the habitat of contemporary mankind, making our planet forever unsuitable for human life, even for those who hope to survive in underground bunkers and shelters.

The aspiration of international and in particular American imperialism is to change the course of history by the force of arms, to hinder social progress and to destroy real socialism under the pretext of the myth of the "Soviet military threat."

Many people in the West assume that such assertions are either fictional or the work of "communist propaganda." They rely on the common sense of the Western politicians and their awareness of the suicidal nature of a nuclear missile war.

As to the common sense of Western politicians, most of it is drowned by class interests, prejudices and imperialist plans. In his multiple-volume work "The

World Crisis," published after World War I, W. Churchill quite sensibly wrote that "For the first time mankind has been given weapons with which it can destroy all mankind with certainty... Mankind would do well to stop and consider this new responsibility. Death is on the alert, obedient, waiting, ready to serve, ready to deal with all nations, ready, if necessary, to turn anything left of civilization into dust, with no hope of revival. It is only awaiting the order." In 1946, before mankind had even recovered from a terrible world war, when the atom bomb had been developed and used, when Churchill's words about the responsibility of the people and death "awaiting the order" were particularly timely and urgently needed to be converted into real action, it was Churchill precisely who, abandoning his sensible views, called upon the West to mount a "crusade" against the USSR. It was precisely he who became one of the initiators of preparations for a nuclear war against the Soviet people, for he and Truman hoped to destroy hated communism once and for all, regardless of anything or anyone.

Here is another example: on 18 June 1979 a treaty limiting strategic armaments (SALT II) was concluded between the USSR and the United States in Vienna. The signing was preceded by extensive and complex work which took 6 years. The SALT II treaty was welcomed with great satisfaction throughout the world. In the United States its conclusion was welcomed not only by the broad public but by many highly placed members of the government, who spoke and wrote of the tremendous importance of the treaty to the cause of the peace and the fact that it was dictated by common sense, was carefully planned, and was needed and important in order to insure the security of both the Soviet Union and the United States. In signing the SALT II treaty, President Carter stated that "This is a just and controllable treaty... I believe that this treaty will bring both us and the USSR tremendous benefits... The rejection of this treaty would have fatal consequences for our country and, possibly, the entire world... If the Soviet Union signs the SALT II treaty and ratifies it--I firmly believe this to be the case--while we sign it but subsequently refuse to ratify it, we would appear as warmongers..." At the beginning of January 1980, however, ignoring the vital interests of the peoples and the cause of universal peace and serving the interests of the military-industrial complex, Carter declared that the ratification of the SALT II treaty by the American Senate was to be postponed for an indefinite period.

Such is the typical behavior of the bourgeois politicians who represent and defend the interests of the higher strata of their class and who, according to S. Lind, professor at Yale University (United States), "would like everything to remain as before...and are ready to destroy the world rather than lose control over it."

Some people in the West believe that the military preparations made by the Pentagon and NATO are no more than a political game and that a distinction should be made between statements and real actions. However, even if we assume that Washington is engaged in nothing but a political game, the game is very dangerous to begin with, for the losing side may turn out to be all mankind and peace may be lost. Secondly, we believe that imperialism is in fact trying to gain unilateral advantages over the Soviet Union and real socialism, i.e., it is trying to resort to political blackmail concealing military-strategic objectives.

As we know, at the beginning of the 1980s, after breaking off talks with the USSR on military detente and factually destroying a great deal of good created in

international relations in the course of a decade of political detente, the American imperialists charted a course leading back to the cold war and military confrontation. "...One should have no illusions concerning the objectives of American imperialism..." writes G. Hall, U. S. Communist Party secretary general, in this connection. "The Pentagon is throwing all its strength into the creation of a first strategic nuclear strike potential. This is an exceptionally dangerous development, for it is quite difficult, not to say impossible, to distinguish between readiness for a first strike and a first strike policy."

The preparations for a "first strike" at the USSR implied by Carter in Presidential Directive No 59 are the equivalent of preparation for the launching of a global nuclear missile war, covered by the smoke screen of the myth of the "Soviet military threat." Never before have the material and moral-psychological preparations of the imperialists for war been so closely, so organically interrelated. Never before has the anti-Soviet myth been given such a key position in imperialist strategy or been so vitally needed therein. From "Euromissiles" to Presidential Directive No 59, and from the undeclared war on Iran and Afghanistan to the suppression of the antidictatorial uprising in South Korea, imperialism is explaining and concealing each of its steps in the struggle against social progress by means of the myth of the "Soviet military threat."

The aspiration of the people's masses for peace is as strong in the West as anywhere else. This was made particularly clear in the course of the recent U. S. presidential elections when, in the final stage of the campaign, both candidates were forced to speak of their "peace making" approach to the country's foreign political problems. "The present electoral campaign," wrote THE WASHINGTON POST, "has revealed to the candidates for the presidency and for the U. S. Congress the profound influence the cause of peace has on the American people. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of such a mood in future policy... At the finish line in the electoral campaign, the topic of peace was predominant."

The populations of all European, American, Asian and African countries are unwilling to abandon the policy of detente which brought the nations tangible and positive changes. Even less do they want the outbreak of a nuclear missile war. However, in order to prevent this, in order not to repeat the history of 40 years ago, in order to prevent the danger fabricated by imperialist propaganda from concealing the real danger, and above all to insure that any new and more terrible war is stillborn, it is necessary to guarantee the death of the monstrous lie covering preparations for and concealing plans for such a war, i.e., the death of the anti-Soviet myth.

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1980: SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE

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[Review of international life by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] The development of human society is becoming ever more complex and dynamic. The main feature of today's circumstances is the further assertion of socialism on earth, marking the completion of a tremendously long historical period dominated by private ownership and exploiting classes. This legitimate process is encountering the fierce resistance of the old obsolete world. These are the main characteristic features of our age to which each separate year or decade contributes its characteristics. Such characteristics marked the 1970s, the results of which have been summed up in recent months, and the year 1980 itself, a year of new successes achieved by real socialism and all anti-imperialist forces, a year of further intensification in the general crisis in capitalism and substantial aggravation of the class struggle in all its forms and manifestations.

The year 1980 could be justifiably described as the Leninist year. The celebration of the 110th anniversary of the birth of the genius of the revolution developed into an outstanding and touching holiday for all progressive mankind. All the outstanding events of the 20th century are related to Lenin, to his ideas and accomplishments. The contemporary world would be inconceivable without Leninism--the symbol of its social renovation--and it cannot be understood, interpreted or changed without it.

Dozens and hundreds of millions of fighters for peace, democracy and socialism are entering the 1980s under the Leninist banner. They know that these will be years of new successes achieved by the global revolutionary-liberation movement, for it is the Marxist-Leninists who are blazing the path to the future in the present particularly important stage of historical development.

In the life of our people, 1980 was a year of intensive creative work for the good of the homeland and every Soviet person, the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the further growth of the country's economic potential, the strengthening of its defense capability, insuring lasting peace and international security, developing socialist democracy and upgrading the prosperity and standards of the working people.

The year 1980, which was marked by Lenin's anniversary and the 35th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War, became the line beneath which the builders

of a communist society summed up the results of their work during the 10th Five-Year Plan and the decade of the 1970s.

In the course of the five-year plan, a major new step was taken in the development of the country's productive forces. An extensive social program was implemented and the further growth of the people's prosperity was insured. More than 1,200 large industrial enterprises were commissioned. Consumer goods production rose 21 percent. For the first time, the average annual gross grain harvest exceeded 200 million tons. In 1980 the national income of the Soviet Union increased by 3.8 percent. The volume of industrial output increased by 4 percent while real per capita income increased by 3 percent.

In the 1970s a turn toward intensive development, and greater effectiveness and better quality was effected in the country's entire economy, and emphasis was put on the end results of economic activities. This turn will be completed in the course of the current decade. The CPSU and the Soviet state focused their attention on key problems in the development of industry and its basic sectors, on improving the work of the transportation system and on the situation in capital construction. Extensive work was done to improve economic planning and management and the entire economic mechanism. In 1980 the CPSU Central Committee decided on the elaboration of a comprehensive food program. The task of insuring a rapid upsurge in the production of consumer goods was formulated.

The party is assessing the circumstances soberly and critically. It is pointing out existing economic difficulties and unresolved problems which are partially caused by objective reasons such as adverse weather conditions and the exhaustion of many of the older mineral deposits, and partially by shortcomings in the work. So far we have been unable to raise the management and planning mechanism, the methods of economic management and performing discipline to the level of modern requirements. The rate of agricultural development remains inadequate. In this connection, the party sets as the main political task the maximum utilization of the tremendous economic potential of the country and the advantages of a socialist planned economy and the energetic elimination of omissions in economic activities.

The speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, at the October Central Committee Plenum, which dealt with the preparations for the regular 26th CPSU Congress, scheduled to begin on 23 February 1981 by decision of the June 1980 Central Committee Plenum, provided a comprehensive analysis of the main problems in socioeconomic development and the topical tasks. The preparations for the congress, which will formulate CPSU strategy and tactics for the forthcoming five-year plan and the foreseeable future, set the tone for the entire sociopolitical life of the country. Through shock work and extensive socialist competition, the working people are expressing their boundless loyalty to the cause of communism.

A nationwide discussion of the draft CC CPSU plan for the congress entitled "Basic Directions in Economic and Social Development in the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990" was launched. The party organizations are continuing their accountability-electoral campaign, in the course of which all aspects of their work are being considered efficiently, sharply and self-critically, and positive experience is supported while shortcomings are exposed.

Under the complex conditions created in the international arena by the actions of the aggressive imperialist forces, the foreign policy course of the Soviet Union has been characterized by self-possession, consistency, invariable support of peace, great responsibility for its preservation, and loyalty to the cause of freedom and independence for the peoples. On the basis of its responsible and comprehensive assessment of the developing situation, the USSR did everything necessary to insure a peaceful life for the Soviet people. The June CC CPSU Plenum entirely and fully approved the activities of the Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in implementing the foreign policy course of the 24th and 25th party congresses.

The summer Olympic Games held in Moscow were an outstanding international event. The counteraction of imperialist forces notwithstanding, they became a true holiday of sports and friendship among nations.

The Leninist political line, the scientific, realistic and practical value of the Central Committee Politburo activities and decisions, the purposefulness and dynamism of its leadership of all work sectors and its consistent implementation of a peaceful foreign policy are insuring the steady progress and development of Soviet society and exerting a positive influence on the situation throughout the world.

The socialist comity has entered the 1980s as the most dynamic economic and political force of our day, irreversibly proven to the peoples, and as a bulwark of international peace and security. The world of real socialism, which has spread over three continents, has revealed the tremendous variety of specific conditions posing specific requirements for each country. The fraternal parties in the countries within the comity have channeled the course of the implementation of their current plans toward the solution of ever broader problems in building a developed socialist society in accordance with the specific characteristics of each country.

As a whole, in 1980 as in the past, the economic development of the socialist countries was notable for its stability, increased national income and greater volume of industrial output. Over the past decade, the members of the comity have virtually doubled their production potential. In the 1970s, the growth of real per capita income in the CEMA-member countries averaged 50 percent.

The planned nature of the economy in the socialist countries, foreign trade monopoly and intensified reciprocal cooperation enabled them to protect themselves to a considerable extent against the adverse influence of the economic situation prevailing in the capitalist world. Nevertheless, the socialist countries had to face complex problems, and not related to external factors alone. In particular, they began to feel the limitations on the reserves of some minerals. A number of countries exhausted their sources of additional manpower. There were obstacles to export possibilities as a result of the crisis in the capitalist world. The situation worsened due to lean crop years. There were instances of insufficient utilization of internal reserves and the potential for the acceleration of economic progress. This resulted in a partial slowdown of the rate of increase in output and complicated the problem of raising the living standard.

The socialist countries believe that the solution to economic problems lies in the fuller utilization of development possibilities at their disposal and their ever closer interaction. In this connection, the long range programs for production specialization and cooperation agreed upon in the past few months by the USSR and the other CEMA-member countries take on great importance. Another contribution which the Soviet Union is making to the common cause of developing the comity involves the satisfaction of the energy needs of the fraternal countries by maintaining a high level of deliveries of Soviet petroleum, petroleum products and natural gas at advantageous prices.

The annual meetings which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the heads of the fraternal parties and countries hold in the Crimea play a particular role in the system of business contacts among the countries of real socialism. The 1980 meetings, at which the condition and prospects for the development of bilateral relations and foreign policy coordination were thoroughly discussed, were reviewed by the CC CPSU as an important factor in the intensification of the interaction among socialist countries in all fields.

A coordinated foreign policy shared by the members of the socialist comity and their joint struggle for the preservation of peace became particularly important as a result of the increased complexity of the international situation. As always, the approach of the members of the comity to this most important problem of our time was distinguished by consistency and principle-mindedness, goodwill, constructive positions, the daring formulation of initiatives and a realistic attitude toward the talks. The Warsaw Pact organization--the military-political alliance based on the Leninist ideas of collective defense of the gains of socialism and the principles of socialist internationalism, which now plays a tremendous role in insuring the safety of the comity and in the struggle for the strengthening of European peace--is an effective instrument for the coordination of their foreign policies.

Last May the Warsaw Pact celebrated the 25th anniversary of its founding. The 14-15 May Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, held on the level of heads of fraternal parties and states and dedicated to this anniversary, became another vivid proof of the cohesion among the socialist countries and their high sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind. After considering the topical tasks in the struggle for detente, the participants in the conference confirmed their inflexible support of the policy of European and international security. The accuracy of the assessments and the topical nature of the suggestions formulated at the May conference of the Political Consultative Committee were pointed out at the 5 December Moscow meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member countries. Their positive impact on the course of events in Europe and elsewhere was noted.

By its very nature, the building of socialism is a process of resolving essentially new socioeconomic and ideological problems and surmounting antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions. However, an unceasing subversive and provocative campaign is being waged against the countries which have chosen this path. The aggressive imperialist circles are mounting a variety of actions with a view to weakening the international positions of one socialist country or another and undermining its internationalist relations with the other fraternal countries. The

antisocialist countries are trying to make capital of the vestiges of private ownership still existing in a certain portion of the population, which become particularly tangible at complex moments in social development. They are trying to weaken the foundations of the new society. In 1980, socialist Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Cuba, the GDR and, in recent months, Poland, have been subjected to fierce imperialist attacks.

The serious problems facing the People's Republic of Poland were aggravated in 1980. As the Polish leaders noted, they were caused by the "violation of the economic laws of socialism, the Leninist norms of party life and moral norms and an erroneous attitude toward the needs of the public." This led to the development of crises of a political nature.

After discussing the situation at its sixth plenum, held on 6 September, the PZPR Central Committee renovated the Politburo membership by electing S. Kania as Central Committee first secretary. The Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity are giving the fraternal Polish people comradely international aid. The participants in the December meeting of the leaders of Warsaw Pact member nations asserted that socialist Poland, the PZPR and the Polish people can firmly rely on the fraternal solidarity and support of these countries. They expressed their conviction that the Polish communists, working class and working people will be able to surmount the difficulties and insure the further development of the country along the path of socialism.

The process of socialist renovation in Poland is encountering a number of obstacles in its path. Until the end of the year, according to the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum (December), an atmosphere of acute political crisis capable of leading to serious negative consequences prevailed in the country. In the view of the Polish leadership, the split in the trade union movement was a negative factor in the country's life. The imperialist special services are clearly trying to use this circumstance in their effort to pit these or any new trade unions against the party of the Polish communists. Chaos in the national economy, irresponsible use of strikes and manifestations of open antisocialist activities on the part of revolutionary groups linked with Western subversive centers, groups which would like to undermine the socialist statehood of the country--all these are factors which are complicating the situation in Poland, a situation of great importance in terms of the power and security of the socialist countries and the cause of European detente and peace.

The Polish communists are faced with the most important tasks of restoring the fundamental socialist values and Leninist norms in PZPR life, strengthening the positions of the working class in the life of the party and the state and the leading role of the PZPR, and opposing the enemies of socialism.

On the threshold of the new decade, the members of the socialist comity are facing new trials of their strength following the intensification of the class struggle in the international arena. However, they have at their disposal everything necessary for the proper solution of the problems. This is guaranteed by their powerful economic potential, the truly democratic nature of the socialist system and the internationalist position of the fraternal parties.

The People's Republic of China entered the 1980s bearing the heavy burden of the Maoist legacy. The economic situation of the country remains stressed. In industry, one-quarter of state-owned enterprises are operating at a loss. The growth in agricultural output is falling behind the population increase. The failure of the 10-year plan adopted 2 years ago has in fact been acknowledged. Feelings of dissatisfaction and ferment have sunk deep roots in the CPC, the army and the administrative organs. The long and sharp struggle for political power waged in Beijing is continuing. The trial of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, members of the "counterrevolutionary group," charged with responsibility for the catastrophic consequences of the "cultural revolution," which began last November, is a reflection of this struggle.

At the same time, however, China's foreign policy remains hostile to the Soviet Union and the other countries of real socialism and to the cause of peace, detente and termination of the arms race. China's assumption of a hegemonistic position, enabling it to dictate its will to other countries and peoples, has remained the main objective of this policy. The Beijing leaders continue to devote maximum effort to creating a bloc of countries united by their hostility to the Soviet Union and to world socialism. The trip which H. Brown, U. S. secretary of defense, made to China in January, the May visit of Geng Biao, State Council vice premier, to Washington, and the granting of licenses to Beijing to import various types of equipment from the United States, including military ordnance, were steps leading to the establishment of a military alliance between Washington and Beijing. Restrictions on selling military equipment to China were abolished by NATO-member countries and Japan. A military "triangle" consisting of Beijing, Washington and Tokyo, is being earnestly organized in the Far East.

Other manifestations of the anticommunism of the Beijing leadership have included the frenzied propaganda campaign and political and military-political efforts conducted jointly with imperialist forces, including actions against the revolutionary cause of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and participation, together with the American military, in the silent aggression against democratic Afghanistan. Beijing has become an ever more active factor in world politics, playing an important role in the international arena.

In the 1970s, the political geography of the world changed substantially. The decade witnessed significant new progress by the anti-imperialist movement, in the national liberation zone above all. Today more than 110 out of more than 160 sovereign states are developing countries. Their very rich deposits of minerals and agricultural raw materials and their expanding industries are rapidly increasing their role in world economics. Their political activity and influence are steadily expanding.

The overwhelming majority of the developing countries are united by their anti-imperialism and determination to put an end to colonialism and neocolonialism and to all manifestations of economic monopoly and national oppression. In addition to everything else, their increasing anti-imperialist struggle involves factors related to the intensification of the economic crisis in capitalism.

In this past period, the economic and financial situation in the majority of developing countries was aggravated and their foreign trade conditions worsened.

Today they account for no more than eight percent of the world's industrial output and 15 percent of world trade. At the end of 1980, their foreign debts totaled approximately \$450 billion. According to some estimates, one-third of the manpower in the developing countries is either fully or partially unemployed.

Since 1975 these countries have been demanding the implementation of their concept of a new world economic order which would change their unequal relations with the main capitalist states. However, the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on economic problems held in August-September proved yet once again that the West categorically refuses to undertake a reorganization of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. Under these circumstances, the struggle being waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is becoming ever more decisive and organized.

A socialist orientation has been chosen by about 20 countries in the developing world with an overall population in excess of 150 million. Even though their revolutionary-democratic ideologies are at different levels of maturity and have many controversial aspects, these countries have acquired a certain experience in the protection of their gains. They have adopted a more realistic attitude toward political and socioeconomic problems and are strengthening their international relations with the socialist countries.

In the period under consideration, profound socioeconomic changes leading to the creation of an independent national economy based on industrialization have taken place in a number of developing countries. However, this process has been uneven and leaves many countries unaffected. In the past decade a rapid increase in social differentiation and the development of classes were noted in the young countries. This aggravated social tensions. The active interference of imperialism was added to the opposition offered by the domestic reaction to radical changes.

At the beginning of 1980, imperialism had planned to mount a military-political counteroffensive and to seek revenge for the recent defeats suffered in the national liberation zone by armed actions, and to reverse or at least halt the growth of revolutionary-liberation processes in this area. The energizing of military preparations and subversive activities mounted by American imperialism in Southwest Asia became a danger to the cause of universal peace. The April 1978 Afghan national-democratic revolution and the overthrow of the shah's regime in Iran in 1979 dealt harsh blows to the imperialist positions in the entire Near and Middle East and created opportunities for the further expansion of the process of liberation struggle by the peoples in this area. The question of putting a final end to the domination of the Western monopolies in this area, from which the capitalist countries are receiving about 60 percent of the oil they consume arose.

Throughout the entire post-April period, democratic Afghanistan faced foreign aggression. It was the target of a variety of imperialist provocations and intrigues which took the shape of undeclared war. At the same time, as the result of the antipopular course the Amin group, which had seized the power in the country, had begun to pursue, the real threat that Afghanistan might lose its independence and become an imperialist military bridgehead on the southern border of the USSR developed. On 27 December 1979, the true patriotic and revolutionary

forces in the leadership of the Afghan People's Democratic Party, headed by B. Karmal, brought down the antipopular Amin regime and inaugurated a new stage in the Afghan revolution. In view of the scale of foreign intervention in the country's domestic affairs, the new government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan repeated the request to the Soviet Union previously expressed for urgent aid, including military assistance, to Afghanistan.

A limited Soviet military contingent was sent to Afghanistan in accordance with the request and on the basis of the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Treaty and Article 50 of the United Nations Charter, in order to assist the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in repelling armed foreign intervention. This triggered the enraged reaction of imperialist circles and all their allies. Months of ceaseless attempts at foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by the enemies of the Afghan revolution ensued, accompanied by a hysterical anti-Soviet campaign in the West and in Beijing. The suggestion addressed by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the governments of neighboring countries on 14 May calling for a political settlement based on reciprocal noninterference in domestic affairs and proper guarantees remained unanswered.

Since last summer, life in Afghanistan has begun to resume its normal course. The large gangs of counterrevolutionaries sent from outside were defeated and the vestiges of the counterrevolutionary elements were gradually destroyed, although the reaction did not abandon its intention of converting the country into a battlefield for its campaigns against progressive forces. The new leadership of the republic and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan reinstated fully revolutionary law and order in the country and implemented urgent measures aimed at the elimination of the foundations of feudalism and economic backwardness. In their struggle for true freedom and social progress, the Afghan people are relying on the international aid of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity and benefiting from the sympathy of progressive and peace-loving forces the world over.

Iran is experiencing a complex and difficult period in its history. The Iranian revolution entered the stage of struggle for democratic and anti-imperialist objectives with a proper demarcation of the forces involved on class, national and religious bases. Discontent with increased unemployment, rising prices and violations of legality were noted in the country. The serious threat of imperialist intervention remains.

In an effort to resume control over this petroleum-rich country, the United States is threatening it with blockades and hunger. It organized military provocations against it and brought in agents with a view to triggering internal turmoil. The frustrated pirate raid conducted by American "commandos" on 2 April, in the hope of freeing the group of U. S. Embassy hostages seized in November 1979 by Tehran students, was an impudent manifestation of such methods. The drastic aggravation of the situation in the area of the Persian Gulf was the result of the activities of American imperialism aimed against the Iranian revolution. During 1980, the armed forces and armaments of the United States in the area increased excessively and new American military bases were established. Meanwhile, Washington tried to

promote hostile feelings toward the Soviet Union within Iran. Actually, the fact that Iran was not subjected to imperialist invasion was largely due to the principled position assumed by the USSR in the American-Iranian conflict. The Soviet Union has always favored good-neighborly relations with Iran and the development and strengthening of Soviet-Iranian relations, and has opposed attempts at foreign interference in its domestic affairs.

The USSR supports the termination as soon as possible of the armed conflict which broke out last September between Iraq and Iran, caused, not least of all by the imperialist services, which profited from long-standing territorial disputes between the two countries to achieve this. The Soviet proposals as to ways of insuring peace and security in the area of the Persian Gulf, which were formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev during his trip to India, met with a broad response throughout the world.

The objective of the expansionistic course charted by the militant U. S. imperialist circles is to suppress the national-liberation struggle of the peoples not only in the area of the Persian Gulf but throughout the entire Near and Middle East. They are trying to divide the joint Arab front opposing Israel and to paralyze the struggle against the separate Camp David deal, grossly ignoring the Palestinian problem and engaging in other similar actions which threaten both peace and security. The decision of Egypt and Israel to grant the United States bases and military facilities and their support of the counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan are particular confirmation of the fact that the reactionary axis linking Washington with Tel Aviv and Cairo resulting from the Camp David conspiracy has been organized and is operational.

Egypt's concessions to Israel, based on the capitulationist separate peace treaty and arranged under the aegis of the United States, enabled Tel Aviv to deepen the tragedy of the Palestinian people, to prolong the occupation of Arab territories and to increase the pressure on Lebanon with a view to the annexation of its southern territories. All of these aggressive actions met with full U. S. support and made the situation in the Middle East even more explosive. They were answered by the progressive Arab countries at the fourth conference of heads of Arab countries belonging to the National Front of Intransigents and Counteraction, held last April in Tripoli, which formulated a clear position toward the provocative U. S. policy. The conclusion of the Soviet-Syrian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed on 8 October made a substantial contribution to improving the situation in the Middle East.

In Southeast Asia, Washington and Beijing have tried to create a situation fraught with conflict, doing everything possible to hinder the building of a new life initiated by the people of Kampuchea after the fall of the bloodstained Pol Pot regime. Nevertheless, the situation in Kampuchea was gradually normalized and the attempts of Beijing's agents to hinder the process suffered one failure after another. The visit paid by a summit delegation from people's Kampuchea to the Soviet Union in February inaugurated a new stage in the development of the many-sided cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In the Far East, opposition by the people of South Korea to the corrupt puppet regime in May was essentially a people's uprising. However, it was drowned in blood with the active assistance of the 40,000-strong U. S. expeditionary corps command.

The friendly visit which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid to the Republic of India (8-11 December), the Soviet-Indian talks and the signing of a joint Soviet-Indian declaration and other documents were among the most important political events of the year. In our party's view, this visit was a historical landmark on the path toward the further strengthening of the friendship between the USSR and India as well as a substantial contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. In the course of the visit, the fruitfulness of constructive consideration of topical international problems on the highest level and joint interest in resolving them were reconfirmed.

The peoples of Africa as well faced intensified imperialist intrigues. The imperialist forces have boldly and cynically manipulated the economic dependence of a number of countries on the continent and their financial situation and indebtedness, i.e., the problems resulting from imperialism's high-handed actions. In their efforts to strengthen their economic dictates, the Western neocolonialists have also resorted to methods of destabilizing the political situation, organizing sallies by mercenaries, provoking border disputes, pouring oil on the fires of national and tribal discord and actively supporting collaborationist elements.

The independent progressive countries on the African continent and their patriotic forces firmly oppose imperialism and have wrecked the neocolonialist plans. They have focused their efforts on strengthening national sovereignty, achieving economic autonomy, insuring accelerated social progress and working for the definitive elimination of the last hotbeds of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. As a result of the 27-29 February election victory of the Zimbabwe national-patriotic forces, the 50th independent country on the continent took its place on the map of the world. This was the legitimate result of 7 years of liberation struggle waged by the patriots of the country. The strengthening of unity on the principled basis of the leading national-liberation organizations in the country--the ZAPU and the ZANU--is an important task in surmounting the difficulties placed in the path toward the independent development of this country, mainly by the imperialists.

In the Western hemisphere, the people of Nicaragua, another nation confronted at the end of the year with the intensified intrigues of American imperialism, advanced systematically in the building of a new life. The situation in El Salvador was drastically aggravated as it was enveloped in the flames of a people's uprising against a military junta relying on American imperialist support.

The development of recent events clearly proves that imperialism is feverishly pursuing a variety of political and military measures with a view to preventing the strengthening of the young independent countries and their social progress. However, all of these measures have come up against the inflexible will of the peoples to defend and strengthen their right to autonomous development and to a better future.

The capitalist world entered the 1980s under the conditions of drastic aggravation in all the crisis processes in its economy. The economic cataclysms of recent years have had an adverse effect on the economic might of the main capitalist countries. The growth of their gross national income has slowed substantially.

The continuing overaccumulation of productive capital was characteristic of the economic cycle which began after the 1974-1975 crisis. This led to a decline in the profit levels and a general slowdown and apathy in the investment process. For a long period of time following the decline, the capitalist economy was in a state of depression. This was followed by a period of animation distinguished by greater instability.

A slowing trend in economic activities developed again in the second half of 1979. Twenty-four developed capitalist countries are ending the second half of 1980 with a one percent production decline. On the whole, it is estimated that the real gross internal product volume for 1980 will either remain at the 1979 level or will decline somewhat. The new decline which the bourgeois economists expect will be less profound and shorter than the preceding one began last spring in the United States. From there it spread to Britain and Canada. Subsequently, a decline in industrial output developed in the FRG and Italy. Everything indicates that the most profound current decline will affect the economy of the United States, where a general decline in the gross national product of approximately three percent is expected.

Inflation, which according to the specialists has become a self-sustaining and intensifying process, has become one of the gravest problems affecting the capitalist economy. The inflationary spiral, a direct consequence of the profit-seeking monopolistic policy, was intensified by a number of factors. However, the increase in governmental expenditures, military above all, was of decisive importance among them. They aggravated the general instability of the economic situation in the capitalist countries by introducing new disproportions in the production and capital investment structure, reducing consumer demand and contributing to a real decline in the living standard of the working people. The inflationary spiral continued in 1980. The rate ranged from 3.5 to 22 percent or more in the various capitalist countries (12 percent in the United States, according to preliminary estimates).

In virtually all of the capitalist countries, starting with the mid-1970s, a high rate of inflation coexisted with mass unemployment, which became a most acute social problem and affected virtually all hired labor categories. According to official data, the average annual total unemployment figure rose by 76 percent in the 1970s. By the end of 1980, estimates indicate, the number of totally unemployed people in the industrially developed capitalist countries had reached 24 million, with indications that the figure would rise by one to three million in 1981. At the beginning of the new year, the unemployment figure in the United States is expected to reach eight million according to official data, or 12 million according to the trade unions. In the nine Common Market countries, the number unemployed reached 7.5 million; in Britain alone it reached 2.2 million--the highest since the mid-1930s.

The intensification of internal socioeconomic antagonisms within the capitalist system is spreading through the mechanism of foreign economic relations. Capitalism finds itself unable to resolve or even to reduce the global problems of the end of the 20th century, which it has itself aggravated. This applies, above all, to the problems of economic backwardness and the hunger and poverty afflicting a considerable part of mankind.

The helplessness of the rule of the rich to surmount economic disorders created by the capitalist ownership system is triggering the growth of social tension and mass actions on the part of the working people in defense of their basic interests, on the one hand, and is leading to an increase in the political aggressiveness of the bourgeoisie and the energizing of right-wing extremist forces, on the other. Fascism has asserted its existence in Italy, the FRG, France, the United States and Turkey. According to some estimates, neofascist organizations were operating in approximately 60 capitalist countries in 1980.

In recent years the political class struggle, whose outcome was determined at each stage and in each specific situation by a complex combination of a variety of factors--ratio of socioeconomic forces, positions held by main parties, level of organization of the working people and so on--has become further aggravated in the developed capitalist countries. An overall characteristic feature is the considerably greater instability in the political system of the bourgeois society. The elections in the FRG and the United States were among the most important events of 1980 in this area. The 5 October elections for the West German Bundestag marked the failure of the attempt on the part of the CDU/CSU to assume power, while the ruling coalition of social democrats and liberals considerably increased its representative strength. In the United States, the 4 November presidential election was won by R. Reagan, the candidate of the Republican Party. The most noteworthy feature of the U. S. electoral campaign was, in the unanimous view of observers, the predominantly negative attitude of the electorate toward both candidates, who voted less in favor of any given platform than against one. Noteworthy in this respect was the great number of voters who abstained from voting (47.7 percent).

A considerable increase in contradictions in intergovernmental relations among leading capitalist countries is occurring. Economic contradictions triggered by the uneven development and struggle for markets and raw materials among the three imperialist centers of our time--American, Western European and Japanese--have been drastically aggravated. The traditional meeting of the heads of the seven largest capitalist countries held in the summer of 1980 in Venice, to discuss economic problems ended without yielding any substantial success.

Conflicts of economic interests were combined with acute political contradictions which could be essentially considered the most significant for the entire period after World War II. American imperialism launched particularly energetic efforts to involve other NATO countries and Japan in the accelerated arms race and in its expansionistic policy, with a view in particular to strengthening its own dominant position among the developed capitalist countries. However, the U. S. policy, threatening to the cause of peace, did not gain the unconditional support of the other leading capitalist states, which were obviously unwilling to become involved in a policy of return to the cold war. This was clearly demonstrated in the course of the meetings between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on the one hand, and V. Giscard d'Estaing, president of France, (May) and H. Schmidt, FRG chancellor, (June-July), on the other. At the same time, however, the factor of bourgeois class solidarity, the continuing predominance of the United States in the Western world and the contradictions among the Common Market countries were all factors encouraging them to compromise with Washington and enabling the United State to win approval for

its policy, although not completely and not immediately. The strengthening cooperation between the ruling U. S. and FRG circles in imposing decisions leading to the continuation of the arms race on their NATO partners was a matter of concern.

The key problem of our time, the problem of war or peace, was raised again most urgently in the field of international relations at the beginning of the 1980s. A sharp and complex political struggle developed between the forces favoring peace, respect for the rights of nations and detente and the forces of confrontation, militarism and aggression.

The main reason for the successes achieved by the policy of detente in the preceding period was that it derived legitimately from the increased international role of the socialist countries and the influence of their coordinated policy on the world situation. The June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum described the military-strategic balance achieved between the socialist and the capitalist worlds as a gain of essential and historical significance. The policy of detente was also the result of the determined efforts of broad public circles in the Western countries, above all the working class and its political vanguard--the communist and workers parties. It also reflected the more realistic approach adopted by a number of Western political leaders in their assessment of the global situation.

However, the process of asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence is quite contradictory and circuitous. The current break in international relations did not develop suddenly. As early as 1978, the socialist countries expressed their concern regarding the growing activity of the imperialist and reactionary forces, which were trying to upset the existing balance of forces to their advantage and to gain military superiority.

At the end of the 1970s, the militaristic circles attempting to compensate for their defeats in the sociopolitical area by increasing their military strength and pursuing an aggressive and expansionistic course in international affairs gained the upper hand in the formulation of American foreign policy. The basic components of the existing American plans became quite clearly apparent in the course of 1980. They included in particular the program for increasing U. S. armaments through the development of the MX intercontinental missile and the Trident nuclear submarines and the deployment of new systems of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The policy of antidetente has been embodied in a number of specific steps taken by the United States over the past 12 months to increase tension and intensify the arms race on the basis of the 5-year military program, unprecedented in scope, adopted by the United States at the cost of about \$1 trillion, the factual refusal to ratify the Soviet-American SALT II Treaty signed by President Carter, and the creation of the so-called "rapid deployment force" for purposes of interfering in the domestic affairs of developing countries. The American propaganda machine has mounted a furious anti-Soviet campaign under the false pretext of a "Soviet military threat." Meanwhile, the U. S. government made a unilateral decision to violate a number of agreements with the USSR in the areas of economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation, and to break off the talks on many problems in bilateral relations. This was followed by Presidential Directive No 59, the purpose of which was to make the very concept of a nuclear war acceptable.

Under circumstances characterized by the aggravation of international tension created by the policy of American imperialism, the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist comity continued their efforts to normalize the circumstances and to restrain the arms race, firmly warning the opposite side that it would not allow a disturbance of the military-strategic parity to the detriment of the safety of the fraternal countries. It called for putting the entire mechanism for the settling of international problems into motion.

The dangerous course pursued by the NATO countries was countered by the Warsaw Pact members in 1980 with a broad program of measures aimed at creating an obstacle to the outbreak of a new war, strengthening reciprocal understanding in international relations and settling existing conflicts by political means. At the Moscow meeting of the heads of Warsaw Pact member nations, the socialist countries expressed their intention of continuing to make a contribution to the normalizing of the international climate, the consolidation of the peace, the continuation of the policy of detente, the development of international cooperation and the resolution of all conflicts through talks. They also emphasized that the circumstances called for increased vigilance concerning the aggressive aspirations of the imperialist forces and the reaction's attempts to damage the position of the socialist countries, the developing states and the national-liberation movements.

Bearing in mind that the arms race is becoming ever more dangerous (in 1980 global military expenditures exceeded \$500 billion, approximately 10 percent above the 1979 figure) and threatens the very future of mankind, the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity have despite all hindrances continued their energetic struggle for the termination of the arms race and for disarmament. The Soviet documents submitted to the 35th United Nations General Assembly covered a broad spectrum of related problems. The Soviet initiatives regarding Soviet-American talks on medium-range nuclear missiles to be deployed in Europe, organically linked with the American deployment of advance nuclear missiles, are of the greatest possible importance. The USSR has invariably emphasized that in the developing situation, the systematic implementation of the Helsinki agreements is of particular importance. On 11 November the regular meeting of representatives of the countries participating in this conference began in Madrid. Its success will be determined by the goodwill of all participants and their readiness to establish generally acceptable solutions, particularly regarding the convening of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

Since the presidential election in the United States, there has been extensive discussion of the foreign policy to be pursued by the new administration. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed the Soviet viewpoint on this matter. He emphasized that "Any constructive step taken by the U. S. administration in the area of Soviet-American relations and vital global problems will meet with a positive reaction on our part." Meanwhile, the outgoing Carter administration tried to dramatize the situation in Europe with a view to pursuing the plans for increasing tension, relying in particular on provoking an aggravation of the situation in Poland.

Under today's complex circumstances, the most important duty of all peace-loving forces and broad international public circles is active participation in the efforts to consolidate the peace. The appeal to the peoples to undertake decisive

actions with a view to the removal of the intensifying menace of nuclear war, issued by the World Parliament of People for Peace meeting in Sofia between 23 and 27 September, took on importance as a mobilizing factor.

The actions of American imperialism in 1980 most acutely posed the question of the general prospects for the development of an international situation in the forthcoming period and the possibility of defeating the dangerous plans of the militaristic forces. The June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum provided a clear answer to this question: objective possibilities do exist and there are sociopolitical forces which can prevent a slide toward a renewed cold war, can insure normal and peaceful coexistence by countries with different social systems, and can block the threat of a global thermonuclear conflict.

However, a long and difficult struggle for the normalizing of international relations and the preservation and continuation of detente lies ahead.

The intensity of the struggle waged by the working class in the nonsocialist parts of the world against the omnipotence of the monopolies developed steadily under the impact of the deepening of the general practices of capitalism, manifested in the past decade in literally all areas of life in bourgeois society. The interweaving of the contradictions and social antagonisms inherent in capitalism with new global problems made the actions of the working people particularly intensive and varied. However, the strike remained the main tool with which the exploited masses countered the offensive of monopoly capital. The average annual number of striking workers in the developed capitalist countries reached 50 million in the 1970s, compared with 37 million in the 1960s.

The great life-bringing force of Leninism, which is steadily fed by the comprehensive international political experience of the working class and all working people, is becoming ever clearer with every passing year in the global revolutionary process. The achievements of real socialism in the economic, social and spiritual areas are having a growing impact on the course of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, forcing capitalism to make certain social concessions to the working class.

This was not the first decade in which the international communist movement, with Lenin at its origins, has been the most influential political force in our epoch, boosting the development of all mankind.

Under the complex circumstances in 1980, the fraternal parties made their contribution to the common struggle against imperialism and for a bright future, drawing strength from the experience of the international communist movement. In the socialist countries they carried out their historical mission of guiding the building of the new society. In the capitalist countries, the communists work in the vanguard of the struggle for democracy and social progress, for the interests and rights of the working people, and against the power of monopoly capital. The communist parties in the developing countries have been a considerable factor in the struggle for national independence and for the strengthening of political and economic autonomy.

In the 1970s, the size of the communist parties in the nonsocialist parts of the world increased by more than 1,250,000 members. Today the total come to about 4.5 million members. Within that period, over 800,000 new members joined the communist parties of Western Europe alone. The communist parties in many countries in Asia, North and South America and Africa are strengthening their positions. Today no single serious international problem or basic matter affecting our time can be resolved without the communist movement.

In reflecting the moods and expectations of the broadest possible popular strata, the communist and workers parties are acting to preserve the results of detente and to insure the progress of disarmament. They are leading the people's masses in the struggle to rescue mankind from the threat of a nuclear missile catastrophe. The 28-29 April Paris meeting held by the communist and workers parties of Europe to discuss peace and disarmament was a major event in the political life of Europe and the communist movement. The meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of cohesion and free exchange of views, enabled its participants better to coordinate their actions in the struggle for the basic interests of the peoples. The exchange of experience enriched their ideas on opportunities for the further development of this struggle.

Today, when the imperialist reaction is steadily coordinating its activities on an international scale, the international cohesion of the communists and the solidarity of the fraternal parties on a bilateral, multilateral, regional and global basis become particularly important. As the events of 1980 have onvincingly confirmed true national interests can never be opposed to the international interests of the working people. The systematic implementation of the principle of proletarian internationalism is contributing to success in the struggle being waged by the entire international working class and the anti-imperialist forces of our time.

An international scientific conference was held in Berlin in October on the topical subject of the joint struggle waged by the workers and national-liberation movements against imperialism and for social progress. It was attended by delegations from 116 communist and workers and other revolutionary parties and national-liberation movements.

The successes of the global communist movement, the attractiveness of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the increased prestige and influence of real socialism are triggering the fierce resistance of the class enemy. Throughout the 1970s the bourgeoisie and its ideologues as well as opportunists and revisionists of all hues intensified their struggle against the communists. They tried to distort Marxism-Leninism, to emasculate its revolutionary nature, to find "contradictions" between the theory of scientific socialism and practice in the socialist countries and to discredit the socialist way of life.

In the capitalist countries, reactionary circles tried to isolate the communist parties from the people and to defame their policy, hesitating not at all to use dirty tactics. Meanwhile, the bourgeois ideologues tried with unabated strength to contaminate the proletariat with ideas alien to its interests and turn one communist party or another in the direction of social reformism. Various means were

sought to discredit Leninist theory in one way or another, presenting it as inconsistent with the sociopolitical realities of our time, allegedly depriving democracy of its value and so on. The communists countered the intrigues of the imperialists and their accomplices with the international cohesion of their ranks and their systematic struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism and for the purity and creative development of Marxism-Leninism, close cooperation among all revolutionary forces, effective unity with real socialism and opposition to all manifestations of anti-Sovietism.

A many-tiered and persistent struggle to determine the nature of the future is developing before our very eyes. However conflicting the world picture may be, its main features and main and decisive developmental trend, continued from the 1970s into the 1980s, are consistent with the Leninist prediction that despite the opposition of imperialism, the world is irreversibly changing for the better.

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POWERFUL POTENTIAL OF THE COUNTRY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 98-107

[Review of the book by N. A. Tikhonov, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 448 pages]

[Text] Loyalty to the founding Leninist principles of domestic and foreign policy in the land of the soviets and a creative scientific approach to the solution of the practical problems in the building of communism are expressed in the decisions of our party congresses and Central Committee plenums and in the works and addresses by L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and other leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The most important aspects in the work of party, soviet and economic organs in implementing the course of the country's economic and social development have been profoundly studied and comprehensively interpreted in the collection of speeches and articles by Comrade Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, in his book which covers the period from 1949 to 1980.

The collections include N. A. Tikhonov's electoral speeches, speeches at party conferences, meetings of economic activists and international forums, addresses on the occasion of award ceremonies in many union republics, oblasts and cities, reports at USSR Supreme Soviet sessions and articles published in KOMMUNIST, PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and other periodical publications.

Many of the materials in the collection analyze specific national economic problems which began to face the country as early as the 1940s-1950s but whose topical nature has remained up to the present. Other materials deal with vital problems related to summing up the results of the 10th Five-Year Plan and the formulation of the 11th Five-Year Plan--a structural component of the long-term program for the country's economic and social development.

The question which naturally arises concerns what we can learn from the articles and speeches which cover a number of aspects of the domestic and foreign Soviet policy of more than 30 years ago, i.e., events which have now become historical. The publication of such materials is entirely legitimate, for the tie linking the periods in our revolution, the stages in the building of socialism and communism and the continuity of the generations is unbreakable. The present is like a tree: its roots are sunk in the past while its branches stretch toward the future. The

words spoken by N. A. Tikhonov, as director of the Yuzhnotrubby Plant, at a 1949 scientific and technical conference remain topical: "To struggle for a progressive plant means not only to achieve quantitative indicators but also to carry out all party and government assignments, and to fill the orders for all brands of steel. This requires considerable enhancement of the technical standards of our collective" (p 44). In resolving great socioeconomic problems and thinking of the immediate or distant future of the Soviet economy, taking broadened foreign economic relations into consideration, we cannot fail to consider the valuable experience acquired by the country in making rational economic decisions and insuring the scientific utilization of working time, the conservation of natural resources, fuel and raw materials and the saving of labor kopecks.

The collection is imbued with the spirit of our time. It reflects the characteristic features of the epoch, the complexity of domestic and international conditions and the need to resolve problems created by specific historical circumstances. The author focuses his attention on problems of CPSU economic strategy at the present stage in the building of communism. The book organically combines a theoretical analysis of domestic and international problems in the development of our country in the period between the 10th and 11th Five-Year Plans with the elaboration of specific practical recommendations aimed at insuring the planned and proportional development of the national economy, production intensification, rational utilization of material, manpower and financial resources and increasing output and improving the quality of consumer goods.

The collection of speeches and articles by N. A. Tikhonov, which covers a comprehensive set of sociopolitical and economic problems, is not only of historical and theoretical but also of major practical importance, for it shows the specific paths leading to the solution of the complex problems of implementing CPSU economic policy at the present stage. The author also covers a broad range of problems related to the proper understanding and assessment of the ways and means of further strengthening the international positions of our homeland and enhancing its prestige and influence on the course of global events.

The collection convincingly proves that the course charted by our Leninist party involves further increasing the people's prosperity, strengthening the country's economic power, insuring its safety and asserting the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different socioeconomic systems. This course is consistent with the basic interests of the working people, the objectives of the building of communism, the strengthening of friendship among the peoples and the struggle for peace. For this reason it enjoys the unanimous support and approval of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind. "With a feeling of legitimate pride," N. A. Tikhonov emphasizes, "we can say that since the 25th CPSU Congress, tremendous constructive work has been accomplished in the area of economic construction, raising the level of the material prosperity of the working people and the development of culture. The international positions of the Soviet Union have strengthened. Its prestige as the standard-bearer of peace, social progress and democracy has risen" (p 8).

The book provides a practical, realistic and scientific assessment of the status of and prospects for the growth of the Soviet economy. It presents a picture of

the tremendous accomplishments of our country under the Soviet system, tracing its steady upsurge step by step.

The socialist system is very dynamic. Its forward movement involves surmounting contradictions and difficulties and resolving many new and innovational problems. The reader will find a profound interpretation of them and a description of the means of surmounting and resolving them in the collection.

In a number of speeches and articles, N. A. Tikhonov comprehensively discusses the problems of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality, the scientific standard for national economic planning, improvements in management, comprehensive utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, strengthening state discipline and enhancement of labor productivity in material production (industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and communications), separately and on the scale of the national economy as a whole, further strengthening socialist democracy, and increasing the labor and political active-ness of the working people in town and country under developed socialist conditions. "Responsibility for assignments and for the fulfillment of the plan," N. A. Tikhonov points out, "must be drastically increased..... Our task today is to raise the standard of management for all economic sectors considerably, to strengthen state and planning discipline and to make fuller use of existing reserves and opportunities for further upgrading public production effectiveness, strengthening the country's defense and increasing the people's prosperity" (424).

The struggle being waged by the Soviet people for the further strengthening of the country's national economic potential and, on this basis, its economic and defense power, is organically linked with the gradual conversion of our economy to an intensive developmental track. "We," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum, "have set for ourselves the major task of upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. We must always keep it in sight. We must think further about how to accelerate scientific and technical progress, to strengthen labor and state discipline and to insure the steady growth of labor productivity."

The particular urgency of rapidly increasing labor productivity and drastically upgrading the effectiveness of all public production at the present stage in the building of communism is dictated by the following factors:

The aggravated problem of labor resources, as a result of which the maximally effective utilization of such resources is a mandatory prerequisite for increasing the country's economic potential;

The uninterrupted increase in the country's fuel, energy, metals and raw material needs. Inevitably, this calls for the rational utilization of material resources, the use of more effective and less expensive kinds of fuel and raw and other materials and a reduction in the material intensiveness of output;

Increasing environmental protection expenditures;

The accelerating development of foreign economic relations and the development of integration processes in the world's economy;

The developing economic competition between socialism and capitalism.

The 1981-1985 11th Five-Year Plan for the development of the USSR national economy will be the full manifestation of the party's economic policy. It will contain the latest achievements in economic and scientific and technical thinking. "The modernization of basic industrial sectors such as the power, metallurgical, machine-building, chemical and transportation industries, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has stated, "must become the pivot of further economic and social development. Here again we must look ahead at least through 1990."

The author emphasizes that the party documents and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses indicate the ways and means of resolving the main tasks in Soviet economic development. They include the following:

Improving the structure of the fuel-energy balance of the country, above all by reducing the proportion of petroleum as fuel for electric power plants and conserving fuel and energy;

Increasing the production of metals, upgrading their quality and broadening the variety of metal goods;

Insuring a further upsurge in the level of machine building, reducing metal-intensiveness and raising the technical standard for and quality of machines and equipment;

Improving the effectiveness of capital investments, above all by reducing the amount of unfinished construction and lowering the cost and time needed for the creation of new production capacities;

Organizing the synchronized work of all links within the single chain combining the production, transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural commodities and trade;

Improving the work of all transportation systems, the railroads in particular, on the basis of a long-term comprehensive development program.

In his 4 March 1980 speech at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, N. A. Tikhonov emphasized that "The USSR Council of Ministers is devoting particular attention to the solution of the fuel-energy problem, the radical improvement of railroad transportation work, the situation in capital construction, the upsurge in agricultural production, implementation of the party's social program, above all in terms of further improvement of housing conditions for the working people, and providing greater health care to women and children" (p 443).

The systematic enhancement of the people's prosperity is an immediate objective and a decisive reason for the activities of the party and all working people in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The more the state's resources and possibilities grow, the more fully and comprehensively the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people must be satisfied.

Analyzing the course and prospects for the further development of the national economy and its key sectors, N. A. Tikhonov discusses the methods of increasing the economic potential of the USSR and all its most important components in detail. "Our homeland," the author notes, "has a powerful economic and scientific and technical potential and rich natural resources" (p 8). The steady growth and effective utilization of this potential will enable us not only to implement the party's economic policy systematically, but to maintain the military-strategic potential of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members on the necessary level, thus paralyzing the aggressive aspirations of the imperialist NATO military-political bloc. The Soviet people are justifiably proud of the fact that it is the foreign political activities of the CC CPSU and the Soviet state precisely which tilt the balance of the scale in the direction of peace.

In his article "Sixty Years on the October Path," the author writes that the economic potential of the USSR is a comprehensive and complex concept which covers both the production process and the organizational-economic conditions under which it operates. This concept reflects the economic opportunities of the country based on the fullest possible utilization of its productive forces. This can be achieved within the framework of its social and governmental system. The maximum output volume possible for material industrial and nonindustrial goods within a given set of circumstances is an indicator of the size of the economic potential.

The national wealth of the country, the manpower resources of the society, the natural resources, the extent to which they are involved in economic circulation, the production machinery and its qualitative status, the availability within the national economy of all types of raw materials for industry and food for the population, the condition of the transportation system and the energy base and the level of communications development are the most important elements in the economic potential.

The greatly expanded scale of public production, the level of maturity reached in production relations and the priority given to the qualitative growth factors related to the development of the scientific and technical revolution and the consistent intensification of the economy require that the search for reserves for the utilization of the country's economic potential be continuing rather than sporadic.

The author considers these problems in close connection with the strengthening of the scientific and technical potential. The latter represents the totality of labor and material resources and scientific and technical knowledge and production experience which the country has at its disposal for the development and utilization of the scientific and technical revolution. "Soviet industry is developing on the basis of the latest achievements in scientific and technical progress. Nuclear reactors, spaceships, highly accurate computers, powerful hydraulic turbines, one-of-a-kind machine tools and a variety of chemical products--there is no such item the production of which our industry could not undertake" (pp 252-253).

The collection provides extensive figures and data proving that the CPSU and the Soviet government have spared neither effort nor funds for the development of the main part of the scientific and technical potential--the training of scientific

research, scientific and technical and production cadres. It is precisely such cadres who use the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, materializing them in productive capital and consumer goods. According to some estimates, if we could raise all operating equipment to the level of the new equipment currently being installed, its efficiency would be increased by a factor of 4 or 5.

Scientific and technical progress is the main path leading toward increased production effectiveness and intensification. That is why "We should consider as particularly important the accelerated application of the achievements of science and technology which enable us considerably to reduce material and labor outlays and to improve and national economic results" (247).

Under socialist conditions, science serves society. This is one of the greatest accomplishments of our system. We are faced with the historically important task, of organically blending the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system. As it implements this task, the CPSU pays key attention to the further development of science, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the creation of the type of planned economic mechanism which would be most consistent with the fastest possible utilization of the best achievements of scientific and technical progress in economic practice. The author has paid prime attention to these problems.

N. A. Tikhonov repeatedly goes back to a specific description of the tremendous reserves contained by the socialist system. At the 23 January 1980 USSR Council of Ministers session, he particularly emphasized that "Despite the successful implementation of the social program and the considerable growth of the population's real income, social consumption funds, wages of workers, employees and kolkhoz members and population consumers services, we are still dissatisfied with the level achieved in social production effectiveness, labor productivity and the quality of output" (pp 418-419). He criticizes a number of ministries and departments for omissions in their work and urgently appeals for fuller utilization of reserves for upgrading social production effectiveness and the quality of output.

Today no single organization or enterprise can ignore the needs of agriculture. This problem was pointedly raised at the November 1979 Central Committee Plenum. "...Agricultural production," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "cannot be considered separate from food procurements, transportation, storage, processing and trade systems. All of these make up a single food complex. It must be planned as a single entity. The allocation of capital investments and other resources must serve the final goal of improving population food supplies."

The author pays considerable attention to these problems. He emphasizes that very important measures are being implemented currently to convert agriculture into a highly productive economic sector. "In the 10th Five-Year Plan," he notes, "the power-labor ratio in agriculture rose by one-third. Land chemization and reclamation are taking place on an extensive scale" (p 22).

The decisions of the 24th and 25th party congresses and the subsequent CC CPSU plenums, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and instructions, the CC CPSU decree

"On the Further Advancement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs" and the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Effect of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality" emphasize the need to raise the level of planning operations, ranging from the plans of enterprises and associations and public production sectors and economic regions to the USSR State Plan for Economic and Social Development.

We know that improvements in national economic planning and the upgrading of its scientific standard constitute a continuing process. "We must frankly admit," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "that the management and planning mechanism, the methods of economic management and executive discipline have not as yet reached the level of contemporary requirements. This has hindered the swing toward effectiveness and the conversion of the national economy to intensive development. This is one of the major reasons for the incomplete fulfillment of the plan for many items and for shortcomings and bottlenecks in the national economy." The collection deals extensively with the solution of precisely such specific problems.

The author takes as his basis the contemporary understanding of national economic planning, in which draft plans are based on the size and composition of the end requirements of society for material goods. It is only on the basis of such an understanding of the problem that the necessary production volumes can be determined properly (for steel, electric power, petroleum, natural gas and other items), the effective utilization of the economic potential can be achieved and high work quality can be insured. The practical implementation of the decisions of the 25th party congress and the Central Committee plenums on improving planning at all levels of the economic system becomes particularly important in connection with the preparations being made for the 26th CPSU Congress, which will define the main directions for the socioeconomic development of the country in the 1980s.

The level of management must be raised in order to insure the better utilization of our reserves and opportunities and the further enhancement of social labor effectiveness and quality. This improvement is closely linked with improvements in the use of intensification reserves, the utilization of the creative capabilities of workers in industry and agriculture, and the improved organization of labor. Production concentration, increased enterprise specialization and cooperation and the further development of economic relations will contribute to the planned implementation of such an upsurge, based on the conversion to a two- and three-step management system.

N. A. Tikhonov relies on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's principled conclusion to the effect that at the developed socialist stage, life imposes ever stricter requirements on the economic mechanism. He points to the topical nature of the measures implemented for its reorganization. He provides a particularly interesting interpretation of the single system of long-term and current plans, including the 20-year comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress, the basic 10-year directions for economic and social development, the 5-year plans for economic and social development of the USSR (with their annual breakdown), and the annual plans.

The author pays particular attention to the development of the basic economic sectors such as metallurgy, chemistry, transportation and capital construction. Readers will be interested in the article "Foundations of Modern Industry," which expresses N. A. Tikhonov's views on the nature of metallurgical plants which should be built in the future and the manner in which technical and economic progress in such a decisive sector as ferrous metallurgy must be linked with the powerful development of scientific research, enabling us to implement the major task of developing an effective metallurgical industry.

The communist party closely links the future of all social economic activities with the need to maintain the ecological balance in the man-nature interrelationship. By its very nature, socialism coordinates the tasks of the present with those of the future. The book contains a report on the subject presented by N. A. Tikhonov at the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet entitled "On Measures for the Further Intensification of Protection of the Subsoil and Improved Utilization of Minerals and on the Draft Foundations of USSR and Union Republic Legislations on the Subsoil."

Our country is rich and has tremendous natural resources. However, in order to protect and increase them we must handle them carefully and their sources must be always taken into consideration. "The socialist ownership of the subsoil and the planned system of national economic management," the author writes, "provide the most favorable conditions for the comprehensive, effective and thrifty utilization of the subsoil and its preservation" (p 205).

The more powerful our country becomes the more thriftily we must handle social wealth, particularly its material, power, raw material and manpower resources. A reduction in the material outlays in the national economy of no more than one percent is the equivalent of increasing the national income by six billion rubles. However, the struggle for the effective utilization of resources has not as yet become the daily concern of all economic organs, workers and employees. N. A. Tikhonov's book urges the reader to adopt a considerate attitude toward everything we possess and to be thrifty and economical for the sake of progress and the blossoming of the homeland and the prosperity and happiness of our people.

The author depicts the advantages of the socialist economic system convincingly and on the basis of extensive factual data. At the same time, however, he specifically singles out existing shortcomings. He analyzes the reasons for them and indicates methods for surmounting them.

Particularly important in this connection is the systematic implementation of the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On the Further Strengthening of Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turn-over in the National Economy." Maintaining the strictest possible labor discipline is not merely an organizational problem. It is above all an economic problem whose solution will enable us to upgrade the effectiveness of capital and working assets. However, it is also a social problem, for its solution will enable us to implement, on a profoundly substantiated basis, the objective economic law of socialism--distribution according to labor. As the author points out, "The reason the problem of strengthening labor discipline is so urgent today is that we can no

longer ignore the new requirements of modern equipment and technology, the growing interrelationship among sectors and production facilities and the level achieved in the development of our national economy" (p 430).

The author's criticism of managers who keep surplus manpower "in reserve" and who fail to be sufficiently demanding in the struggle against working time losses is noteworthy. Strengthened labor discipline requires not only energetic work at the enterprise itself but the creation of proper conditions outside it, the improvement of all public services in particular.

A considerable part of the collection deals with problems in upgrading the level of the party's management of economic construction. In his address at the Ninth Lipetskaya Oblast Party Conference, N. A. Tikhonov noted that the party organizations "try to link the solution of the problems in economic and cultural construction with improvements in organizational and political work, developing the creative initiative of the working people and strengthening state discipline. Unlike previous years, many party organs today have eliminated petty economic supervision. They try to avoid taking over direct production-executive functions" (pp 117-118). This creates favorable conditions for upgrading the responsibility of state and economic organs for the economic situation.

Many of N. A. Tikhonov's reports, speeches and articles deal with CPSU foreign political activities and with the implementation of the policy of strengthening the foundations of European and international peace, the development of cooperation among countries with different social systems, and the implementation of the peace program formulated at the 24th and developed at the 25th party congress to insure detente and disarmament.

The book shows that these problems are the permanent focal points of the CPSU's attention. "The foreign policy of the Soviet state," the author writes, "is directed toward insuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of the people for national liberation and social progress, preventing aggressive wars and systematically implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems" (p 259).

The author comprehensively analyzes the most important problems in the theory and practice of the international division of labor and the specific forms of foreign political relations existing between the USSR and the socialists and the industrially developed capitalist countries and the developing countries.

The 25th CPSU Congress deemed the development of foreign economic relations one of the main economic problems. "One of the characteristics of our time," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "is the growing use of the international division of labor for the development of each country, regardless of its resources or economic level." The Soviet Union considers "foreign economic relations an effective means for the solution of political and economic problems. The power and cohesion of the socialist comity are strengthened through economic integration. Cooperation with the developing countries facilitates the reorganization of their economy and social life on a progressive basis. Finally, economic and scientific and technical relations with the capitalist states strengthen and broaden the material base of the policy of peaceful coexistence."

N. A. Tikhonov pays particular attention to international cooperation among CEMA-member countries and to the intensification and development of socialist economic integration as the foundation for their progress and for new successes in economic and cultural construction.

The CEMA-member countries are successfully developing and improving the coordination of their national economic plans. They have adopted the practice of long-term target cooperation programs. For example, the 32d and 33d CEMA sessions approved five such programs in the following areas: energy, fuel and raw materials; machine building; agriculture and food industry; transportation; and improved industrial goods supplies for the population. It is no accident that CEMA is described as the most dynamic sector of the global economy.

The author cites many specific examples to show the importance and trends in the development of cooperation among socialist countries on a multilateral and bilateral basis. In a number of articles, N. A. Tikhonov discusses the economic achievements of the GDR in detail and emphasizes their essential significance. "A country with a national economy severely undermined by the war, a country which maintained no normal relations with the countries in the capitalist camp, a country which has no worthwhile raw material resources, a country which pursues the socialist path, the path of close economic and political cooperation with the Soviet Union, has been able in only 20 years to make its processing industry, agriculture and other material production areas into blossoming economic sectors. These successes are based on the selfless labor of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in the GDR and the leading and guiding role of the SED Central Committee and GDR government," N. A. Tikhonov wrote in 1969 (pp 123-124). Today the GDR is a highly developed industrial socialist state recognized by over 100 countries and a reliable ally of the land of the soviets.

While interacting ever more extensively in the solution of main problems in economic and social development, the members of the socialist comity do not isolate themselves from the outside world. On the contrary, they are adamantly promoting the intensification of the international division of labor and favor the broadening of economic and scientific and technical cooperation with other countries, regardless of their socioeconomic systems and the efforts of the opponents of detente, peace and good-neighborly relations. Many materials in the collection deal with problems in organizing mutually profitable economic and trade relations with the industrially highly developed Western countries for the sake of peace and progress.

We are witnessing the steady growth of trade between the socialist countries and the outside world. Trade between CEMA-member countries and industrially developed capitalist countries is steadily, although unevenly, increasing. Its volume has increased from 7.5 billion rubles in 1965 to 47.5 billion in 1978 in current prices, i.e., by a 6.3 factor. The book by N. A. Tikhonov enables us to trace the increased volume of international relations in which our country engaged following the development of the detente process, the intensification and development of cooperation and the development of new dimensions and directions in this cooperation.

In answer to the questions posed by the periodical SOVETSKIY SOYUZ SEGODNYA, which is published by the APN in the FRG, N. A. Tikhonov described the work of the USSR-FRG Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation. In discussing the future of such cooperation, he said that "...We see considerable opportunities for the development of economic relations with the FRG along all lines. We consider such efforts promising and view the results which could be achieved in the next few years and on a longer-range basis optimistically. The implementation of our plans will unquestionably serve the cause of further strengthening of relations between our countries and the cause of peace and detente in Europe" (p 285).

In the final account, upgrading public production effectiveness, intensifying environmental protection, developing socialist economic integration and strengthening detente and peace are the foundations for prosperity for the people and a tranquil and secure life under peaceful skies for them. That is why the tremendous attention which our country devotes to children is deeply symbolic. The measures implemented in our country in connection with the Year of the Child made a substantial contribution to the further growth of the prestige of the socialist state. In answering the questions of a NOVOYE VREMYA correspondent, N. A. Tikhonov said that "We have not acquired the habit of resting on our accomplishments. When it is a question of children we will always find something to improve, to make better. In this light we can consider the Year of the Child not only as a kind of review but as a year of energizing activities in this area, a year of more extensive dissemination of useful initiatives in the country" (p 335)

Using proper arguments and with a profound knowledge of the issues, N. A. Tikhonov considers important theoretical and practical problems in the building of communism in his book. The work is focused on the problems of the mature socialist society: its basic features, characteristics of economic and sociopolitical development, spiritual life, historical position in the establishment of a communist socioeconomic system and influence on the contemporary world. All of N. A. Tikhonov's selected speeches and articles lead to the conclusion that the powerful transforming and creative force of Marxism-Leninism--the theoretical foundation of CPSU activities--is manifested ever more completely and clearly in the solution of problems in the economic and social development of Soviet society, unparalleled in scale and historical significance, and in the struggle for peace and social progress.

In characterizing the course of and prospects for the building of communism in the USSR, the author comprehensively describes the constructive activities of the Soviet people and indicates the growing importance to their success of the comprehensive and fruitful activities of the communist party, its Leninist Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding party and state leader and acknowledged fighter for peace, security and cooperation among the peoples.

5003
CSO: 1802

SOURCES OF COMMUNIST CIVILIZATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 108-110

[Review by Academician L. Il'ichev of the book by M. P. Mchedlov "Sotsializm--Stanovleniye Novogo Tipa Tsivilizatsii" [Socialism--The Establishment of a New Type of Civilization]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 263 pages]

[Text] This is an interesting book which has attracted attention because of the novelty of the topic, its thoughtful analysis and summations, and equally important, its style.

Whatever high level mankind may reach in the course of its development, it will be remembered that the Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of a new type of civilization, a communist civilization, and that V. I. Lenin was at its origin. The mature socialist society is the present result of our progress toward communism, and the concept of the author, considering real socialism from the viewpoint of its correlation with the gains of mankind and the forward development of the world, merits our approval. The novelty of the problem inevitably led him to consider methodological problems and problems pertaining to the conceptual apparatus of Marxist social science.

The introduction analyzes the process of the development and enrichment of concepts and categories in Marxist-Leninist theory incorporating the results of study of the new social reality and the advance of scientific knowledge. This process is many-sided and complex, since the same concept, considered in different historical circumstances and in resolving various theoretical and political problems, may differ in function and importance. This can be traced by taking the concept of civilization as an example. The difficulty of analysis is due to the fact that different meanings to it are ascribed in scientific literature and daily speech. Furthermore, the complex use of the concept of civilization can be noted in the works of the founders of Marxism as well. They frequently used this term to express the level of social development which replaced the era of savagery and which was characterized by the intensified division of labor under the conditions of a young class society, the substitution of the monogamous family for the tribal political organization, and so on. Naturally, cultural achievements were considered as well: the development of literacy, the division between mental and physical labor, regarded as progressive for that age, successes in the art and sciences and other factors. K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin also used the term "civilization" in an overall description of the progressive changes in social development and levels of achievement in various areas of social activity.

The content of the concept of civilization became considerably richer in the post-October age, following the appearance of the new nonexploiting society which engaged systematically in promoting socialist and communist change. The harmonious links between the human and the class aspects of the ideology and sociopolitical practice of the working class, the conversion of all material and spiritual goods into the property of the people, and the very change in the nature of the social system determined the new direction in which the concept of civilization developed. The basic ideas and most important components of the concept of communist civilization (sometimes described as socialist, according to the historical level achieved) may be found in the documents of our party and the writings of its leaders.

They include the summarized characteristics of the new type of social progress: high level material and spiritual socialist culture and the achievements and advantages of a social system free of all forms of oppression. The nature of the new type of civilization became particularly clear in the correlation of strictly socialist characteristics with the material and spiritual values historically gained by society and the determination of their position in the historical process: a higher level of human civilization, to the extent to which it creates conditions for the all-round blossoming of the individual and the development of the toiling classes, nations and all mankind. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "The October Revolution, by itself resolved the problems of our country, problems formulated by history and by its specific conditions above all. However, these were not essentially local but general problems which arose to confront all mankind in the course of its social development. The universal-historical significance of the October Revolution lies precisely in the fact that it paved the way to the solution of such problems and thus to the appearance of a new type of civilization on earth."

In our view quite justifiably, the author does not limit himself to a general description of the nature of communist (socialist) civilization, as described in the classical works, but uses it as a methodological and theoretical base for the elaboration of a general theory of civilization, including the characteristics of the new society which represents a higher type of civilization.

An interesting analysis of the interrelationship between the concepts of culture and civilization is provided. The author shows their distinct functional significance and characterizes civilization as the sum total of sociocultural features existing at a specific time, and to a certain extent related by specific social, material and spiritual values. These features are distinguished by social, structural and traditional-cultural characteristics. Unity among such factors is an initial prerequisite for the entire theory of civilization. Neglect of any of its components or their specific nature greatly hinders our understanding of the nature of civilization.

A study of the content and the historical fate of the concept of civilization explains the trend in the lively discussions of this problem still under way in bourgeois philosophical, sociological, ethnographic and anthropological publications. Despite their wide variety, non-Marxist concepts have a number of common features such as historical idealism, neglect of the connection with the overall

laws governing the historical process, rejection of the link between civilization and the production method, and class contradictions. Inability or unwillingness to understand that human characteristics are preserved and developed within a specific cultural and socioclass environment, which either creates favorable conditions for or hinders the process, is the basis for the weakening of most contemporary bourgeois concepts of civilization.

Using specific data, the author proves that a variety of criteria on the basis of which one civilization or another could be defined can be found in a study of the common sociocultural features in world literature included in the concept of civilization.

Thus, sociocultural organisms can be classified on the basis of national, regional or religious characteristics, or on the basis of the inflated role of the individual spiritual components of culture (even including psychological characteristics such as belief in the Dionysian or Apollonian ideal of happiness, for example). However, there are also frequent efforts in the opposite direction--to absolutize material and technical factors, to classify civilizations on the basis of the levels of their technical and economic development, and so on and so forth.

These are complex problems and it is a virtue of this work that its author does not oversimplify them. He begins with the fact that even though the marked characteristics, regarded as the basis for the classification of a specific civilization are one-sided and cannot express the nature of a given sociocultural comity, nevertheless, to one extent or another, they characterize its individual features and ascribe a certain specific nature to the technical-economic, cultural, regional or other aspects of the social organism, not necessarily restricted to its national framework. These are real phenomena which scientists cannot ignore.

However, comprehensive and objective interpretation of the profound nature of each civilization and the reasons for its appearance, development and historical fate requires the determination of its connection with the production method and the existing socioeconomic relations and consequent ruling system or, in other words, its socioeconomic system. This leads to a consideration of the complex, crucial and still insufficiently studied problem of the interaction between civilizations and systems.

The author discusses the differences in the size, content, cognitive functions and length of existence of these categories in detail. This constitutes one of the most important parts of the book (as well as, let us admit, a controversial one, in terms of a number of problems).

In considering the various aspects of the correlation between the concepts of civilization and socioeconomic systems, the author works from the fact that the concept of civilization gives priority to the level of the material and spiritual culture achieved by a given community, regarded as a rule as basic in terms of the nature and level of social progress. It is on this basis that he defines the results of sociocultural activities, correlating them with general human values and their position within the single forward movement of universal history. According to the author, the concept of civilization reflects something not encompassed in

the concept of the socioeconomic system. He develops the view that the appearance of a new civilization is a lengthy process in the course of which a specific cultural-historical organism must have the opportunity to create its own values, distinct from the values of preceding or coexisting communities and possessing a universal content and significance.

The idea of the failure of a system and a civilization to coincide in time was interestingly developed by Soviet philosopher Kh. N. Momdzhyan, and is shared by the author of this book: "The theory of civilization is focused on the identification of the distinguishing features which separate one civilization from another. This theory reveals the specific interrelated production-labor skills, racial-ethnic commonality, and characteristic cultural, ethnical, esthetic, religious and cultural values which, put together, make a given civilization. The unjustified identification of a civilization with a system is solely the result of the fact that individual civilizations can substantially change and outlast several socioeconomic systems. It is equally true that in the life span of a single system such as, for example, feudalism, a variety of civilizations appeared and existed at the same time" (p 61).

The author extensively discusses the process of the creation and improvement of conditions for the assertion and dissemination of the values of a communist type of civilization, which along with the mastery and extensive dissemination of all of the progressive cultural gains of mankind, is characterized by entirely new content in human activities in various realms of social life and richness in man's social relations.

In several chapters, using extensive factual data, the author describes the real contribution of the new socialist civilization to the forward moving historical process, in terms of both the establishment of an essentially new social organization and insuring the material and cultural well-being of the people and conditions for the all-round blossoming of the individual, as well as from the viewpoint of its importance in terms of the progressive changes occurring in the international arena.

As he analyzes the characteristic features of the new historical type of civilization, the author notes that at present not all of them are being fully implemented in the practical life of one socialist country or another. For that reason he emphasizes the importance of making distinctions among great accomplishments, forthcoming tasks and a scientifically pursued future. The dialectical-materialistic approach to the problem of the "necessary" and the "existing" in a developing civilization is always distinguished by realism, the realization that it is still young and that although its opportunities have not as yet been definitively revealed, it is continually seeking better solutions to the problems raised by reality as it steadily develops. The entire book leads to the conclusion, regarding the historical role of the socialist civilization, that it is the only one which can resolve the socioclass and general human problems of our century, which is a necessary prerequisite to and requirement governing the further progress of mankind.

This is a topical and useful theme. It does not provide a solution to all problems and requires a great deal more interpretation and elaboration. For example, we know that the main reason a socialist civilization cannot be limited to a national or regional framework is (along with the general trend toward internationalization found in global history) the nature of the new system, which promotes an ever closer rapprochement among sovereign fraternal countries aspiring to a general upsurge in all realms of social life through all-round cooperation. The cultural aspect is taking on ever greater importance in the comprehensive process of expanding the cooperation and rapprochement among the members of the socialist comity. This is the reason it is so desirable to depict the interaction among their national cultures profoundly and objectively on the basis of a single world outlook and commonality in the ideological-political and socioeconomic areas.

All of this is important for the simple reason that as the fraternal countries gradually come closer to each other, the new civilization correspondingly reflects the totality of the achievements of world socialism, correlating them with the entire cultural stock of humanity and the trends in its development. What makes the more thorough and specific description of such processes even more necessary is the fact, justifiably noted by the author, that together with the comprehensive establishment of the new system, they obviously subsequently define the trend in the transformation of the communist civilization into a single civilization of all mankind. As a result, having organically encompassed the best achievements of previous developments, the communist civilization will become identical to world civilization.

In my view, our literature should in general give a comprehensive picture of the dialectics of the class and the all-human and of the socialist and the global civilization. In particular, it is important to emphasize that under contemporary conditions, precisely thanks to the development and the strengthening of real socialism--the main offspring of the international working class, world civilization can be preserved and further advanced and protected from the aggressive thought and actions of the reaction and of imperialism.

Further development of this major and important theme--the establishment and development of a communist civilization--is a topical task facing Marxist-Leninist social science. Let us hope that other works will follow this first generally successful monograph. This author himself, we believe, should continue his fruitful studies.

5003
CSO: 1802

AT THE JUNCTION WITH PRACTICE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 110-111

[Review by Docent B. Firsov, candidate of philosophical sciences, of the book "Massovaya Informatsiya v Sovetskom Promyshlennom Gorode. Opyt Kompleksnogo Sotsiologicheskogo Issledovaniya" [Mass Information in the Soviet Industrial City. An Attempt at a Comprehensive Sociological Study]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1980, 446 pages]

[Text] A developed mass information media complex is operating in our country. It provides information to the population on a broad range of problems of interest and insures proper guidance of the people. Sociological studies are an important means of further improving ideological and political-educational work and for strengthening its ties with life and with practice in the building of communism.

One major such study focused on a previously unstudied problem ("The Way Public Opinion Functions Under Urban Conditions and the Activities of State and Social Institutions") was carried out by a group of scientists between 1967 and 1974 in Taganrog (and in part in Moscow and Rostov-na-Donu) with the direct assistance of the party organs. Its purpose was to make a comprehensive survey of information activities and to search for new methods and means of upgrading the effectiveness of ideological work done through the mass information and propaganda media and of broadening and improving of the mechanism through which the working people participate in the management of social processes.

The results of this work were summarized in a book written by a group of authors and edited by B. A. Grushin and L. A. Onikov.

The authors justifiably relate the sociological approach to information mainly to its social purpose. They consider it a social phenomenon and have developed a corresponding conceptual system. The authors describe the various kinds of mass information. They devote considerable attention to the means by which the information system operates, and in particular to its creation, dissemination (transmission), consumption (reception) and utilization (see p 46).

The authors use a systemic approach in specifying the object of their study: "...Information relations between the system of social institutions engaged in social management functions, on the one hand, and the population (meaning in this case public opinion) on the other" (p 42). The strictly logical breakdown of the research topic within the theme "functioning of public opinion..." insures and anticipates its significance.

A medium-sized industrial city was chosen for the comprehensive study of the activities of television, radio, press and party training, political information and lecture propaganda systems.

Above all, the authors trace the close connection between the information function of these media and the tasks and objectives of social management. They properly relate it to the dissemination of social information. The powerful television, radio and press networks, the verbal mass propaganda channels and their influence on the minds of the people become directly involved in the process of organizing and managing public life and take over a number of tasks related to the delivery of information within the management system.

The study shows the ramifications of the mass information and oral propaganda media in a contemporary industrial city: 90 newspapers with an overall circulation of about 200,000; more than 1,000 periodicals with a total circulation of 143,000; 15 main radio channels (not counting the large number of out-of-town stations), 2 television channels, and so on.

Taken separately, and in particular taken together, all these communications media transmit a tremendous mass of knowledge. For example, every day the newspapers alone provide the population of a medium-sized industrial city with about 400,000 hours of information (an hour is the conventional unit for the volume of information equaling 30 pages of typewritten text). This means an average of about 30 hours per urban resident per day. Consequently, 99.3 percent of the population of Taganrog regularly consults one of the sources of information and only 7 out of 1,000 people do not read any newspapers, listen to the radio or watch television (see p 216).

The authors, who introduce the concept of "mass information consumption," show that in a city such consumption is truly universal. However, substantial differences can be found from one individual population stratum or group to another. They note that "the intensiveness with which information is received (consumed) is directly proportional to the level of the development of the need for information, and in particular the level of the people's awareness of this need" (pp 266-267). In this connection they note some shortcomings in the activities of the mass information media. This includes the so-called "information shortage" and the lack of coincidence between the "factual interest" of the working people and the information offered.

The final chapter describes the results of the study of the role of public opinion in the management of social processes. The authors analyze the basic types of relations between the population and the administrative institutions--letters sent by the working people, personal contacts with deputies of local soviets and the personnel of local administrative organs, meetings of public organizations in labor collectives, and so on (see p 374). According to the authors, the desire of the people to inform the administrative organs on their own initiative "primarily and above all of the existence of negative facts and aspects of life" (p 404) is a convincing demonstration of the initiative and great awareness of the Soviet people and their desire to correct shortcomings. It is a reflection of their belief that their interest in the correction of omissions is shared by the personnel of the administrative unit. This is fully consistent with the spirit of socialist social relations and our democracy.

There was a 6-year interval between the completion of the project entitled "The Function of Public Opinion..." and the publication of the book. The authors, therefore, can be criticized for the fact that the implementation of their recommendations is not reported in the book. In our view, the results of the study conducted in Taganrog (as well as Moscow and Rostov-na-Donu) depict information system conditions typifying not only a "medium-sized industrial city" but, to a large extent, the country as a whole. Unquestionably, this is a book of great practical scientific significance.

5003

CSO: 1802

STUDY OF THE PAST IN CLOSE RELATION TO THE PRESENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 112-118

[Review by M. Mikhaylov, doctor of historical sciences; V. Popov, doctor of historical sciences; and P. Firsov, doctor of historical sciences, of the periodical NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA]

[Text] The editors of NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA, the organ of the Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, face major and responsible tasks: they must help to upgrade the ideological and theoretical research standards, systematically applying Marxist-Leninist ideology, and they must interpret and summarize the phenomena in the historical process on the basis of party and class positions.

The journal is guided in its activities by the CC CPSU decree on basic trends in the scientific research of the USSR Institute of History and USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History (1969). The decree directed scientists to work on such key problems in modern and very recent history as Marxist-Leninist methodology in the science of history, theoretical problems in the universal-historical process, the struggle being waged by progressive social forces for social progress, the history of the world's socialist system, the history of the capitalist countries, particularly in the period of the general crisis in capitalism, foreign historiography, and criticism of bourgeois and revisionist concepts of general history and the global revolutionary process.

The 25th CPSU Congress, the party documents issued after the congress and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, called for the attainment of new levels in the development of the science of history.

In the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the journal's collective considerably energized its coverage of topical scientific problems. The materials it published formulated and partially resolved many new problems related to the history of the international communist and workers movements, the national-liberation struggle and international relations. New topics were formulated.

Materials on major problems in recent history ranging from the mid-17th century to October 1917 constitute an important section of the journal.

We know that Marxist historical science developed mainly on the basis of the history of capitalist society, recent history. At the same time, K. Marx described

the "road to the scientific study of history as a single natural process, despite its tremendous comprehensiveness and contradictory nature" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 26, p 58). This meant a radical swing in the study of the history of mankind from the positions of historical materialism.

V. I. Lenin addressed himself steadily to problems in the history of capitalism. He developed a complex of the most important problems dealing with the age of imperialism, the bourgeois-democratic revolution and its growth into a socialist revolution, the development of capitalism in industry and agriculture, the industrial revolution, the stages in the formation of a national marketplace and so on. Lenin provided a profound analysis of the most important events in modern history and the history of the international workers movement.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, the authors of the materials published in the journal are making a substantial contribution to the study of many scientific problems in the age of capitalism.

Great attention is being devoted to problems in the history of Marxism, the struggle waged by Marx and Engels for the creation of a proletarian party, and the exposure of the misrepresentations of bourgeois ideologues and reformists.

The journal systematically promotes the idea that Marxism-Leninism showed the peoples the path of social and national liberation and had a powerful influence on the entire course of historical development, and that Marx and Engels have left us as their legacy not only great ideas but extremely rich experience in revolutionary theoretical and practical work. Some of its stages have been scientifically covered by the journal. Many articles deal with aspects of such activities hitherto ignored. They are based on a thorough study of the sources preserved, including unpublished documents. Some articles argue with contemporary reformism and revisionism, which makes them politically topical. Many articles comment on Lenin's study of the sources of Marxism and reveal the legitimacy of the appearance of Marxism at a specific stage in the development of the bourgeois society (No 6, 1979; No 6, 1980).

The materials in the journal refute the faulty concepts of the defenders of the bourgeois system, who are doing everything possible to distort the true nature of scientific communism. Bourgeois and right-wing socialist politicians and sociologists are trying to limit the applicability of Marxism in terms of time. They are trying to prove that the Marxist analysis of the bourgeois society is based on a study of the reality of the mid-19th century, and that it is roughly accurate in terms of the past century but does not at all reflect the laws governing contemporary capitalism. As they refute these and similar false views, Soviet historians are presenting the international nature of scientific communism and its ever growing impact on the contemporary historical process convincingly and comprehensively.

The journal regularly publishes materials on Lenin's life and activities. The thought running through all of these articles is that Lenin comprehensively developed the Marxist theory of the revolutionary reorganization of the world. His

works penetrated the social nature of contemporary events and phenomena most profoundly. In creatively applying the dialectical-materialistic method to the study of the new historical realities, he enriched the basically important provisions of all components of Marxism and inaugurated a new stage in its own development. We believe that the journal has developed its own approach to the interpretation of the theory and practice of Leninism and of Lenin's life and activities, specifically in terms of issues related primarily to international problems. The articles on the struggle waged by Lenin against opportunism in the Second International and for the triumph of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the international workers movement and on the interpretation of important problems in the history and policies of the European social democratic movement and other movements are unquestionably useful (No 2, 1977; No 2, 1980).

The journal properly devotes great attention to problems in historical methodology and the theory of the historical process, the defense of Marxist-Leninist methodological principles and criticism of the views of bourgeois historians. The articles on the theoretical problems in the science of history analyze the correlation between the general and the internal laws governing historical developments (No 4, 1976; No 3, 1977) and the criteria used for dividing history into periods (No 1, 1979). Articles in the journal thoroughly examine the correlation between the national and the international on a global scale and depict the basic differences between the two main types of internationalization of social life--the socialist and the capitalist. Other materials deal with important theoretical problems in the history of recent times, the origins of capitalism and the correlation between the general laws of the capitalist system and national characteristics in particular (Nos 4 and 5, 1972; No 2, 1973; No 2, 1976).

A number of interesting materials deal with the history of the revolutionary movement. The journal carries articles and reports on the Paris Commune. They have broadened our thinking concerning the political and socioeconomic activities of the Commune as a state of a new type and have reasserted the most important Marxist concept to the effect that the Commune was the first form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a new type of democracy, incomparably superior to any previously known. The Commune is considered not only as an event in French history but as the natural result of the development of human society and an international phenomenon, a turning point in the development of capitalism. It proved that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had already achieved a new capacity for reconciliation, and it raised the question of the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the rule of the working class (Nos 1, 2 and 4, 1971; Nos 1, 2, 5 and 6, 1977). These studies are major arguments opposing the claims of contemporary bourgeois historians who say that the Marxist-Leninist view of the 1871 Commune is a "legend" or a "communist myth."

The journal has covered the events of the war of independence waged by the North American colonies, the age of the French revolution at the end of the 18th century, and the revolutions of 1848-1849. The authors have demonstrated the inevitable impact of revolution on society and its development and the great force of revolutionary changes, not only within the temporal framework of the revolutionary period, but subsequently, even when the reaction was able to triumph.

However, we must not ignore the fact that in recent years the journal has been devoting insufficient attention to a number of revolutionary events. Very few works have been published on the 17th century revolution in England and the French revolution at the end of the 18th century. No articles have been published on the history of the July 1830 revolution. The materials published do not always fully describe the positive consequences which, although of a limited nature, the bourgeois revolutions had on social progress. Yet as we know, they helped to energize the struggle being waged by the working people for their social and in a number of countries national, liberation. The role of the people's masses in the development of the bourgeois revolutions should be described more fully, for it gave them the power and scope without which their victory would have been impossible. It is very difficult to resolve the old problem of completing the study of the basic aspects of the history of bourgeois revolutions without a thorough study of such problems.

The journal has carried a number of articles on the history of social thought, on utopian socialism above all--Thomas More and Saint Simon, the French utopian socialism of the 1820s-1830s, and N. G. Chernyshevskiy's works and activities. On the basis of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the development of socialist ideas in the pre-Marxist period, the authors of such articles are continuing the research initiated by the school of Academician V. P. Volgin. They are making a more profound study of the documents and are trying to provide new solutions to a number of general and specific scientific problems.

It would be well for the authors to devote greater attention to a description of the ties and interactions between social thinking and social movements in the various ages. The article on the history of the French utopian communism of the 1820s-1830s (No 3, 1977) is an example of this approach.

The elaboration of topical problems in the history of individual capitalist countries, the United States above all, represents a positive aspect of the journal's activities. The journal has covered problems related to the origin and development of American capitalism--the molding of the American nation and the development of capitalism in agriculture. Great attention has been devoted to the revolutionary periods in American history and the study of the active participation of millions of working people--the true makers of history--in revolutionary events (Nos 2 and 3, 1976; No 5, 1978).

However, a number of important problems in U.S. history have not yet been covered by the journal. Specifically, extensive studies of the history of social thinking and the socialist movement, the First International in America, and the struggle of the Indian people and the agrarian-peasant problem, are lacking.

While noting the achievements of our scientists in the study of the "small countries" of Europe, we must admit that many essential aspects of their history are still "blanks spots" in Soviet historiography. Such studies must also be continued, in addition to everything else, because once again contemporary bourgeois historiographers are reviewing the old man-hating concept distinguishing between "historical" and "nonhistorical" nations.

To one extent or another, the journal has covered most of the pivotal or major problems in the recent history of individual countries. Problems in the history of Germany are the exception. The journal should devote adequate attention to this topic.

Coverage of most recent history--events, processes and problems in the contemporary age,--the age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale--occupies considerable space in the journal. The international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution is a theme which runs throughout its coverage and is discussed in separate articles and materials as well. For example, a series of articles was published in connection with the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, describing at length its universal-historical content and influence on the global revolutionary process as a whole, on the workers and communist movements in the individual countries, and on the victories of revolutions and the building of socialism in other countries.

The materials show the meaning of the Great October Revolution as a turning point in global development and its role as the "locomotive of history," the heroic exploit of the Soviet people in building a new socialist system, as well as the role of the Soviet Union and the ideas and experience of the October Revolution in the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress. The fully legitimate conclusion reached is that "The general, the basic, the main laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism were applied, tried and tested for the first time in the history of mankind in the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union..." (No 5, 1977, p 55).

The articles trace the direct influence of the October Revolution on the upsurge of the revolutionary workers and national-liberation movements throughout the world. A number of countries are cited as examples of the process of establishing communist parties (No 6, 1980).

Noted leaders of the international communist movement, veterans of the revolutionary struggle and heads of communist parties have published interesting articles and reminiscences on the influence of our revolution on the development of the revolutionary movement, the role of Leninism and the significance of the experience of the CPSU. In his discussion of the significance of the experience of Lenin's party and the Great October Revolution for German communists, A. Norden, SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, emphasized that "...Two closely interlinked aspects of our internationalist attitude toward the Soviet Union and its revolutionary vanguard became the main feature of our position on the October Revolution. The first is the ever deeper awareness of the universal-historical significance of the Great October Revolution and the universal significance of Leninism, and the second, the creative application of the basic conclusions and experience of the CPSU in the assertion of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the establishment and defense of rule by the workers and the peasants through the dictatorship of the proletariat, the creation of socialist production relations in industry and agriculture, the planned development of the creative forces of the people, the development of a socialist foreign policy and the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the

international workers movement in accordance with the specific circumstances of the class struggle in our sector of the front on which socialism confronts imperialism. We have never deviated from this path" (No 5, 1977, p 15).

Problems in the history of World War II have retained their major topical significance. Using documents and archive sources, the authors have demonstrated the decisive universal-historical significance of the exploit of the Soviet people in defeating fascism and liberating the peoples of Europe and the role of the anti-fascist resistance movement and the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the war. A number of articles analyze the origins and class nature of fascism and its contemporary varieties. They convincingly prove the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that fascism is the tool of imperialism in the period of the general crisis of capitalism.

Valuable views on the historical experience in the Great Patriotic War have been formulated. Memoirs by noted military commanders and political workers in the Soviet army provide interesting factual data.

The articles in the journal on problems in postwar history represent an important contribution to the development of the problems in basic processes and events related to the further intensification of the general crisis in capitalism, the upsurge of the international workers movement, the growth of the anti-imperialist struggle and the conversion of socialism into the leading force in global progress.

Problems in the economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development of society under socialist conditions are discussed in articles on the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] and "Topical Problems of CPSU Ideological Work" (No 5, 1978; No 1, 1979). The authors emphasize that they provide a comprehensive characterization of the mature socialist society, sum up the experience in the party's political, organizational and ideological work, and profoundly analyze the current stage in the development of Soviet society and its historical prospects, as well as major contemporary theoretical problems.

The same topic is also discussed in the articles on the new USSR Constitution. They give a comprehensive description of the international and domestic political significance of establishing developed socialism, analyze the nature of socialist democracy and expose the anticommunist and anti-Soviet fabrications concerning the problem of human rights (No 1, 1978; No 2, 1979).

One of the specialized journal sections covers the study of the appearance, establishment and strengthening of the world socialist system. The authors describe the process of creating the new society, with particular attention to the general features and laws governing the building of socialism in different countries and at different stages. Such studies make it possible to understand the variety in the ways and means of building socialism and to summarize and master the international experience acquired.

The materials published by the journal emphasize that the strengthening of world socialism through cohesion is a profound and determining feature of its development and that the alliance of the communist parties is a guiding and organizing force and the main foundation for the ever closer and more comprehensive cooperation among the socialist countries (No 3, 1980). The great importance of the

decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses in terms of the further strengthening of the positions of the world socialist comity is pointed out.

Thanks to the participation of noted GDR social and political leaders and Soviet authors, the journal has been able to make a contribution to the interpretation of the process of building socialism on German soil (No 5, 1974; Nos 1 and 2, 1976; No 5, 1978; No 5, 1979). Clearly, it would be expedient to describe the specific processes of socialist change in other countries as well.

Addressing itself to the history of the capitalist countries in the postwar period, the journal has given extensive consideration to such topics as the intensification of the general crisis in capitalism under the conditions of competition between the two systems, the development of state-monopoly capitalism and the creation of multinational monopolies (No 5, 1979; No 3, 1980). Let us note, however, that in this area there are a number of complex and important tasks for historians, such as the study of the intensification of intra- and inter-imperialist contradictions, the policy of social maneuvering pursued by the monopolistic leadership with a view to strengthening its rule, the means and methods of state-monopoly control (on a comparative basis for a number of countries) and the characteristics of the impact of the scientific and technical revolution on social processes in capitalist countries. The results of a scientific study of such ripe problems in most recent history could substantially aid readers in a deeper study of the methods used by imperialism in its struggle against the forces of peace, democracy and social progress.

The journal regularly provides studies of the status of the international communist and workers movement and the development of the global revolutionary process. A number of articles describe the changes in the objective conditions for the struggle waged by the proletariat in the capitalist countries in the 1970s, the increased role of its revolutionary vanguard, the intensified crisis in social reformism, the growing trend toward joint action by different workers organizations, and the aggressive nature of the actions of the working class and other democratic forces. The theme of these studies is the need for a proper understanding of the correlation between the general laws of the revolutionary struggle and the specific conditions in the individual countries (No 2, 1980).

We note that discussion of problems related to the struggle being waged by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties for unity and cohesion within the communist movement and for peace, democracy and socialism is of very topical significance. The fact that such problems are kept in view by the editors is of value. Such materials describe the role of proletarian internationalism as a powerful and tested weapon of the working class. They emphasize the continuity and creative development of the communist movement, the Leninist ideological heritage and the revolutionary internationalist traditions of the Comintern, in particular the ideas expressed at its Seventh Congress (No 3, 1975). They describe the international solidarity of the working people in supporting the land of the soviets, in the Spanish Civil War and in World War II. The results of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties are analyzed from the viewpoint of the growing cohesion of the national detachments within the communist movement in the struggle for peace and detente (No 4, 1977).

The journal has published a number of articles on the development of the national liberation movement and the revolutionary processes in Asian and African countries, in accordance with the conclusion of the 25th CPSU Congress calling for upgrading the role of the liberated countries in global development and strengthening relations between the USSR and the other socialist countries and these countries. Such articles consider basic problems in the contemporary history of the liberated countries such as the significance of the activities of the revolutionary democratic movement in the national-liberation struggle and the role of the national bourgeoisie in the Eastern countries. The so-called "specific features" of the Eastern countries, which the ideologues claim override everything else, are substantively criticized. It has been proved that such specific features are entirely encompassed within the framework of the general historical process. They are defined by socioeconomic laws and were discovered by Marxist-Leninist science.

Let us note as one of the editors' achievements the regular sections entitled "Documentary Essays" and "Unfading Portraits of Proletarian Fighters." The articles carried in these sections deal as a rule with outstanding and topical events in the history of the revolutionary movement, the class struggle, foreign political talks and the history of World War II. They contain substantive essays on the lives and activities of noted leaders of liberation movements and political personalities and are saturated with rich factual data. In recent years the journal has published articles on S. Allende, W. Gallagher, J. Duclos, A. Cabral, V. Codoville, R. Luxemburg, T. Mann, J. C. Mariategui, Yu. Markhlevskiy, T. Mooney, W. Piek, P. Togliatti, M. Thorez, W. Haywood and Ho Chi Minh. In this manner the journal is participating in painting the collective portrait of a galaxy of outstanding proletarian revolutionaries and fighters for freedom who have made a tremendous contribution to the social renovation of the world.

The scientific development of the international-political problems of our time is of particular interest. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the ceremony held on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the study of the current deployment of forces in the world arena has made it possible to formulate an expanded foreign political program--the peace program--and to implement it successfully. Soviet scientists continue to be of tremendous assistance to the party in this respect.

The journal has concentrated particularly on the development of the Leninist scientific principles of socialist foreign policy and Lenin's ideas on the reorganization of international relations on an essentially new basis. The articles published show the importance of the foreign political principles of socialism, proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, principles which play a leading part in the international policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries (No 4, 1978).

The continuing significance of the Leninist concept of proletarian internationalism as the main support of the revolutionary movement, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in all countries and in the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement is developed against a broad historical background.

The journal devotes much attention to the intensified influence of the principle of proletarian internationalism on international affairs in the postwar period,

when this process acquired a broader base and took place on a qualitatively new level of social development. The principle of proletarian internationalism has become the basis of intergovernmental relations among members of the socialist comity.

In addressing itself to the origins of socialist international relations and their nature and essence, the journal focuses attention on the class and international approach on which relations between the Soviet Union and the people's democracies and the selfless aid given by the USSR to the young countries were founded. In considering the development of the socialist comity in subsequent stages, the authors have defined features characteristic of socialist international relations and analyzed the ratio between the general and the specific and between the international and the national within them.

In covering the economic aspects of the strengthening of the socialist states and multilateral cooperation within CEMA, the journal singles out distinguishing features such as the prevalence of industrial and scientific and technical cooperation over trade, the equalization of the levels of economic development in the fraternal countries, and the elaboration of comprehensive and long-target integration programs. It is worth noting that as a rule the problems in the development of socialist economic integration are contrasted with the integration processes in the capitalist countries, and the basic distinctions between them are indicated (No 2, 1979). An idea emphasized by the journal--the dialectical interrelationship between the two sides of the development of the socialist comity--foreign political coordination and economic integration--is of exceptional importance. Being mutually complementary and contributing to general development, such reciprocal ties strengthen the fraternal alliance among the socialist states even further.

A number of articles deal with the international economic relations of CEMA and its role in the global economy and the materialization of detente, and with specific aspects of relations between CEMA and countries which are not permanent members of it, such as Yugoslavia, Laos, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Ethiopia and Angola, as well as cooperation between CEMA and some capitalist and developing countries.

The journal's study of the topical problems of the socialist comity and its economic and foreign political relations convincingly substantiates the concept that socialism is becoming a leading factor in contemporary world progress.

The editors assign great importance to problems in the national-liberation struggle at the present stage and the application of the principle of proletarian internationalism in relations between the socialist and developing countries. Specific examples are given in describing relations between the socialist and liberated countries. The growing importance of Lenin's concept of alliance between the victorious socialist revolution and the national-liberation movement in our time is emphasized (Nos 3 and 6, 1977).

The journal follows the theoretical and practical development of the principle of peaceful coexistence closely from the first days of the Soviet system, the Brest

Peace Treaty and the Genoa Conference to the present (No 3, 1977; No 4, 1978). It provides substantiated criticism of the groundless bourgeois concepts which distort and even deny the significance of this principle, and the political theories of Western authors who, making extensive use of fabrications concerning the "Soviet threat," try to justify consecutive rounds of the arms race.

Under contemporary conditions bourgeois scientists can no longer ignore the unquestionably positive role of the policy of peaceful coexistence in detente as they did in the past. Therefore, they are shifting the focus of their attack to distortion of the nature of this most important principle, depicting it as the consequence of a kind of convergence of different social systems, or arguing that it means in fact nothing more than the absence of war. As it provides substantive criticism of such views, the journal also notes that many bourgeois ideologues have been forced of late to reinterpret the stereotypes of the "cold war" and thus to take a definite step forward in recognizing the expediency of joint effort to preserve international peace and security. The nature of Western foreign political concepts, the journal emphasizes, remains unchanged: they are "based mainly on the presumption of a global confrontation with the opposite system" (No 1, 1979, pp 33-34).

The authors devote particular attention to topics related to the implementation of the historical decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and the Peace Program drafted at the congresses. In this connection, the article by A. A. Gromyko, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs entitled "The Foreign Policy of the State Is a Powerful Weapon of the Communist Party in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" is of major importance. It provides a profound analysis of the objective and subjective factors which have determined the formulation and implementation of the party's foreign policy program. "The radical changes in the balance of forces in the world arena and the power of world socialism, which has increased tremendously, ...have enabled the party to formulate a radical swing in international relations from explosive confrontation to detente as a practical task..." (No 5, 1978, p 4).

The role of the principles of peaceful coexistence and their life-asserting power developed immeasurably in the 1970s. The real prerequisites for their incorporation in normal intergovernmental relations among countries belonging to opposite sociopolitical systems developed. On this basis and as a result of the joint efforts of the socialist countries, tangible results were achieved. In considering the problems in the practical implementation of the foreign political program of the USSR and the other socialist countries, the journal has focused particular attention on the holding of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to the preparations for and completion.

We know, however, that the international situation became considerably more complex at the beginning of the 1980s. This was mainly the fault of the ruling circles in the United States, which have tried to wreck the policy of detente and disarmament. Under the more developed circumstances, the problem of the struggle for an end to the arms race and for international security is more urgent than ever before. The scientific elaboration of this problem, and the study of the efforts to resolve it, its formulation as part of the policy of the Soviet Union

and the other socialist countries, and the positions of the capitalist countries of Europe and America, the United States in particular, are receiving the broadest and closest possible attention from the Soviet public.

Without question, the journal has accomplished a great deal in clarifying the essential nature of the problems of disarmament and its evolution, and in criticizing the bourgeois supporters of the arms race (No 4, 1980). Nevertheless, we must admit that this burning issue of our time is being given less coverage than other foreign political topics. An intensified study of this problem of contemporary international life is one of the main tasks of the journal.

As a whole, the journal has gained considerable experience in the analysis of many problems in the history of international relations and foreign politics, which are covered quite fully and on a high scientific level.

This journal, which plays an active role in the struggle against the anti-Marxist concepts in bourgeois and revisionist historiography, has provided substantiated criticism of the views of some Western researchers concerning specific categories of historical science, particularly "historical fact" and the "correlation between concept and reality." It has exposed the faults in the idealistic assessment of specific historical events ("value gauging of events"). Let us also note a critical article on the interdisciplinary approach adopted by contemporary/bourgeois historiographers in the United States, by means of which they engage in another futile attempt to close the gap between the description and the interpretation of facts (No 6, 1977). In a series of critical-analytical articles on the condition and development of historical science in the FRG, France, Italy and Canada, the journal traces the basic directions in bourgeois and reformist historiography and exposes its lack of foundations on the theoretical-methodological level. Individual schools of bourgeois historiography have been critically analyzed. For example, the role of the "social history" school (FRG) as the defender of the imperialist state has been described. A number of articles expose the ideology and practices of international Zionism.

The materials criticizing the Maoist distortion of history and contemporary events are of major topical significance. They show how the distortion of history serves the great power plans of Beijing (No 5, 1980). The Maoist views on the development of the liberated countries are refuted by a scientifically substantiated interpretation of the origins and development of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the noncapitalist path of development (No 2, 1975). The contemporary defenders of Chinese expansionism, who are grossly distorting historical truth and trying to substantiate Beijing's territorial claims against neighboring countries on the basis of the conquests of the Qing, have been exposed (No 1, 1979). Several other articles expose the Maoist distortion of the role which Russia played in the struggle of the Balkan peoples to liberate themselves from the Turkish yoke (No 5, 1979), describe the break between the Maoists at the behest of Sun Yat-sen (No 5, 1978) and show how tendentious Maoist historiography is in trying to justify Beijing's contemporary course on the basis of the experience of the Xinhai Revolution in 1911-1913 (No 1, 1980).

It would be well for the editors to extend and develop this line of work, bearing in mind that Maoist historiography is resorting to ever more refined falsifications of the historical process.

The journal has regularly published reviews of new works by Soviet and progressive foreign historians and surveys of the Soviet historiography of modern and most recent times. The achievements in science, its developmental tasks in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress (No 2, 1976; No 1, 1977; No 4, 1978), and the level of study on individual problems and the results of scientific work are analyzed (Nos 1 and 6, 1980).

Thus a great deal has been accomplished in the study of historiography. However, as was pointed out at a meeting between the editors and the heads of the chairs of general history at the pedagogical VUZs in the country held in February 1979, the journal should depict the achievements of Soviet science and the level of study on one problem or another more effectively. It should expand its critical studies of bourgeois-reformist historiography and various types of antisocialist concepts. Consequently it should continue the study of the historiography of the establishment and development of the world socialist system and the national liberation movement and should publish reviews of the latest textbooks and the dissertations defended on modern and most recent history.

In 1975 the journal started a new section entitled "Aid to the History Teacher." This is an excellent undertaking. The materials it contains cover central problems in most recent history and make the results of the studies by specialists in one area or another accessible to a wide range of history teachers. Such materials are of great help to teachers and contribute to the dissemination of historical knowledge among the masses.

Today Soviet historians enjoy an exceptionally favorable and creative environment. The decisions of party congresses, the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the profound ideas they contain are a source of inspiration and are fruitfully influencing the development of the science of history.

The journal NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA exerts a major influence on the development of topical problems in general history and contributes to the solution of the problems posed by the party. However, the editors must further improve their publication and take the critical remarks and wishes of their readers and the scientific public into consideration. On the eve of the 26th CPSU Congress, they should make a critical evaluation of the great experience they have acquired. Problems in the further development of the science of history must be set forth more daringly. Major studies in the field of modern and most recent history are needed, and the creative efforts of scientists along the most important lines of historical progress must be encouraged.

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'ON MATHEMATICS AND THE QUALITY OF THE TEACHING OF MATHEMATICS'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 119-121

[Letters to the editors]

[Text] "On Mathematics and the Quality of the Teaching of Mathematics" was the title of an article by Academician L. S. Pontryagin which was published in KOMMUNIST (No 14, 1980). It described the unsatisfactory situation in the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools and the distortions of the subject of mathematics by some authors who based their considerations on false methodological premises and introduced erroneous ideas in understanding the nature of mathematics and the correlation between theory and practice. The author also pointed out that the journal MATEMATIKA V SHKOLE had adopted a subjective position confusing to teachers.

The public response to the article was positive. It was discussed at the Fourth Session, Ninth Convocation, of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the 41st Conference of the Leninskiy Rayon CPSU organization in Moscow. The editors are receiving responses from all parts of the country in which the readers, not only school teachers but also people in a wide variety of fields, express their gratitude for this publication, together with their concern about the current status of teaching in the schools. They voice the hope that it will be corrected functionally and in accordance with the practical requirements of and tasks in scientific and technical progress and economic and social development.

Excerpt from the letter from Hero of Socialist Labor I. G. Tkachenko, candidate of pedagogical sciences, mathematics teacher at Bogdanovskaya Secondary School No 1, Kirovogradskaya Oblast: "My colleagues and I fully share and support the basic stipulations of the article and its principled assessment of the new mathematics curriculum and textbooks.... The problem of improving the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools is complex in terms of content and methods of practical implementation. Its solution calls for the joint effort of leading scientists in the country, method workers and talented teacher-practitioners. The mathematics course must take its proper place in the system of communist education of the students. It must help to improve the training-education process and train students for work under the conditions of socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress."

Letter from Academician V. A. Ambartsumyan, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences president: "Issue No 14 of KOMMUNIST carried an article by our famous mathematician, Academician L. S. Pontryagin, on the teaching of mathematics in secondary

schools. I read this article with great pleasure and find each of its basic stipulations accurate.

"I only wish to emphasize that the effort to saturate mathematics textbooks with views and concepts related to the complex substantiation of this science has done tremendous harm to our schools.

"Mathematics is important in school training not only as a basis for further technical and vocational training, but is important above all because it trains the student to think precisely and accurately. This type of thinking is needed by everyone: worker, engineer, scientist or soldier.

"Naturally, the article by Academician Pontryagin arouses great concern. How soon will we be able to print new textbooks and eliminate all such antipedagogical 'innovations' from teaching?

"I would like to ask your journal to follow the developments in this important direction. However important economic problems might be, the proper upbringing of our young people deserves equal attention.

"In conclusion, allow me to express my admiration of L. S. Pontryagin, one of the most outstanding scientists of our time, in connection with the fact that while fulfilling his civic duty and although always involved in the development of his new scientific ideas, he has found the time to make a thorough study of the teaching of mathematics in the schools."

Excerpt from the speech delivered by deputy A. A. Logunov, Moscow State University rector and USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, at the 22 October 1980 session of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "Thanks to the constant concern of the communist party and the Soviet state, the conversion to universal mandatory secondary education has been completed in our country. This is a great victory for the Soviet social system. In recent years the level of training for pedagogical cadres has been raised noticeably. The standards for school training are now higher and the material facilities of the schools have been substantially improved. However, the requirements made of secondary school work have also developed. Let us point out that some shortcomings exist in the organization of secondary school training. In particular, a difficult situation has developed in connection with the teaching of mathematics in our schools. Everyone is very familiar with the fact that secondary school mathematics is of the greatest importance in polytechnical training. The quality of the teaching of this subject determines the shaping of the entire engineering-technical and scientific potential of the country. The old system of teaching mathematics was developed over many decades. It was being steadily improved and, as we know, had yielded brilliant results. All of the outstanding scientific and technical accomplishments of the past and present were largely due to this system of mathematical training. Instead of continuing to improve this system, bearing continuity in mind, the USSR Ministry of Education made a sharp change in the teaching of mathematics several years ago, introducing new scientific pedagogical developments without making a sufficiently profound and comprehensive study of the matter.

"Today the subject is presented in an abstract fashion unrelated to real models and requirements. It is thoroughly imbued with scientific-sounding terms. This has led to the development of the type of textbook 'masterpiece' the study of which can totally destroy any interest not only in mathematics but in the exact sciences in general as well.

"Academician Lev Semenovich Pontryagin, an outstanding mathematician, provides a detailed study of the teaching of mathematics in Issue No 14 of KOMMUNIST for 1980.

"At the risk of boring you I shall cite one example from the mathematics textbook for secondary schools. Here is what the students must learn:

'A vector (parallel transfer) defined by a pair (AB) of noncoinciding points is a transformation of space in which each point M is reflected on a point M_1 in such a way that the beam MM_1 is codirected with the beam AB and the distance MM_1 equals the distance AB' ("Geometriya" [Geometry]. Textbook for the 9th and 10th grades in secondary schools. Sixth edition, Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1980, p 42. By V. M. Klopskiy, Z. A. Skopets and M. I. Yagodovskiy).

"This is hard to understand. We have among us mathematicians who are academicians. I do not believe that they have understood this either (excitement in the hall). Most important of all, this is not needed either in science or in technology.

"The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Improving the Training and Education of Students in General Educational Schools and Preparing Them for Work" noted that "in many cases the school curriculums and textbooks are overburdened with unnecessary information and secondary material. This hinders the development of habits of independent creative work in the students."

"All of this also applies to the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools. The USSR Ministry of Education is already taking steps to correct the errors, although perhaps somewhat slowly. We have asked Comrade Prokof'yev, USSR minister of education, to speed up this process."

At a meeting chaired by Academician V. S. Vladimirov, the USSR Academy of Sciences Mathematics Department Bureau discussed the KOMMUNIST article. The resolution it submitted to the editors supported the criticism of the substandard secondary school mathematics curriculum and textbooks.

The Academy of Sciences Mathematics Department Bureau commission on mathematics training reform in the secondary schools of the USSR supported L. S. Pontryagin's article and expressed its approval in a letter to the editors, noting that the article "properly reflects and accurately assesses the status of the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools."

The Scientific Council of the Mathematics Institute imeni V. A. Steklov of the USSR Academy of Sciences also discussed the article in KOMMUNIST. The following is a statement by Academician I. M. Vinogradov, the institute's director: "In recent years the Mathematics Institute imeni V. A. Steklov of the USSR Academy of Sciences has repeatedly pointed to the unsatisfactory status of the teaching of

mathematics in secondary schools. For this reason the scientific council of the MIAN [Mathematics Institute of the Academy of Sciences] was pleased by the letter which Academician L. S. Pontryagin addressed to the editors of KOMMUNIST.

The council believes that the criticism of the status of the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools voiced in L. S. Pontryagin's article is correct.

"This criticism, carried in an authoritative publication, was necessary. The method currently used for the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools is doing substantial harm to the process of training scientific and technical cadres and is hindering scientific and technical progress in our country. The correction of this situation has become a problem of governmental importance...

"Instead of using and improving on the positive experience acquired in our country and summarized particularly concisely in A. P. Kiselev's textbooks in teaching reform, a gross error was committed in making this teaching formalistic, in particular in basing it on the theory of multiples. Formalism and the theoretical-multiple approach are entirely unsuited to secondary school mathematics, for they emasculate the content of the subject...

"The MIAN Scientific Council fully supports the statement in KOMMUNIST and believes that it will contribute to improving the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools..."

The editors also received a response from M. A. Prokof'yev, USSR minister of education: "In connection with the critical material published in the journal on problems in the teaching of mathematics in secondary schools, the USSR Ministry of Education deems it necessary to inform the editors of the measures which are being adopted to improve the teaching of mathematics.

"For quite some time the content of mathematics, as a subject taught in secondary schools, has been the subject of serious criticism. In the past attempts have been made to review and update it. New textbooks were written and published under the guidance of Academician A. N. Kolmogorov and A. I. Markushevich, professor at Moscow State University. However, certain difficulties became apparent after their introduction: the students experienced difficulty in understanding a number of concepts and began to pay less attention to the solution of problems. Virtually every year the USSR Ministry of Education had to make corrections, to recommend that particularly complex concepts be deleted from the course or made more understandable, and to advise teachers to place more emphasis on the solution of problems. However, practical experience showed that this was an unsatisfactory method of resolving the problem of upgrading the mathematical standards for secondary school students.

Therefore an effort was made to commission new authors to write mathematics textbooks which would be more understandable and which would organically combine sufficiently high scientific standards with the practical tasks of the course.

At the suggestion of the USSR Ministry of Education, Academician A. V. Pogorelov reworked his course on "Basic Geometry" as a geometry textbook for the 6th-10th

grades. It was used experimentally in the schools in Khar'kov, Kiev, Sebastopol and many other areas. A second revised edition of the textbook was issued on the basis of work done on the subject in the course of the 1979/80 school year.

"The ministry accepted the suggestion by Academician I. M. Vinogradov that a large edition of this textbook be published in 1981 to make extensive dissemination of it among teachers possible.

"At the same time, on the recommendation of Academician A. N. Tikhonov, geometry and algebra textbooks were written for the sixth and seventh grades. These are being tested in the schools in Kievskiy Rayon in Moscow, Gor'kovskaya Oblast and several other areas in the RSFSR.

"Let us also add that at the request of the ministry, Academician A. D. Aleksandrov wrote a geometry textbook to be used experimentally for the 9th and 10th grades.

"At its 20 October 1980 meeting, the USSR Ministry of Education Collegium discussed the article by Academician L.S. Pontryagin entitled "On Mathematics and the Quality of the Teaching of Mathematics," noted that it raises the important question of shortcomings found in the teaching of mathematics to secondary school students, excessive formalization of a number of concepts in the textbooks, and their inadequate practical value, and deemed the criticism of these shortcomings accurate.

"By decision of the collegium, a number of additional measures were earmarked for the purpose of improving the study of mathematics by general school students. They include corrections in the mathematics curriculum, increased experimental work in connection with the writing of new textbooks, changes in the textbooks currently used and increased methodical aid for teachers.

"The 30 October 1980 article by Academician L.S. Pontryagin was also discussed at a meeting of the Council on Secondary General Educational School Problems, in the course of an analysis of the tasks of institutions in the USSR education system undertaken pursuant to the decisions of the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum and the address delivered to the plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman."

A number of readers asked if the article by L. S. Pontryagin had been discussed by the institutions of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. The editors have no information on this subject but hope to receive a response from these collectives as well. They also note that the article by Yu. Azarov entitled "Civic-Mindedness and Humaneness" (No 8, 1976) and a review of letters on the same subject (No 13, 1977), which constituted earlier criticisms of pedagogical science, were ignored by these same collectives.

More responses are being received. They include the polemically sustained letters by Academician S. L. Sobolev, Docent P. V. Stratilatov and Prof Yu. A. Petrov. Obviously, the journal will eventually publish an overview of the letters triggered by L. S. Pontryagin's article. By that time, possibly, specific measures may

already have been adopted by the USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences leading to substantial changes in the situation in the schools.

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[Note: The article by Edward Gierek: "Toward a Poland of Developed Socialism," KOMMUNIST No 6, April 1980, pp 79-89 of the original, 97-110 of the translated copy, was not included in the Russian index of which the following is the translation.]

INDICATOR OF ARTICLES AND MATERIALS PUBLISHED IN KOMMUNIST IN 1980

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 18, Dec 80 pp 122-128

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
New Documents by K. Marx and F. Engels.....	17	3	1
New Documents of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin.....	2	3	1
On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, CC CPSU Decree of 13 December 1979.....	1	3	1
At the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU. On the Further Strengthening of Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Instability in the National Economy.....	2	7	6
At the CPSU Central Committee. On Measures to Improve Party Political Work in Railroad Transportation.....	5	14	14
Appeal of Communists to the Peoples of European Countries for Peace and Disarmament.....	8	3	1
At the CPSU Central Committee. On the Results of the Paris Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe.....	8	5	4
At the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers.....	8	6	5
Announcement on the CC CPSU Plenum.....	10	3	1
On Convening the 26th CPSU Congress, 23 June 1980 Central Committee Plenum Decree	10	7	6
On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union, 23 June 1980 Central Committee Plenum Decree.....	10	8	8

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
At the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers. On Results of the Talks Between the Heads of the USSR and the FRG.....	11	3	1
At the CPSU Central Committee. On the Socialist Competition in Honor of the 26th CPSU Congress.....	12	3	1
At the Central Committee of the CPSU.....	13	3	1
Information on the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.....	16	3	1
Draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the USSR State Budget for 1981. 21 October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum Decree.....	16	12	11
At the CPSU Central Committee. On the Results of the Meeting of Leading Officials of the Warsaw Pact Member Countries Held in Moscow on 5 December 1980.....	18	12	11
At the CC CPSU Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers. On the Results of the Visit of L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, to India....	18	12	12
L. I. Brezhnev's Answers to Questions by a 'PRAVDA' Correspondent.....	2	12	12
L. I. Brezhnev Speech at Meeting with the Electorate on 22 February 1980.....	4	3	1
Address by L. I. Brezhnev at the Meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 4 March 1980.....	5	18	19
L. I. Brezhnev's Speech on Accepting the Lenin Prize on 31 March 1980.....	6	14	14
Report by L. I. Brezhnev CC CPSU General Secretary, to the 23 June 1980 CC CPSU Plenum.....	10	4	2
Brezhnev, L. To the Participants and Guests at the 1980 Olympic Games.....	11	5	3

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
L. I. Brezhnev's Answers to PRAVDA Questions.....	12	6	4
L. I. Brezhnev's Speech at the 28 August 1980 Conference of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee.....	13	6	4
L. I. Brezhnev's 29 August 1980 Speech at the Alma-Ata Ceremony on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Kazakh SSR and the CP of Kazakhstan.....	13	10	8
L. I. Brezhnev's Speech Delivered at the CC CPSU 21 October 1980 Plenum.....	16	4	2
Speeches by L. I. Brezhnev at the 14 November 1980 Meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.....	17	7	6
Editorials and Editorial Articles			
Voice of Historical Truth.....	5	3	1
Leader of the People.....	6	3	1
Economics and Education--Main Spheres of the Struggle for Communism.....	9	3	1
Worthily to Meet the 26th Party Congress.....	10	11	12
Sociological Research: Results, Problems and Tasks...	13	79	84
Party History Science for the 26th CPSU Congress.....	14	3	1
Starting Point of Communist Progress.....	15	3	1
Thoughts and Deeds of Millions of People Devoted to the Leninist Party Congress.....	18	3	1
Our Knowledge, Strength and Weapons			
Besse, Guy--Lenin as a Political Thinker and Fighter..	1	51	60
Bovin, A.--The Permanent Significance of Lenin's Ideas.....	10	70	87
Volkov, G.--One Genius Next to Another.....	16	78	83

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Gabrilovich, Yevg.--Thoughts on Work with Film Leniniana.....	6	57	67
Duclos, Jacques--His Ideals Belong to All.....	6	33	39
Zhukov, Ye.--Historicism of Marxism.....	13	18	16
Zagladin, V.--Leninism and Social Development.....	3	28	30
Zimyanin, M.--Marxism-Leninism and the Modern Era.....	8	8	7
Ignatovskiy, P.--Socialist Agriculture: Socio- economic Problems in Intensification.....	18	65	81
Kuz'min, E.--Democracy, Lenin's Ideas and Social Reality.....	6	45	52
Kunayev, D.--In the Beneficial Atmosphere of the Leninist Friendship Among Peoples.....	12	8	6
Litvinov, V.--By Your Name, Comrade Lenin.....	15	14	13
Luk'yanov, A.--Viability of Lenin's Ideas About the Soviets.....	1	28	33
Medvedev, V.--Leninist Principles of Economic Management Under Present Conditions.....	5	20	22
Mukerjee, Hiren--Great Creative Legacy.....	10	68	84
Novikov, V.--Bolshevism's First Printed Organ.....	18	57	67
Ponomarev, B.--Great Vital Force of Leninism. Report on the Ceremony Held in Moscow on the Occasion of V. I. Lenin's 110th Birthday Anniversary, 21 April 1980.....	7	3	1
Suslov, M.--Historical Correctness of Lenin's Ideas and Cause.....	4	11	10
Sukhorukov, B.--As Seen by Foreign Revolutionaries....	10	60	69
Frolov, A.--Spiritual Wealth and Communist Morality; On the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of V. I. Lenin's Speech at the Third RKSM Congress.....	15	26	26

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Hager, Kurt--Philosophy in the Contemporary Ideological Struggle.....	6	38	44
Ho Chi Minh--Excerpts from the Pamphlet 'The Path of the Revolution'; Lenin and the Colonial Peoples; Long Live the Great Leninism!.....	5	32	36
Tsedenbal, Yumzhagiin--Lenin in the Historical Destinies of the Peoples of the East.....	8	17	17
Chikin, V.--Establishment of Prometheus.....	13	25	23
Chmyga, A.--Lenin and the Kolkhozes.....	1	41	48
Towards the 26th Party Congress--Experience of the 10th Five-Year Plan			
Antonov, A.--Experiment in the Sector.....	13	36	36
Bodyul, I.--New Organizational Form for the Use of Agricultural Equipment.....	15	49	51
Vorotilov, V. and Cherevan', V.--Full Use of Equipment.....	17	39	40
Glebov, I.--On the Way to Huge Generators.....	13	43	43
Gorbachev, M.--Urgent Problems of Agriculture and Its Effectiveness.....	11	36	41
Derunov, P.--Highest Results with Least Outlays.....	15	38	39
Kaltakhchyan, A.--Important Efficiency Reserve.....	12	50	56
Karavayev, G.--Perfecting the Organization of Construction.....	16	57	59
MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA KOMMUNIST Collective Correspondent--From Analysis to Action.....	11	24	27
Laptev, V.--Economic Mechanism and Economic Law.....	16	45	48
Radin, V.--Created by the Socialist Comity.....	13	49	52
Fedorenko, N., Perlamutrov, V. and Petrakov, N-- Interconnection Between Physical and Value Indicators in the Economic Mechanism.....	12	38	43

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Florent'yev, I.--Russia's Granary.....	13	55	60
Fotin, V.--Ultra-High Tension Over Superlong Distances.....	13	46	47
Shatalin, S.--Improving the Methods of Socialist Economic Management.....	17	27	28
Sheremet'yevskiy, N.--Electrical Engineering Projects on the Ground and in Space.....	13	51	55
Shchelokov, N.--Topical Problems in the Consolidation of Law and Order.....	17	46	48
Toward the 26th Party Congress--Discussion of the CC CPSU Draft			
Gvardeytshev, M.--Question of Great Importance.....	18	49	53
Kirichenko, V.--Proportionality in Economic Growth and Efficiency.....	18	29	31
Lomako, P.--Pressing Industrial Power Generation Requirements.....	18	39	41
Solomentsev, M.--Improvement of Working People's Well-Being at the Focus of Attention.....	18	15	15
Theory and Practice of Party Construction			
Mel'nik, V.--Through the Lens of Social Tasks.....	9	50	56
Pel'she, A.--Concerning Exactness and Discipline...	2	18	19
Polunin, V.--Rayon Party Committee and Scientific Collectives.....	9	38	42
Protopopov, V.--Worthy of the Leader's Name.....	6	61	75
Strelkov, I.--Listening to the Voice of the Masses....	11	50	58
Usubaliyev, T.--Worthy Replenishment of the Leninist Party.....	9	25	26
Chernenko, K.--Great Unity of Party and People.....	17	10	9

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Shcherbitskiy, V.--Leninist Unity of Words and Deeds..	6	17	19
Rule by the Soviets is the Absolute Power of the People			
Georgadze, M.--Based on the Leninist Principles of Socialist Democracy.....	12	24	26
Davidovich, V.--Developed Socialist Society-- A Society of Real Freedom.....	5	35	40
Kuznetsov, V.--Soviets and the Development of Socialist Statehood.....	16	13	12
Kuroyedov, V.--Inalienable Constitutional Norm of the Socialist State.....	5	45	52
On the Positions of the Building of Communism			
Avduyevskiy, V.--Cosmonautics for the National Economy	10	48	55
Aliyev, G.--Outstanding Results of the Leninist Friendship Among the Peoples.....	10	21	23
Alkhimov, V.--USSR Banking System in Action.....	8	33	35
Arkhipenko, V.--Renovated Land.....	1	94	116
Barayev, V.--Arrow Toward the Ocean.....	9	70	81
Beregovoy, G. and Ponomarenko, V.--Profession of the Obsessed.....	14	47	51
Gvozdev, V.--Interfarm Cooperation: Experience, Problems, Quest.....	4	40	43
Glushkov, N.--Economic Machinery and Planned Price Setting.....	8	45	48
Golikov, V.--Big Results and Broad Prospects.....	4	30	32
Newspape GUDOK, KOMMUNIST Collective Correspondent-- Railways: The Scope of Innovators' Quest.....	9	59	67
Medunov, S.--Kuban's Rice Virgin Land.....	4	51	55

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Novitskiy, A.--Socioeconomic Aspect of Manpower Reserves.....	2	44	50
Odlis, B.--End Result as the Principal Criterion of Economic Management.....	1	71	86
Syroezhin, I.--New Type of Economic Management and Computation.....	14	35	38
Tikhonov, N.--The Prime Task of Organizing Work.....	3	3	1
Pedirko, F.--Krasnoyarsk Decade: Results, Problems, Prospects.....	10	34	39
Fedoseyev, P.--Theoretical Problems of Development and Rapprochement Among Nations.....	1	57	67
Chernyavskiy, V.--Time Factor in Construction.....	2	33	37
Shakshin, A.--Workers' Relay.....	6	71	87
Shilin, I.--Economic Mechanism: Strategy of Perfection.....	14	23	25
All-Party Cause			
Avraamov, D.--The Journalist's Position.....	15	62	65
Verdiyeva, Z.--Moral Facet of the Higher School.....	14	68	74
Yenukidze, G.--Indispensable Condition for Fostering Collectivistic Morality and a Socialist Way of Life.	15	73	78
Yermash, F.--Motion Picture as the Mirror of the Epoch	14	87	94
Zimyanin, M.--Higher School at the New Stage.....	3	15	14
Lomakin, V.--Education of Patriots-Internationalists..	14	56	61
Salimova, K.--Pedagogical Problems in the Focus of Ideological Struggle.....	2	81	98
Kharchev, A.--Certain Problems in the Communist Upbringing of the Working People.....	12	61	68

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Science, Culture and Art			
Afanas'yev, V.--Dynamics of Social Systems.....	5	56	66
Barashenkov, V.--Einstein and Contemporary Natural Science Thinking.....	4	62	68
Bogdanov, N.--Let Us Make Russia Completely Electrified.....	17	58	60
Bondarenko, I.--Feat of a Communist Writer.....	7	110	135
Grushin, B.--Creative Potential of Leisure Time.....	2	72	82
Dubinin, N.--Biological Inheritance and Social Inheritance.....	11	62	72
Malysh, A.--Marx' 'Das Kapital' in the Homeland of Leninism.....	7	99	122
Melent'yev, Yu.--Portrait of an Artist.....	4	74	83
Narovchatov, Sergey--'A Major Battle Then Followed...'	12	71	79
Pavlov, S.--Real Holiday of Sports and Friendship Among Peoples.....	14	76	83
Fedoseyev, P.--Important Trend in the Social Sciences	13	68	73
Guarding Peace and Socialism			
Bagramyan, I.--What is Great Cannot Be Forgotten.....	8	60	66
Gorshkov, S.--Glorious Offspring of the Soviet People	3	43	48
Yepishev, A.--Lenin's Party--Inspirer and Organizer of Victory.....	7	60	73
KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, KOMMUNIST Collective Correspondent--Battle Organ of Army and Navy Communists.....	3	65	75
Kosygin, A.--In the Single Formation of the Homeland's Defenders.....	7	43	52

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Lebedev, V.--Red Banner imeni Lenin.....	3	57	64
New Documents of the Patriotic War.....	7	18	19
Frolov, G.--Soldiers and Home Guard: Writer's Notes..	8	73	83
Chuykov, V.--We were Inspired by the Great Lenin.....	9	82	97

Pages From the Struggle

Boyko, A.--From the History of the Publication of Il'ich's First Books.....	11	75	90
Jezeq, Alexander and Kotik, Ota--Tracing a Lost Letter by V. I. Lenin.....	2	65	75
Cruicci, D.--'Memory of Blood, Fire and Martyrdom'....	15	97	107
Nikhaylov, V.--Barricades of Elberfeld.....	16	70	74
Orlov, VI.--He Appealed To Us To Listen Attentively to the Music of the Revolution. On the Centennial of A. A. Blok's Birth.....	15	85	91
Under the Name of Doctor Iordanov.....	2	57	65
Ruben, V.--Forty Years of Life in the USSR.....	11	80	97
Sedykh, V.--A Communist and Father of a Communist.....	11	93	113
Suvorov, K.--Major Social Gain of the Working People..	17	67	71

Ardent Fighters for Communism

Arsenev, E.--Outstanding Leader of the French Communists.....	5	109	128
Clazunov, Ye.--Life Devoted to the People.....	7	82	99
Grishkyavichus, P.--Comrade Kapsukas.....	5	101	118
Nikolay Il'ich Podvoyskiy.....	3	107	137
Timofeyev, T.--Coeval with the Century.....	4	98	114

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Under the Banner of Internationalism			
Bovtunov, A.--In November 1918.....	16	108	124
Galandauer, Jan.--In the Name of the Cause of the Working Class.....	16	116	133
Efficient and Constructive Platform of Europe's Communists.....	9	93	113
Ponomarev, B.--Invincibility of the Liberation Movement.....	1	11	11
Ponomarev, B.--Joint Struggle of the Workers and National-Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress.....	16	30	31
Rusakov, K.--Quarter of a Century in the Service of Peace and Socialism.....	9	14	13
Ho Chi Minh--On the Anniversary of the Great October Revolution.....	16	93	101
Ho Chi Minh--Letter to Comrade X. 25 January 1930; On Revolutionary Morality.....	7	90	109
Shagin'yan, Marietta--No Utopia But Real Experience....	16	95	103
In the Socialist Comity Countries			
Borisev, S.--Currency of Socialist Economic Integration.....	15	101	112
Husak, Gustav--Historic Importance of Czechoslovakia's Liberation by the Soviet Army.....	6	90	111
Le Duan--In the Struggle for National and Social Liberation.....	4	85	97
Lilov, Aleksandur--For High Standards and Effectiveness of Ideological Work.....	10	82	101
Half a Century of Vietnamese Revolution.....	2	95	113
Great Power of the Revolution. Talk between Fidel Castro Ruz and a group of Soviet journalists on 19 January 1961.....	8	93	108

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Verner, Paul--Invincible Fraternal Alliance.....	8	82	96
Jaruzelski, Wojciech--Socialism's Reliable Shield.....	7	73	89
Realities of the Contemporary Epoch			
Bonosky, Philip--Disinformation at the Service of 'Psychological Warfare'.....	15	107	118
Gautier, Hermann--Sports, Peace and Workers Movement in the FRG.....	17	88	98
Gromvko, A.--Disarmament--An Urgent Present-Day Problem.....	11	6	5
Demchenko, P.--Afghanistan: Standing Guard Over the People's Gains.....	5	71	84
Zhilin, Yu.--New Phenomenon in the Economics of Capitalism.....	12	98	112
Zhukov, Yu.--Washington's Calculations and Miscalculations.....	12	87	90
Zagladin, V. and Shaposhnikov, V.--New Stage in the Struggle for Peace.....	17	78	83
Karpets, I.--Crimes Threatening Mankind.....	13	115	120
China: Some Trends in the Domestic Situation.....	3	95	115
Kianuri, Nureldin--People's Revolution in Iran.....	5	79	94
Kortunov, V.--Disastrous Relapse into a Policy of Strength.....	10	94	117
Lazarev, V.--The Anti-Marxist Movement in the PRC.....	8	101	119
Mal'kov, V.--Repressive Police Machinery in U.S. Political Life.....	13	93	98
Mirskiy, Z.--Militant Myth of a Doomed System.....	18	79	100
Mikheyev, Yu.--Revolution in Laos: Results and Prospects.....	6	101	124

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Nekrasov, V.--Will of the Peace-Loving Public.....	6	106	132
Nekrasov, V.--1980: Survey of International Life.....	18	88	115
Nikiforov, B.--United States: Corruption in the Highest Echelons.....	5	90	106
Nujoma, Sam--We Are Sure of Our Victory.....	17	104	115
Ovinnikov, R.--U. S. Foreign Policy as a Tool of the Financial Oligarchy.....	2	106	126
Oganov, G.--In the Labyrinth of the 'Mass Society'....	8	113	135
Dangerous Partnership.....	11	101	123
Polyanov, N.--Contrary to Common Sense.....	1	94	116
Primakov, Ye.--Middle East: Further Militarization of U. S. Policy.....	9	105	133
Rakhmaninov, Yu.--Five Years Along the Path of Helsinki.....	12	80	91
Sassou-Nguesso, Denis--Ten Years of Congolese Labor Party.....	3	83	101
Semenov, V.--With Faith in the People of France and the Socialist Future.....	18	73	94
Handal, Shafik Jorge--Along the Road to Freedom.....	17	94	105
Tsvigun, S.--Subversion as a Tool of Imperialism.....	4	108	128
Chakovskiy, Aleksandr--From the Point of View of Bats.....	10	106	133
Shvedkov, Yu.--CIA: A Tool in the Export of Counterrevolution.....	15	105	110
Shitikov, A.--High Responsibility of Parliaments and Members of Parliaments.....	3	73	80

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Letters to the Editors			
Gorlach, N.--Summing Up More Fully CPSU Historical Experience.....	11	116	149
Ioselev, Ya.--Good Help for Propagandists.....	11	110	141
Koshelev, V.--Imperfect Partnership.....	17	107	121
Koshelev, O.--Let Us Continue the Discussion.....	11	112	144
Levitin, P.--Major and Accessible Energy Reserve.....	17	106	118
Metelitsa, B.--On the Level of VUZ Training and Education.....	17	110	126
Pontryagin, L.--On Mathematics and the Quality of its Teaching.....	14	99	107
On Mathematics and the Quality of the Teaching of Mathematics.....	18	119	165
Journal's Mail: July-December 1979.....	2	122	151
Journal's Mail: January-June 1980.....	11	124	164
Tsema, V.--The Fifth Sigh of Imperialism Today.....	11	115	147
Criticism and Bibliography			
Abalkin, L.--Outstanding Page in the History of Soviet Economic Thought. ("Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya. 1931-1947" [Selected Works, 1931-1947] by N. A. Voznesenskiy).....	8	121	150
Akopyan, G. and Kaltakhchyan, S.--Inspirer of the Baku Commune ("Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works] by S. G. Shaumyan; in 2 volumes, Vol 1, 1902-1914, Vol 2, 1915-1918).....	1	112	148
Arsen'yev, E.--Useful Experience ("USSR-Frantsiya. Opyt Sotrudnichestva (Shestidesyatyey-Semidesyatyey Gody)" [USSR-France. Experience in Cooperation (1960s-1970s)] by Yu. V. Dubinin and V. N. Kelin)...	2	117	140

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Arkhipenko, V.--Loyal Party Aids ("Soyuz Molodykh Lenintsev" [Young Leninists Union] by Ye. M. Tyazhel'nikov).....	10	110	149
Arkhipov, B.--Topical Soviet-Bulgarian Analysis ("Ideyno-Vuzpitatefnata Rabota v Trudoviya Kolektiv" [Ideological-Educational Work in the Labor Collective]).....	12	117	143
Arkhipov, B.--A Multiple Party System Under the Conditions of the Building of Socialism ("BZNS: Vernyy Soyuznik Bolgarskikh Kommunistov. K 80- Letiyu Bolgarskogo Zemledel'cheskogo Narodnogo Soyuza" [The BZNS: Loyal Ally of the Bulgarian Communists. On the Occasion of the 80th Anniver- sary of the Founding of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] by G. A. Cherneyko; "Soyuznicheskiye Partii v Politicheskoy Sisteme Stran Sotsializma" [Allied Parties in the Political System of Social- ist Countries] by L. F. Shevtsova).....	3	124	164
Berezin, V.--Instructive History Lessons ("Documenty po Istorii Myunkhenskogo Sgovora, 1937-1939" [Docu- ments on the History of the 1937-1939 Munich Conspiracy].....	1	122	167
Vasil'yev, V. and Pavlov, P.--Cause of the Party and the People ("Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i [Selected Speeches and Articles] by Yu. V. Andropov)	5	119	140
Vorozheykin, I.--Loyalty to Great Traditions ("Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles] by G. V. Romanov).....	14	113	124
Gaponenko, L.--Moscow: Past and Present ("Istoriya Moskvy. Kratkiy Oчерk" [History of Moscow. Short Outline]).....	1	111	144
Golovanov, L.--Important and Essential Topic ("Bor'ba Idey i Napravleniy v Yazykoznanii Nashego Vremeni" [Struggle of Ideas and Directions in Present-Day Linguistics] by R. A. Budagov).....	9	126	164
Gromvko, A. and Starushenko, G.--Current Problems of African Development ("Aktual'nyye Problemy Sovremennoy Afriki" [Current Problems of Contemporary Africa] by P. I. Manchkha).....	2	118	143

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Deyneko, O.--The Soviet Scientist Today ("Formirovaniye Lichnosti Uchenogo v Usloviyakh Razvitogo Sotsializma" [Molding the Personality of the Scientist Under Developed Socialist Conditions], by R. G. Yanovskiy).....	10	121	155
Dudinskiy, I.--At the Head of World's Social Progress ("Glavnaya Revolyutsionnaya Sila Sovremennosti Mirovoye Sotsialisticheskoye Sodruzhestvo: Stanovleniye, Razvitiye, Vozrastayushcheye Vliyaniye" [The Main Revolutionary Force of Our Time. The World Socialist Comity: Establishment, Development and Growing Influence] by L. N. Tolkunov).....	9	123	158
Zbanatskiy, Yu.--Letters From the Fiery Years ("Velikaya Otechestvennaya v Pis'makh" [The Great Patriotic War in Letters]).....	12	108	124
Zubkov, I.--Powerful Ideological Weapon ("KPSS o Sredstvakh Massovoy Informatsii i Propagandy" [The CPSU on Mass Information and Propaganda Media]).....	9	120	153
Il'ichev, L.--Sources of Communist Civilization (M. P. Mchledlov "Sotsializm--Stanovleniye Novogo Tipa Tsivilizatsii" [Socialism--The Establishment of a New Type of Civilization]).....	18	108	145
Irkut, V.--More Alive Than the Living ("Chelovek Dlya Lyudey" [Man For the People] by G. Brovman. The depiction of the communist in Russian Soviet literature: "Kommunist Nashikh Dney v Zhizni i v Literature" [Today's Communists in Life and in Literature] by V. Ozerov; "Znamenostsy" [Flag Bearers] by V. Piskunov. The depiction of the Communist in Soviet literature).....	7	122	150
Kerimov, D.--Problems of Social Science Methodology ("Metodologicheskiye Problemy Obshchestvennykh Nauk (po Materialam Vsesoyuznoy Konferentsii "Aktual'nyye Problemy Metodologii Obshchestvennykh Nauk") [Methodological Problems of the Social Sciences (based on the materials of the All- Union Conference on "Topical Problems of Social Science Methodology")]).....	11	118	151

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Kozlovskiy, A.--Unity Between Theory and Practice in the Building of Communism (M. A. Suslov, "Marksizm-Leninizm i Sovremennaya Epokha" [Marxism-Leninism and the Contemporary Epoch]. A collection of speeches).....	15	115	126
Korionov, V.--Defending the Higher Interest of the Peoples ("Izbrannyye Stat'i i Rech'i [Selected Articles and Speeches by Rodolfo Ghioldi).....	1	120	162
Korolev, B.--From the Positions of Scientific Revolutionary Theory ("Revolyutsionnaya Teoriya i Revolyutsionnaya Politika" [Revolutionary Theory and Revolutionary Politics] by Yu. A. Krasin and B. M. Leybzon; "Rabochiy Klass v Tsentre Ideyno-Teoreticheskogo Protivoborstva" [The Working Class in the Center of the Ideo- logical-Theoretical Confrontation] by T. T. Timofeyev; "Yedinstvo Rabocheho Klassa i Ideo- logicheskaya Bor'ba" [Working Class Unity and Ideological Struggle]; "Rabochiy Klass Sotsialisticheskogo Sodruzhestva v 70-e Gody: Politika Bratskikh Partiy po Dal'neyshemu Ukrepleniyu Vedushchey Roli Rabocheho Klassa v Stroitel'stve Razvitogo Sotsialisticheskogo Obshchestva" [The Working Class of the Socialist Comity in the 1970s: The Policy of the Fraternal Parties for the Further Strengthening of the Leading Role of the Working Class in the Build- ing of a Developed Socialist Society] by G. Shtel'tner, Kh. Purgand and K. Shtefan; "Staryy Spor s Novymi Argumentami" [Old Dispute With New Arguments] (Against the falsification of the theory and practice of real socialism) by Yu. S. Novopashin).....	12	122	152
Mints, I.--Diplomacy of Socialism--A Weapon in the Struggle for Peace ("Istoriya Diplomatii" [History of Diplomacy], Vol 5, Book II).....	3	129	157
Mints, I.--Critique of Bourgeois Historical Methodology (Yu. N. Afanas'yev, "Istorizm Protiv Eklektiki" [Historicism Against Eclecticism]. The French "Annales" school of history in contemporary bourgeois historiography).....	17	126	147

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Mikhaylov, M., Popov, V., and Firsov, F.--Study of the Past in Close Relation to the Present. Review of the Journal NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA.....	18	112	153
Powerful Potential of the Country (N. A. Tikhonov, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles]).....	18	98	132
Mchedlov, M.--New Documents from Lenin's Literary Heritage. On the occasion of the publication of "Leninskiy Sbornik" [Leninist Collection] No XXXIX..	6	118	146
Along the Main Directions in the Building of Communism (A. P. Kirilenko, "Politika Sozidaniya i Mira" [A Policy of Construction and Peace]. Selected speeches and articles).....	17	115	133
Noerlund, Ib.--Role of Economics and Politics in the Revolution (K. I. Zarodov, "Ekonomika i Politika v Revolyutsii" [Economics and Politics in the Revolution]. Some contemporary problems in the light of historical practices).....	15	124	136
Ozerov, V.--Struggle for Human Minds and Hearts ("Ob Iskusstve Polemiki" [On the Art of Polemics])..	14	124	138
Parfenov, L.--Art Which Discovers the World ("Otkryvaya Mir" [Discovering the World], by A. Kamshalov.....	10	123	159
Popov, V.--Front-Line Party Organizers ("Partorgi Voyennoy Pory" [Wartime Party Organizers] by I. I. Roshchin and A. I. Marchuk).....	7	126	158
Popov, S.--Study of Social Development Laws ("Zakony Obshchestvennogo Razvitiya: Ikh Kharakter i Ispol'zovaniye" [The Laws of Social Development: Their Nature and Utilization] by G. Ye. Glezerman; "Dialektika Ob'yektivnogo i Sub'yektivnogo v Ekonomike Razvitoj Sotsializma" [Dialectics of the Objective and the Subjective in the Developed Socialist Economy] by S. V. Rogachev; "Vuprosi na Istoricheskiya Materializum" [Problems of Historical Materialism]. Vol 3. "Obektivniyat Kharakter na Obshtestvenite Zakoni Pri Sotsializma i Tyakhnata Realizatsiya" [The Objective Nature of Social Laws Under Socialism and Their Implementation]).....	14	122	133

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
To Work Like Lenin (K. U. Chernenko "Voprosy Raboty Partiy'nogo i Gosudarstvennogo Apparata" [Problems of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus]).....	16	121	139
Reznichenko, G.--Panorama of Life ("Shagi" [Steps], Issue No 5).....	12	111	131
Romanov, Al.--Devastation of the Soul--("Burzhuaznaya Massovaya Kul'tura. Teorii. Idei. Raznovidnosti. Obraztsy" [Bourgeois Mass Culture. Theories. Ideas. Varieties. Models] by A. V. Kukarkin).....	8	125	158
Rostotskiy, S.--Eternal Flame (Review of the television serial motion picture "The Great Patriotic War").....	1	101	125
Seleznev, K.--Marx' and Engels' Russian Books ("Russkiye Knigi v Bibliotekakh K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa" [Russian Books in the K. Marx' and F. Engels' Libraries]).....	9	116	145
Sertsova, A.--From the Experience of the Struggle of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia ("Politika i Ideologiya" [Politics and Ideology] by Vasil Beyda. On the situation in the party and society in the recent past).....	13	126	132
Tulunin, B.--In the Interest of the People ("Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles] by V. V. Grishin).....	4	120	144
Tumanov, V.--Unpromising Non-Marxist Concepts of the Future ("Fiasko Futurologii. (Kriticheskiy Ocherk Nemarksishtkakh Teoriy Obshchestvennogo Razvitiya)" [The Failure of Futurology (Critical Essay on the Non-Marxist Theories of Social Development)], by G. Kh. Shakhnazarov)....	10	125	164
Fedoseyev, P.--Course of Building Developed Socialism (Janos Kadar, "Izbrannyye Stat'i i Rechi (Fevral' 1976 g.--Iyun' 1979 g.)" [Selected Articles and Speeches (February 1976-June 1979)]).....	17	122	141
Firsov, B.--At the Junction With Practice ("Massovaya Informatsiya v Sovetskom Promyshlennom Gorode. Opyt Kompleksnogo Sotsiologicheskogo			

	Issue No	KOMMU- NIST Page	Trans- lation Page
Issledovaniya" [Mass Information in the Soviet Industrial City. An Attempt at a Comprehensive Sociological Study].....	18	110	150
Fomichev, V.--Beginning of Peaceful Socialist Building ("Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya Khronika. 1870-1924" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographic Chronicle 1870-1924]).....	6	123	155
Chernyak, A.--Implementing the Party's Agrarian Policy ("Partiy'naya Rabota na Sele" [Party Work in the Villages]).....	12	120	148
Short Book Review	12	126	161
Bookshelf.....	2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15		

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